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# ENGLAND'S BATTLE

BY SEA  
AND LAND



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LOLD DUNCAN'S VICTORY AT THE BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN.

# ENGLAND'S BATTLES

BY

## SEA AND LAND;

A COMPLETE RECORD

OF THE

NAVAL AND MILITARY CONFLICTS

OF THE BRITISH NATION,

WITH THEIR LABOURS, TRIUMPHS, AND DISASTERS.

*REPRESENTING THE STRUGGLES IN WHICH THE NATION HAS BEEN  
ENGAGED, FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.*

VOL. I.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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IT may be said with satisfaction that the achievements of the English army and navy are the glory of English history. Its chapters are full of battle pictures brilliantly illustrating the making of the Empire, and there is scarcely a page without some luminous narrative of soldierly daring, or of heroic gallantry in naval warfare. So rich indeed are the annals of the nation with passages descriptive of valour on sea and land, that as sources of fascinating interest, yielding every variety and type of heroism, they are incomparable. Nor have the changes in times and moods, the greater perplexities of the social struggle, or the keener appreciation of peace, diminished or slackened the interest excited by, or taken in, these glowing annals. The prestige of the services is not less now than it has ever been an object of national solicitude. Perhaps the national pride is manifested now with fewer demonstrations—with a more subdued or decorous enthusiasm, but none the less is the nation's concern in the welfare, and pride in the renown, of the soldiers and sailors of England, deep and abiding.

This is shown in the vigilant anxiety of the public to learn the truth in regard to the condition and equipment of the army and navy. Something more than a suspicion had grown that neither in the one respect nor the other, were the services efficient. It was feared that the exigencies of party were involving sacrifices in the defensive arms, and though perhaps this was not strictly true, there could be no doubt that there was some truth in it. And what tended still further to increase public anxiety were the differences—if not absolute contradictions—between the language and disclosures of experts, and the explanatory statements of ministers. It was contended on the one hand that the fleet was a paper navy—unfit to go into action; and on the other, that it was more than a match for the combined navies of three Continental Powers. The army, it was said by pessimists, was losing its best officers, and was being recruited with difficulty; that the material was too raw and the training too short; that the weapons were bad, and that the equipment was shoddy; in a word, that the British army was unfit to take the field. The optimists went to the other extreme. They found the army, if not perfect, at anyrate fit to go anywhere; well officered, admirably equipped, and efficient in everything. They found nothing wrong, whereas the pessimists found nothing right; so between

these widely differing views the public mind was puzzled, being loth to believe that the service was deteriorating, and yet too sensible of weaknesses and waste in the army system, to be quite reconciled to the rosy assurances of Ministers in Parliament.

There remained, however, this satisfaction. That while there might be, and probably were, screws loose in administration, there were no misgivings as to the steady courage of the troops. The traditional bravery of the men, and the devoted gallantry of their officers had been maintained in Egypt. No deterioration in valour had manifested itself. On the contrary, in the short campaign of 1882, and in the Relief March to Khartoum, Tel-el-Keber and Abu Klea added fresh laurels to British bravery. All the more, it may be said, should the risks to which the troops are subjected in war be minimised by prevision in the departments of administration. The army and navy regarded entirely as defensive arms are those not merely of the British Isles, but of the British Empire. And this distinction means that our military responsibilities stretch to remote parts in the old and the new world, wherever the British flag is flying. The consequences therefore of inefficiency may be felt disastrously in regions far from the highway of traffic, and perhaps barely accessible. It is true that the courage of the troops and the resource of their officers have averted disaster in most hazardous undertakings, rendered still more perilous by administrative shortcomings, but to subject valour to a strain, or to add an ounce to the burden of soldiers in war, to redeem the results of incompetence or knavery, is surely jeopardizing extravagantly human life—the lives of brave and devoted men.

That some such question is in the public mind is obvious. And the operations at Suakim, and the fighting in Thibet are accentuating the inquiry. Colonel Graham, it is true, has won a decisive victory, relieving anxiety and adding to the renown of the soldiers of the Queen, but the risks of the expedition operating in a mountainous region twelve or thirteen thousand feet above the sea are not to be thought of lightly. The field risks are great enough without those which may be the consequences of neglect. These may be called the avoidable risks, and it is to such public inquiry has turned. There is present too in the public mind distrust of the provisions made for national defence. The sense of security which for the last thirty years has been so comforting, has suddenly given way. The tradition that our shores were inaccessible to the enemy seems to have lost its meaning, and invasion is regarded as possible. The imagination conjures up another Blucher riding through the streets of London roughly reckoning up in millions sterling the amount of an enormous indemnity. The dispersal, if not the destruction of the Channel Fleet, seems to be thought a detail of not sufficient importance to be worked out, while it is taken for granted that the English army would be placed on an ineffective footing, by incompetence at the War Office and fraud in equipping the troops with arms. There is no doubt exaggeration in much that is written and predicted about the navy. But there is some reason to doubt its efficiency as a defensive arm. The recent sham attack on our coasts, and the still greater sham, the pretended defence, have disclosed defects which apparently even experts were not aware of. At

any rate, it was not conceived possible that an enemy would have such a run of luck in taking towns and destroying shipping, as the Admiral had who played the part of the enemy. It was probably as great a surprise to the Admiralty as it was to the country, and it will involve a large expenditure before public confidence in the ironclads is restored. In the meanwhile the question of national defence is exercising the public mind, and there is a pretty general overhauling of old recollections and narratives of exploits and engagements. As a contribution to these, and to place within the reach of everybody the most interesting passages in the naval and military history of England, this re-issue of ENGLAND'S BATTLES ON SEA AND LAND is undertaken.

The work is planned in epochs beginning in 1792, with the wars which sprang out of the French Revolution. The periods of peace or those in which there was no important military or naval movement are of course excluded, the object being to present, divested of extraneous interest, the accounts of war in which England has been engaged, or concerned. These embrace the great conflicts which closed with Waterloo; and although to people of middle age the memorials of that time may disclose no new feature of interest, it may be doubted whether the younger generation are so well able to realise the consequences of the victories of Wellington. The disposition is growing to dismiss what may not be of immediate service as ancient history; and the wars of Napoleon, the campaign in the Peninsula, even the threatened invasion of England, may possibly be regarded as events too remotely historical to be worth an hour's study. Yet a familiarity with the military history of that time is essential if we would understand the nature of the debt Europe owes to England. Perhaps it may even be said that it is impossible to ignore the early wars of the century and understand the present map of Europe. The new German Empire supposed to be founded at Sadowa, was founded at Waterloo. Italy also owes her freedom to the conqueror of Napoleon. Austria, through fluctuating fortune, is regaining her strength, and owes this to her liberation from Napoleonic influence. In short, the military and naval successes of Wellington and Nelson saved Europe and made the subsequent developments possible.

These were the years during which the military glory of England was at its highest. Great battles have been won since, and victories have added fresh laurels, but with the crowning triumph of Wellington the high water mark was reached. The Crimean was a war of sacrifice, the saddest perhaps on the roll, certainly glorious in heroic deed and daring, but the supreme generalship was no longer with the British troops. And neither there nor in the Indian Mutiny nor in any campaign since has a truly great soldier commanded. It has been observed that of great military genius the world is nearly destitute. Moltke is too old for the field, and there is no other commander in Europe his equal in strategy.<sup>5</sup> The two most renowned of England's living captains are Lord Wolseley and Sir Frederick Roberts. A high military authority pronounces the latter the greater general. The former in two or three minor wars was singularly fortunate. It would be unwise for any

non-military writer to offer an opinion as to the generalship of either officer, but there is a wide-spread belief that Lord Wolseley is over-rated. His leisurely march to Khartoum is contrasted with the magnificent march of General Roberts in relief of the Ameer; and in the event of war again it may be doubted whether the appointment of Lord Wolseley to the chief command would satisfy the country.

While the question in regard to English generalship is open to discussion, there can be no doubt that the bravery and endurance of the troops are still distinguishing features of the service. The Charge of the Light Brigade at Balacava is an enduring memorial of their courage. It was "magnificent," said a French officer, "but it was not war." In India, in Abyssinia, in Africa, the reputation of the English troops for valour has been splendidly maintained. They have never flinched, showing in the later wars the courage and daring displayed in the great battle-fields of Europe. In the pages following this will be found recorded examples innumerable of soldierly heroism. The authors and compilers have shown no lack of appreciation. They have shown the British soldier in all grades of the service, and this is not the least valuable portion of their work. They have had access to sources of information and documents not usually available, and this and their own careful work should make this re-issue acceptable and popular.

R. S.

# ENGLAND'S BATTLES

BY

## SEA AND LAND.

THE wars that sprang out of the French Revolution, and which desolated Europe for a quarter of a century, were occasioned by the decree of the National Convention, passed November 19th, 1792, declaring, that "the French nation would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wished to recover their liberty;" and this violation of the laws of international justice was further aggravated by the endeavours of the French affiliated societies to spread, by means of their emissaries, sedition among the conterminous states.

The causes, proximate and remote, which co-operated to the progress and formation of that revolution, have been so repeatedly recapitulated and presented to the knowledge of mankind, in so infinite a variety of forms, that their enumeration in this work would be an unprofitable waste of the reader's time, and a disingenuous, as also a dishonourable encroachment on his purse, to repeat them. Suffice it to say, that event, more momentous in its results, and more important in its interests, than any period in the history of the world, was occasioned by the degeneracy of national morality, the profligacy of the court and *noblesse*, the corruptions and evils of the church, and the increased intelligence of French society in political knowledge.

These causes conduced to those contests and disputes between the crown and the states-general, or *tiers état*, which inclined some of the crowned heads of Europe to dread the spread of revolutionary principles. Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, was the first who gave the alarm. On his death, William Frederick II., King of Prussia, and Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, in consequence of conferences held in May and August, 1791, at Mantua and Pilnitz,

entered into a coalition to resist the republican tendency, and aid the King of France in the defence of his throne.

To resist this threatened interference of foreign princes, the French convention determined to declare war for the protection of civil liberty and national independence. In this determination, the king was compelled to join, as also to publish a proclamation against the French princes and *noblesse* who had emigrated, and were assuming a threatening attitude on the frontiers. It was in the debates on these questions, that Isnard, the deputy of Provence, fulminated that eloquent oration that soon resounded through all the courts of Europe. "Let us raise ourselves on this occasion," said the Girondist orator, "to the real dignity of our situation; let us speak to the ministers—to the king—to Europe in arms, with the firmness which becomes us: let us tell the former, that we are not satisfied with their conduct—that they must make their election between public gratitude and the vengeance of the laws, and that by vengeance we mean death. Let us tell the king, that his interest is to defend the constitution; that he reigns by the people, and for the people; that the nation is his sovereign, and that he is the subject of the law! Let us tell Europe, that if the French nation draws the sword, it will throw away the scabbard; that it will not again seek it till crowned with the laurels of victory; that if cabinets engage kings in a war against the people, we will rouse the people to mortal strife with sovereigns. Let us tell them, that the combats in which the people engage by order of despots, resemble the strife of two friends under the cloud of night, at the instigation of a perfidious emissary: when the dawn appears, and

they recognise each other, they throw away their arms, embrace with transport, and turn their vengeance against the author of their discord. "Such will be the fate of our enemies, if, at the moment when their armies engage with ours, the light of philosophy strikes their eyes." Alluding to the encouragement given to the emigrant nobility by the courts of Europe, the same eloquent orator exclaimed:—"They would bring back our *noblesse!* If all the nobles of the earth assail us, with their gold in one hand and their swords in the other, the French people will combat that imperious race, and force it to endure the penalty of equality."

For the purpose of resisting the league which had been formed by the coalition against the independence and security of France—for such was their ostensible profession, though their real motive was aggression and conquest—the National Assembly ordered the formation of four armies. On the northern confines of France, 40,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry were cantoned, under Marshal Rochambeau, from Dunkirk to Philippeville. In the centre, 45,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry were stationed, under the Marquis Lafayette, from Philippeville to Lautre. Thirty-five thousand infantry and 8,000 cavalry, under Marshal Lückner, observed the course of the Rhine, from Bale to Lauterberg. A fourth army, consisting of 50,000 men, under General Montesquieu, was assembled on the side of Savoy, charged with the defence of the line of the Pyrenees and the course of the Rhone. One hundred and fifty thousand men were put into requisition

by the National Assembly, and 20,000,000 francs voted for carrying on the war.

To resist these designs, the Emperor of Germany, Francis II., who had now ascended the imperial throne, and the King of Prussia, agreed to furnish three armies. Sixty thousand Prussians, under the Duke of Brunswick, marched by Luxembourg upon Longwy. Twenty thousand Austrians, commanded by General Clairfait, supported them on the right, by occupying Stenay. Sixteen thousand Austrians, commanded by the Prince Hohenlohe-Kirchberg, and 10,000 Hessians flanked the left of the Prussians. The Duke Saxe-Teschén occupied the Netherlands, and threatened the barrier fortresses. The Prince de Condé and 12,000 French emigrant princes, *noblesse*, and military officers, assembled at Coblenz, Treves, Ettenheim, and Baden, where they were organized and supplied with horses and arms by the Empress Catherine.

The dethronement and execution of the French king having now taken place, and the National Assembly having, by its decrees of October 27th, November 19th, and December 18th,\* declared all governments their enemies, and proclaimed the doctrine of fraternisation with all those disposed to revolutionary principles in foreign states, the Emperor of Austria, Francis, issued a circular letter from Padua, inviting all the princes of Europe to concert measures for "avenging the diadem." The Russian empress, Catherine, announced her resolution of not permitting any change in the form of government in any European state. On its behalf, the British government professed its desire to preserve a strict neu-

\* Those decrees offered "fraternity and assistance to all people desirous of throwing off their allegiance; proclaimed the suppression of all existing authorities; and declared, that the French nation would treat as enemies the people, who, refusing or renouncing liberty and equality, are desirous of preserving their former and privileged castes, or of entering into an accommodation with them."

The decrees were transmitted to all the generals on the frontier; and they were furnished with the following blank formula of a letter of invitation to all nations of the world, beginning thus:—"The people of France to the people of \_\_\_\_\_ greeting. We now come to expel your tyrants." Commissioners were also appointed to all the armies, whose business it was to superintend the revolutionising of foreign states.

"Le Peuple Français au Peuple—

"Frères et amis Nous avons conquis la liberté, et nous la maintiendrons; notre union et votre force en sont les garans. Nous vous offrons de vous faire jouir de ce bien inestimable qui vous a toujours appartenu, et que vos oppresseurs n'ont pu vous ravir sans crime. Nous sommes venus pour chasser vos tyrans; ils ont fui: montrez vous hommes libres,

et nous vous garantirons de leur vengeance, de leurs projets, et de leur retour.

"Dès ce moment la République Française proclame la suppression de tous vos magistrats civils et militaires, de toutes les autorités qui vous ont gouvernés; elle proclame en ce pays l'abolition de tous les impôts que vous supportez sous quelque forme qu'ils existent—des droits féodaux, de la gabelle, des péages, des octrois, des droits d'entrée et de sortie, de la dime, des droits de chasse et de pêche exclusifs; des corvées de la noblesse, et généralement de toute espèce de contributions et de servitude dont vous avez été chargés par vos oppresseurs. Elle abolit aussi parmi vous toute corporation nobiliaire, sacerdotale et autres, toutes prérogatives, tous privilèges contraires à l'égalité: vous êtes dès ce moment frères et amis, tous citoyens, tous égaux en droits, et tous appelés également à défendre, à gouverner, et à servir votre patrie.

"Formez vous sur-le-champ en assemblées de communes; hâtez vous d'établir vos administrations provisoires: les agens de la République Française se concerteront avec elles, pour assurer votre bonheur et la fraternité qui doit exister désormais entre nous."

trality; and, to the truth of this assertion, the French themselves bear witness. "There is but one nation," said M. Kersaint, in the National Assembly, September 18th, 1792, "whose neutrality in the affairs of France is decidedly announced, and that is England." With the intention of persevering in that neutrality, and its confidence of the continuation of peace, the British government had reduced the number of sailors and marines to 16,000 men; had made a reduction in its very inconsiderable army; and had abolished taxes to the annual amount of £200,000. But the government of France was otherwise disposed. Among numerous hostile provocations and insults that the French had offered to Great Britain, was the violation of the treaty of commerce, of 1786, by a French frigate on the coast of Malabar. The circumstances of that case were:—Sir Richard Strachan, in the *Phoenix*, meeting on the Indian coast several French merchantmen, under convoy of a French frigate, and suspecting them to be carrying ammunition and warlike stores to Tippoo Sultan—then in a state of hostility against England—sent an officer in a boat to the captain of the French frigate, to request him to make a signal to the merchantmen to lay to, in order that their certificates might be inspected. Instead of complying with this request, the French captain made a signal to the merchantmen to crowd all sail and escape, and, at the same moment, he fired on the *Phoenix*. After a brief contest, the frigate struck her flag. When complaint was made of this breach of the treaty and act of open hostility, the National Convention, instead of apologising, or issuing any order to prevent similar aggression, insolently attempted to justify the conduct of their countryman. In the case of other similar aggressions, neither the executive council nor the convention condescended any excuse or explanation.

Still the British government preserved a peaceful attitude. In the official despatch addressed (29th December, 1792) to the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, on the subject of the proposed confederation against the French revolutionists, it was stated that the basis of the alliance should be, that foreigners should have no interference in the national affairs of France, but that the French people should be left entirely to themselves, in the arrangement of their government and internal affairs; and that the efforts of the allies should be

limited to the prevention of their interference with other states, or extending their conquests or propagandism beyond their own frontier; and to this effect, in the declaration issued 29th October, 1793, to the commanders of the British forces by sea and land, a declaration of the readiness of the government for the suspension of hostilities, and the renewal of friendship between the nations was repeated. A spirit of aggression and conquest had been displayed by the revolutionary government in a very early stage of their proceedings. In the commencement of 1791, Avignon and the Venaissin, the fiefs and seignorial rights of the German princes, and the dominions of the Bishop of Bâle, in Alsace and Lorraine, had been taken possession of, and annexed to France, though the rights of the German vassals of the French crown, in those provinces, had been guaranteed by the treaty of Westphalia. On the 20th of April, war was declared against the King of Bohemia and Hungary, and its intelligence diffused universal joy throughout France. In September, 1792, a like declaration was made against Sardinia; and, in the ensuing October, that province was united with the French republic, under the name of the Department of Mont Blanc. The seizure of Nice, with its territory, and Monaco, were shortly after formed into the department of the Maritime Alps. In December, the French troops took possession of Geneva; and, in the course of the same month, considerable portions of the territories of the small German princes were annexed to the neighbouring departments of France. The opening of the Scheldt, in violation of the treaty of Munster, was a preparatory measure to the invasion of Holland by the republican troops.

The endeavours of the revolutionary agents of France to propagate their principles and doctrines through the medium of the London corresponding and other societies of the like description, created much apprehension and alarm on the part of the British government. In a correspondence which ensued between the British cabinet and the French ambassador—"England," said Lord Granville, in a note to M. Chauvelin, the French envoy, "never will consent that France shall arrogate to herself the power of annulling at pleasure, and under cover of a pretended national right, of which she makes herself the sole judge, the political system of Europe, established by solemn treaties, and guaranteed by the consent of all the powers

This government will also never see, with indifference, that France shall make herself either directly or indirectly, sovereign of the Low Countries, or general arbitress of the rights and liberties of Europe. If France is really desirous of maintaining friendship and peace with England, let her renounce her views of aggression and aggrandisement, and confine herself within her own territory, without insulting other governments, disturbing their tranquillity, or violating their rights." The French envoy's reply was:—"The design of the convention has never been to engage itself to make the cause of some foreign individuals the cause of the whole French nation. But, when a people, enslaved by a despot, shall have had the courage to break its chains; when this people, restored to liberty, shall be constituted in a manner to make clearly heard the expression of the general will; when that general will shall call for the assistance and fraternity of the French nation;—it is then that the decree of the 19th November will find its national application: and this cannot appear strange

to any one." Monge, the minister of marine, addressed the following circular letter to the inhabitants of the French sea-ports:—"The king and the English parliament wish to make war on us; but will the English republicans suffer it? Already those freemen testify the repugnance which they feel at bearing arms against their brethren, the French. We will fly to their assistance—we will make a descent on that island—we will hurl thither 50,000 caps of liberty: we will plant among them the sacred tree, and hold out our arms to our republican brethren. The tyranny of our government shall soon be destroyed." To prevent the consequences of these mischievous doctrines, and defeat the intentions of their authors, the French ambassador was ordered to leave the British dominions within eight days; with a notification, however, that the English government would still listen to terms of accommodation; but, regardless of this pacific inclination, the French convention declared war against Great Britain on 3rd February, 1793.\*

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1792 OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE.

At the commencement of the year 1792, the ruling party in France were convinced, that the existence of their revolution depended on war: as they expressed themselves, "their revolution could not stand still; it must advance and embrace other countries, or perish in their own." One hundred and fifty thousand men were therefore put into immediate requisition. The frontier of France, from Dunkirk to Hanover, was divided into three great military commands, and three armies were organised, under the respective commands of Marshal Rochambeau, Marshal Luckner, and Lafayette. On the left of the line was Rochambeau's army of the north, extending from Dunkirk to Philippeville; in the centre, Lafayette's army extended from Philippeville to the lines of Weissembourg; while the army of the Rhine, commanded by Luckner, stretched from the lines of Weissembourg to Bâle. The frontier of the Alps and the Pyrenees, where attacks were expected from the kings of Spain and Sardinia, was under the charge of General Montesquiou, with an army of

50,000 men. The direction of the campaign was under the guidance of Dumourier, the minister for foreign affairs.

Encouraged by the slender force in the Austrian Netherlands, and the defenceless state of the country, its frontier fortresses having been dismantled by Joseph II., towards the end of April, Lieutenant-general Biron, with 10,000 men, advanced from Valenciennes, and falling in, on May 1st, with some of the Austrian light troops at Mons, two dragoon regiments took to flight, exclaiming, they were surrounded and betrayed, and, throwing the infantry into confusion, the whole army fled in the greatest consternation, leaving their camp-equipage, baggage, and military stores and chest in the possession of the imperialists. On the very same day and hour, Major-general Dillon's division of 4,000 men, destined for the siege of Tournay, on reaching Bessieu, being encountered by a detachment from the garrison of Tournay, of about 800 men, the cavalry regiments, becoming panic-struck, rushed through the infantry, and

The declaration was received with universal joy, and France became one great drill-ground. The British government now entered into conventions

of alliance with Russia, Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, Naples, Sardinia, and other states, to resist French aggression and spoliation.

fled back to Lisle, abandoning baggage, artillery, &c., to the enemy. The scared fugitives, on reaching Lisle, massacred their leader, and, having kindled a fire in the market-place, threw his mutilated body into it, dancing round the fire with the most hideous howling.

To suppress the revolutionary proceedings, and provide for the safety of Louis XVI., as well as to resist the progress of the republican forces, the allies determined to invade France by the plains of Champagne, as the only line of fortresses which could interrupt their march between Paris and those plains were Longwy, Verdun, and Sedan, and the forest of Argonne, which occupied a space of fifteen leagues between Verdun and Sedan. For this purpose, the Duke of Brunswick, on the 25th of July, broke up from Coblenz with 50,000 Prussians, 45,000 Austrians, and 12,000 emigrant French *noblesse*; and, on entering France, on the 30th, issued the fatal proclamation, which had so powerful an effect in exciting the patriotism of the French people. On the 26th of August, Longwy surrendered; and, on the 2nd of September, Verdun. The last barrier, and only defensible position now remaining between the capital and the enemy was the forest of Argonne, which is a belt of wood, covering a space of from thirteen to fifteen leagues from Sedan to about a league beyond Ste Menéould, and penetrable by an army by five roads or passes, named Grandpré, Chéve, Populeux, Croix-aux-Bois, and Chalade-aux Islettes. Here Dumourier, who had succeeded to the command of the armies of Lafayette and Luckner, determined to resist the advance of the enemy. Taking his station at Grandpré, and fortifying the other passes, he awaited the arrival of reinforcements from the interior, the army of Bournonville from the frontier of the Netherlands, and that of the north under Kellerman. But the Austrian general, Clairfait, forcing the pass of Croix-aux-Bois, Dumourier, to prevent his being attacked in the rear, retreated to the fortified camp at Ste Menéould. In this retreat, the usual panic which occurs to young troops took place. Dumourier, in his report to the National Assembly, said—that though a panic had seized the army, all was safe. In his *Mémoires* his words are—“More than 10,000 men, belonging to different corps, bolted with incredible speed to the distance of thirty leagues, through Rheims, Châlons, and Vitry. But for the good conduct of

Duval, Stengel, and Miranda, this retreat must have ended in an irremediable flight, and 1,500 Prussian hussars would have annihilated the whole French army.” Having taken up his position at Ste Menéould, he was joined, on the 19th September, by Kellerman and Bournonville, when the French force amounted to 76,000 men. On the 20th, the allies arrived on the heights of La Lune. A furious cannonade was immediately commenced by the French, from the opposite heights of Valmy. This battle, if not one of the bloodiest, was one of the noisiest on record, 40,000 cannon-shot having been fired, while the loss on each side, in killed and wounded, was less than 400 men. At nightfall, the Prussians remained under arms in their position; but the French withdrew to their intrenched camp of Ste Menéould. In this battle, the Duke of Chartres, who then styled himself Philippe Egalité (*i. e.*, Philip Equality), but afterwards Louis Philippe, King of the French, served as a general officer with much distinction.

Troops now advancing from all the great towns of France to take the Prussians in the rear, and his army being greatly reduced in numbers by disease and want of provisions and forage, the Duke of Brunswick, on the 30th of September, struck his camp on the heights of La Lune, and withdrawin their garrisons from Verdun and Longwy, evacuated France, and, about the end of October, recrossed the Rhine. The commissioners of the convention, as soon as they were in possession of the abandoned fortresses, took a bloody revenge on the royalist party. Among other acts of cruelty, they sent several young women, who had presented garlands of flowers to the King of Prussia, on his entering their towns, to be tried and condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal of Paris, as traitresses to their country. While these decisive events were taking place in the central provinces, operations were in activity on the two flanks in Alsace. Lisle, which had been bombarded for six successive days, by the Duke of Saxe-Teschen, was relieved by Generals Labourdonnaie and Bournonville and General Custine had captured Spire, Worms, Frankenthal, and Mayence. The danger being over, and the campaign finished, Dumourier determined to put his favourite project of an invasion of Flanders into execution. For that purpose, the French army, con-

sisting of 100,000 men, on the 4th of November, entered the Austrian Netherlands, now styled Belgium; and, on the 5th, came up with the imperialists, under Saxe-Teschen, who, with 40,000 men, occupied an extended line from Tournay to Mons, but they were too dispersed to have the means of ready concentration on their centre, consisting of 19,000 men, and which held, near the village of Jemappes, a strongly-fortified position on the wooded heights surrounding Mons, and stretching in a circle round the town. On the 5th of November, the French army, commanded by Dumourier, advanced against that position, and formed itself in a semi-circle, parallel to the enemy.

At day-break of the morning of the 6th of November the battle began, and, after various alternations, terminated in favour of the French by two o'clock, P. M. The loss of the Austrians, in killed and wounded, was about 5,000 men; that of the French, 6,000. In this battle, Philippe Egalité headed several charges of bayonets, and eventually carried the village of Jemappes, from which the battle takes its name. The result of this battle filled France with so great joy, that when Baptiste Renard, Dumourier's servant, was presented to the convention, he was rewarded with a civic crown and an officer's commission. By this battle the fate of the whole of the Austrian Netherlands was decided. Tournay, Courtrai, Menai, Bruges, Ghent, Mons,

Mecklin, Ostend, Brussels, &c., fell under the power of the French, without a single musket-shot having been fired. Contributions and forced requisitions of men, horses, and provisions, were mercilessly levied on the inhabitants; all property was seized and sold; and all contracts for provisioning the French were paid for in French assignats, at their nominal value. By the end of November, Namur and the citadel of Antwerp were the only possessions retained by the imperialists in the Austrian Netherlands. On the 22nd of December, Saxe-Teschen, who was posted at Tirlemont, being defeated, those fortresses, together with Liege, fell into the hands of the French.

While the French armies and generals were making these aggressions and spoliations in Flanders, General Custine, at the head of 20,000 men, invaded Germany, and obtained possession of Spire, Worms, Mayence, Frankfort-on-the-Maine, and other towns in the small circles of the empire; and, in imitation of his compatriots in Flanders, levied heavy contributions on the people. On the southern and eastern frontier, the countries of Savoy and Nice were seized by the French armies under Montesquiou and Anselme, and the inhabitants subjected to plunder, massacre, the violation of their women, and outrages of every description, by those who pretended to be their friends and deliverers: so delusive were French professions of fraternisation.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1793 OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE.

THE convention having, on February the 1st, declared war against England, Holland, and Spain, 20,000 English troops, under the command of the Duke of York, were sent to Holland, and, when united to 10,000 Hanoverians and Hessians in British pay, were to co-operate with the allies in resisting the progress of the French. On the 25th of March, a treaty of alliance was entered into between Great Britain and Russia; and, in the ensuing months of April, May, July, August, and September, similar treaties were concluded with Sardinia, Spain, Naples, Russia, and Austria. The Prince of Coburg was appointed commander-in-chief of the allied armies from the Rhine to the German Ocean.

Dumourier, who had long been dissatisfied with the proceedings of the democratic lea-

ders at Paris, and wished the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791, now determined to put his project of making an irruption into Holland into execution, and, having overturned the revolutionary government in that country, to unite it with the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands, and to offer the alliance of the united countries to the French government, on condition of their restoring the constitution of 1791; and, in case of refusal to accede to the proposal, to march to Paris, and overturn the convention and the rule of the Jacobins. Full of this project, he, on February 17th, advanced, at the head of 20,000 men, from Antwerp. After a trifling resistance, Breda, Klundert, and Gertruydenberg capitulated, and large portions of their garrisons following the prose-

lytism of their countrymen of the Batavian legion, fraternised with the French. Siege was immediately laid to Williamstadt; but he was arrested there in his progress, the garrison of that town, which commanded the passage of an arm of the sea, Bies Bosch, having been strengthened by a detachment of the English guards just arrived in Holland.

At the same time that Dumourier had received this check, his lieutenant, Miranda, who was laying siege to Maestricht, was attacked by the Austrians under Clairfait, and driven across the Meuse, with the loss of 7,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and, a few days afterwards, Miazinski, who was posted in front of Aix-la-Chapelle, to defend the passage of the river Roer and cover Liege, was routed by the imperial general, with the loss of 5,000 men and twenty pieces of cannon. The two fugitive armies fell back to Louvain, when Dumourier, by the order of the executive council, resumed their command for the protection of Belgium.

As soon as he reached Louvain he convoked the soldiers, and finding them eager for battle, on the morning of the 18th, he marched against the enemy posted on the heights of Nervinden, and, after a severe contest during the whole day, the fate of the action, both in the centre and the right, appearing to be in favour of the French, that portion of the army bivouaced on the field of battle, with the intention of renewing the engagement on the day following. But the left wing, under Miranda, having sustained a complete *déroute*, Dumourier was compelled to retreat to the heights behind Tirlemont, with the loss of 4,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, and the desertion of 10,000, who had fled with the news to France. The issue of this battle compelling the French to abandon all their conquests in Belgium, Dumourier, apprehensive of the resentment of the club of Jacobins, where his head had been loudly called for as a sacrifice to national justice, entered, under pretence of treaty about the wounded and prisoners, into a conference with the Prince of Saxe-Coburg and the allied generals, for the suspension of arms, and the restoration of the constitutional government of 1791. But, being discovered in his designs, he was compelled to seek refuge within the Austrian lines, with 1,500 of his adherents. The remainder of the French army, being collected in the entrenched camp at Famars, under the walls of Valenciennes,

was placed under the command of General Dampierre.

The Prince of Saxe-Coburg, who was now at the head of 52,000 men, having been joined by the troops under the Duke of York, determined to undertake the siege of Condé and Valenciennes. To defeat that object, on the 1st of May, Dampierre attacked the allied position, but was repulsed with the loss of 2,000 men. Renewing the battle on the 8th, he was again defeated, and mortally wounded, near the wood of Vicoigne. At first the Austrians were driven back; but the English guards coming up, the French fled in confusion to their fortified position. This was the first occasion in which English and French soldiers were brought into collision during the French revolutionary wars. On the 23rd, the allies advanced to the attack of the entrenched camp at Famars, which covered Valenciennes; but Lamarthe, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Dampierre, unwilling to await the issue, evacuated his position during the night, and fell back to Cæsar's Camp, near the Scheldt. The investment of Valenciennes immediately took place, and the conduct of the siege was entrusted to the Duke of York. On the 14th of June, the trenches were opened, and a vigorous and incessant fire was kept up on the place from 250 pieces of heavy artillery and ninety mortars. The garrison, consisting of 9,000 men, under the command of General Ferrand, made a gallant defence. On the night of the 25th, three globes of compression being fired under the glacis and horn-work of the fortress, the assembled columns immediately rushed forward and carried the outworks. Next day the place surrendered, and the garrison marched out with the honours of war. During the siege, 84,000 cannon-balls, 20,000 shells, and 48,000 bombs had been thrown into the town. More than half the town had been reduced to ashes or battered to pieces. On the 8th of August, the French were driven from the strong position of Cæsar's Camp. The Prussians, after a siege of three months, captured Mayence on July 25th. On the 14th of September, Moreau had been beaten by the Prussians, with the loss of 4,000 men and twenty-two cannon; and on the 13th of October, he was driven from the lines of Weissembourg in the greatest confusion.

To retrieve the desperate fortune which beset the republic at this time, the convention

at the suggestion of the Committee of Public Safety, decreed a levy of 1,200,000 men, ordered a tax of a milliard of francs (forty millions sterling) to be levied upon the rich, and converted all the old claims on the state into a great revolutionary debt. "Liberty has become the creditor of every citizen," said Barrère, on the part of the Committee of Public Safety: "some owe it their industry; others their fortunes; some their councils; all their lives. Every native of France, of whatever age or sex, is called to the defence of his country. The republic is a besieged city: all its territory must become a vast camp."

After the French had been driven from Cæsar's Camp, in a council of war held by the allies, it was determined that the British, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Hessians should form a distinct army, under the command of the Duke of York. On the 18th of August, the duke advanced to Menin, to the relief of the hereditary Prince of Orange, who was surrounded by the French, and driven from Lincelles. He was liberated, and the post recovered, by a gallant charge of the English guards, under General Lake. The enemy abandoning their camp at Ghivelde, the duke advanced to Dunkirk, and opened the breaches on the 24th; but finding his army harassed by Houchard, who had, in a series of engagements between the 5th and 7th of September, defeated the Austrian covering army, under Marshal Freytag, he, on the 8th, raised the siege, leaving fifty-two pieces of heavy artillery, and a large quantity of baggage and ammunition in the hands of the enemy.

The allies, now desirous of possessing themselves of Maubeuge on the Sambre, which would render them masters of nearly all the country between that river and the Meuse, prepared to reduce it. Jourdan

advanced to its succour, and took possession of the entrenched camp on the right bank of the river. Issuing, on the 15th of October, from that camp, he attacked the imperialists, under Coburg, at Wattignies, but was repulsed, with the loss of 1,200 men. Renewing the attack on the 16th, he compelled the enemy to recross the Sambre, with the loss of 6,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The arrival, at Ostend, of a considerable armament, under Sir Charles Grey, contributed to retard the advance of the enemy, and the retention of the possession of the Netherlands for the remainder of the year.

On the Pyrenean frontier, the Spaniards, advancing from Figueras, attacked, on the 6th of June, the French fortified camp at Mas d'Eu, and drove the republican troops, under Deflers, out of it, with the loss of fifteen pieces of cannon. On the 22nd of September, the Spanish general, Ricordos, with 15,000 men, attacked the republican general Dagobert, on the eastern extremity of the Pyrenean chain, and defeated him, with the loss of 4,000 men and ten pieces of artillery. On the 14th of December, he again attacked the republicans, who had been reinforced with 15,000 fresh levies, under Davoust, in their fortified camp near Boulon, and defeated them, with the loss of 2,500 men and forty-six pieces of cannon. Towards the end of June, the forts of Bellegarde and Les Bains had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.

On the side of the Maritime Alps, the important post of Saorgio, on which depended the quiet possession of Nice, was the scene of many bloody combats; but that of June ended in the complete rout of the French. Towards the end of July, the French made themselves masters of the Col d'Argentière and the Col de Sauteron.

#### THE SIEGE OF TOULON .

THE citizens of Toulon, warned by the terrible fate to which the bloody commissioners of the convention had subjected the citizens of Lyons and Marseilles, entered into a treaty with Vice-admiral Lord Hood, who was cruising with a British fleet before that city, to afford them his co-operation in their defence. On the 29th of August, 1793, a treaty being concluded that the town should be held by the English on the

behalf of Louis XVII., the English admiral entered the port, and was soon joined by the Spanish fleet, under Admiral Langara, and a small Neapolitan fleet. The English troops amounted to about 5,000 men; the Spanish, Piedmontese, and Neapolitan to about 8,000. At the request of Lord Hood, Lord Mulgrave took the temporary command of the garrison till the arrival of Major general O'Hara from Gibraltar. Doppet,

originally a physician, and who had succeeded Carteaux (formerly a music-master, and who had the command of the republican forces at the commencement of the siege), was superseded by the veteran Dugommier, who had been fifty years of service.

On the 30th of November, the breaching-batteries being placed under the direction of Napoleon Buonaparte, at the time a captain of artillery, an attack was made on Fort Malbosquet. To repel the attack, O'Hara made a sally in great force. The English were at first successful; but pursuing the discomfited foe too far, they were attacked by a strong body of troops which Napoleon Buonaparte had rallied, and forced back with considerable loss. On the 17th of December, the other hill-forts having fallen into the hands of the enemy, the allied troops withdrew into the city, and, in a council of war, it was determined to evacuate the place, and destroy the French fleet.

On the morning of the 18th, the sick and wounded were embarked, and at the same time nearly 15,000 of the inhabitants were

received on board the British fleet. The destruction of the French fleet was committed to Sir Sydney Smith. Of thirty-on ships of the line and twenty-five frigates which were in the harbour at the time Toulon surrendered to the allies, eighteen of the former, and nine of the latter, were captured or destroyed. The retreating fleets steered for the islands of Hières, on the coast of Provence. The city was given up to pillage by the republican soldiery; and many thousands of the remaining citizens perished, in the course of a few weeks, by the sword or the guillotine. By order of the convention, the buildings of the city were ordered to be razed to the foundations, and its name changed to that of Port de la Montagne.

It was in the course of the siege of Toulon that Napoleon Buonaparte first attracted notice, and began that career which eventually made him the arbiter of the destinies of kings and kingdoms, and the most powerful and influential, but immeasurably the most gifted and enlightened, despot who had ever appeared on the face of the earth.

#### NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S BIRTH AND EARLY YOUTH.

NAPOLEONE BUONAPARTE, or as, during his Italian campaigns, he wrote his name, Napoléon Bonaparte,\* was born on the 15th of August, 1769, at Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica. His father was, by profession, an advocate of sessions in that town; but, in the struggle for Corsican liberty, under General Paoli, he manifested his patriotism in the ranks of his countrymen, as adjutant to Paoli against the French; and throughout the toils and dangers of his mountain campaigns, was accompanied by his young and beautiful wife, Letitia Ramolini, a woman possessed of high spirit and great strength of understanding. Perhaps the high-wrought feelings which circumstances then produced in her bosom, had an influence on the temperament and destiny of her future offspring, the subject of this memoir. On the subjugation of Corsica

to French domination, her husband received, under the government of the Count of Marbœuf, the appointment of *Procureur du Roi* in the royal Court of Assize at Ajaccio—an official employment, corresponding nearly to that of the English attorney-general.

His family, on his father's side, was of Tuscan origin, and had been eminent as senators of the republics of Florence, San Miniato, Bologna, and Treviso, during the middle ages. The branch from which Napoleon Buonaparte was directly descended, was that which had flourished in San Miniato; whence they removed to Corsica in the troubled times of the Guelph and Gibelline factions, which for nearly two centuries had distracted Italy, and desolated its chief cities and states. In Corsica, they were always considered as belonging to the

He dropped the *n* in his surname during the first Italian campaign; the *i* in the christian name was transmuted into an *e*; and its final *e* dropped in early life. The reasons he assigned for the change were, to assimilate the orthography to the pronunciation, and to abbreviate his signature. His first wife adopted a like plan: her name was not *Joséphine*, but Marie-Joseph-Rose; and so she signed her name in the register of her marriage, which was attested

by the mayor of the second arrondissement of the canton of Paris, and bearing date, 18me Ventose, a V., corresponding to March 9, 1796. The change, in both cases, was probably occasioned by Napoleon Buonaparte, who had an ear peculiarly sensitive to the effect of euphonious and pleasing sounds: besides, he well knew the effect of names and sounds on the credulous and unthinking part of mankind.

gentry of the island; and as such, Charles Marie Buonaparte, the father of Napoleon Buonaparte, was sent to France by Count Marbœuf, in the deputation from the Corsican *noblesse*, relative to the differences which had arisen between the two French generals who commanded in Corsica, M. de Marbœuf and M. de Narbonne Pelez, to Louis XVI. Indeed, the name of Buonaparte stands high in the *Golden Book of Bologna*, a work written by one of the ancestors of the family, printed at Cologne in the year 1656, and is now in the Royal Library of Paris, which contains a genealogy of the Buonapartes, carried back to a very remote period. He was called Napoleoni, after one of the Italian Buonaparte family. A saint Napoleoni once flourished in the Romish calendar, but having disappeared by some accident or neglect, was, in compliment to his imperial namesake, restored by the pope to his former rank and station among the canonized, by the title of St. Napoleon des Ursins; and as the date of his festival had been forgotten, the birthday (August 15th) of the victorious soldier was assigned for the celebration: thus, as it has been naïvely observed, the *protégé* "had the rare honour of promoting a patron;" and received some reparation for the taunts to which he had been frequently subject while at Brienne, where he had been often twitted by his comrades with his supposed descent from the obsolete saint. On his mother's side, his descent was equally honourable. The family of Ramolini, to which she was allied, is one of the most ancient in the republic of Genoa.\*

The subject of this memoir was the second-born child of a family of thirteen. The name of his elder brother was Joseph; those of his other brothers were Lucien, Louis, and Jerome. His sisters were Enza, Pauline, and Caroline. The whole

\* When Napoleon Buonaparte had climbed to sovereign power, his flatterers were willing to assign him a lofty pedigree. As he could afford to disregard all the lustre of patrician birth, his reply to the Emperor of Austria, who appeared desirous of assigning a regal origin or pedigree to his son-in-law, was—"I am the Rodolf of my race," alluding to the founder of the Austrian family, Rodolf of Hapsburg. On a similar occasion, he silenced a professional genealogist, with—"Friend, my patent dates from Monte Notte," an allusion to the first battle he gained. His observation to the poet Ems, who offered to compose for him a genealogy, in which proofs should be adduced, sufficient to convince the most incredulous, that he was sprung from the kings of the Ostragoths—"I thank you; but I find myself

family was endowed, in the usual acceptation of the word, with talent; but in ordinary circumstances, not one of them, except Napoleon Buonaparte, would have risen above the sphere of mediocrity, and most of them would have remained below it. Caroline assumed the mental superiority over her sisters, that Napoleon Buonaparte did over the male branch of the family. Jerome had no pretension to intellectual endowment; and his conduct, character, and personal appearance were in accordance with his mental pretensions: his appearance was so mean and unprepossessing, that his brother told him one day, after he had enrolled him in the monarchical list of the Napoleonic dynasty—"If the majesty of kings was stamped upon their foreheads, you might travel *incognito*; you would never be discovered."

The family of Napoleon Buonaparte may be said to be literary. Napoleon Buonaparte was the author of *The Supper of Beaucaire*, a pamphlet descriptive of the state of parties in the south of France. While in garrison at Valence, in Dauphiné, and then only seventeen years old, he obtained the prize (a gold medal), offered by the academy of Lyons, for the best theme on Raynal's question—"What are the principles and constitutions best calculated to advance mankind to the highest possible degree of happiness?" The manuscript of this essay, which was supposed to have been lost, was, when Napoleon Buonaparte was seated on the imperial throne, presented to him by Talleyrand, who had obtained it out of the records of the academy, and, no doubt, thought to please his master and conciliate his favour by the act; but as the tract abounded in sentiments on liberty, and arguments in its favour, Napoleon Buonaparte had no sooner cast his eye over a few pages, than he threw it into the fire, exclaiming—"One

more honoured by the stock of Buonaparte. My family ought not to date its origin from any era but that of the 18me Brumaire." The day of the Sections is equally characteristic of his lofty sense of personal merit. His opinion of the contemptible adulation and the gross incense of sycophantic flatterers was strongly displayed, when Denou presented him, after the battle of Wagram, the design of a medal, representing an eagle strangling a leopard, as allusive of the superiority of the French over the English. "What!" said Napoleon Buonaparte, "strangling the leopard! There is not a spot on the sea on which the eagle dare show himself. This is base adulation. It would have been nearer the truth to represent the eagle as choked by the leopard!"

can never observe everything." While in garrison at Douay, he employed his leisure time in writing, on the model of his favourite Plutarch, the lives of those Corsicans who had distinguished themselves by their devotion to the interests of the land of their birth; and, during the same period, he also composed a brief history of Corsica, and entered into a treaty with Joly, the bookseller of Dôle, for its publication; but the undertaking was never put into execution, on account of his regiment being ordered into another garrison. He is said to have composed an heroic poem, to stimulate his countrymen to endeavour the regeneration of the land of his birth; but nothing more is recorded of his poetical efforts than the mention of the design.\* His *Mémoires*, dictated at St. Helena, is the last of his accredited works. Joseph published a little novel, entitled *Moïna*. Lucien's literary productions are an epic poem, entitled *Charlemagne, or the Church Delivered; Stellina*, a novel; and *Cerneide, or Corsica Saved*, a poem. The publications of Louis are, *Maria, or the Torments of Love*, or, as it was entitled in a new edition, *Maria, or the Dutch Woman*; and *Historic Documents on the Government of Holland*. Neither of the productions of the literary imperial family possess much merit. Had Napoleon Buonaparte, however, devoted himself to literary composition, he would no doubt have obtained no mean position among authors. Logical accuracy was the great characteristic of his mind. He was one of the profoundest thinkers of modern times.

In early childhood, Napoleon Buonaparte gave indications of superior talent, with a

strong proneness to solitude and meditation;† he displayed great intelligence, rapid comprehension, and considerable energy of mind and character. His own description of his character contains great truth and expressiveness:—"I was an obstinate and an inquisitive child. I was extremely headstrong: nothing overawed me—nothing disconcerted me. I made myself formidable to the whole family. My brother Joseph was the one with whom I was the oftenest embroiled: he was bitten, beaten, abused. I went to complain before he had time to recover from his confusion. I had need to be on the alert; our mother would have repressed my warlike humour: she would not have put up with my caprices." This auto-portrait of his disposition exhibits very characteristic traits of his future character and conduct. Both in childhood and manhood, whether aggressor or aggrieved, he generally gained his point by his *finesse*, duplicity, and subtle knowledge of human nature, as well as by his great activity and celerity of enterprise.

The character which he has given of his ungovernable temper and disposition to assume the mastery over others, forcibly developed itself in after-life, especially after he had obtained sovereign power. Such was the violence of his disposition, that he gave way to fits of passion to that degree, as to throw himself into violent convulsions. His usual practices, when angry and much excited, were to stamp with his foot, strike his forehead with his hand, and throw himself on the ground like one deprived of reason. No one had the least power o-

\* This was not the only effort that Napoleon Buonaparte displayed of his devotion to the muse of poetry. His marriage with Maria Louisa gave an opportunity for its exhibition. When the emperor visited Holland, a Dutch burgomaster, to display his loyalty and poetical inspiration, affixed on the triumphal arch, under which Buonaparte was to pass, the following distich:—

"Il n'a pas fait un sottise  
En épousant Marie Louise,"

(*He has made no mistake in marrying Maria Louisa.*) Napoleon Buonaparte, perceiving the poetical effusion, called the burgomaster to him, and said—"So they cultivate poetry here." "Sire, I compose some verses," was the answer. "Ah! it is you—take a pinch of snuff," the emperor rejoined, at the same time presenting the box and the snuff, saying—

Quand vous y prendrez une prise  
Rappelez vous de Marie Louise."

(*Whenever you take a pinch, remember Maria Louisa.*)

† When quite a child, being in a party of young folk, he retired to a corner of the room with a book,

while the rest were dancing and amusing themselves. They urged him to join in their amusements: his reply to their entreaties was, "Jouer et danser, ce n'est pas la manière de former un homme." (*Playing and dancing is not the way to form a man.*) The same principle was his rule of conduct throughout life. During his voyages to and from Egypt, he was continually employed in cultivating his mind. Geometry, chemistry, &c., were his constant occupation. If the activity of his mind found not wherewithal to exercise itself in reality, he supplied the defect by giving scope to imagination, or in listening to the conversation of the savans, or learned men, attached to the expedition, or in promoting discussion on literary and metaphysical subjects among his officers. The value of time was the great object he not only proposed for his own observance, but he lost no opportunity of enforcing it on the notice of others. On one of his visits to places of education—"Young people," said he, addressing the pupils, "every hour of time lost, is a chance of misfortune for future life."

calming his imperious and irascible temper but Joséphine. In his earliest childhood, as he has himself said, he exhibited indications of that disposition and direction of feeling which incline their possessor to assume a superiority over his fellow-creatures, and to take the lead in the direction of affairs. He was by nature a despot. "Master of a school, or upon a throne; chief of a squadron, or a corporal on guard; at Paris or at Kamtschatka—everywhere he would," as one of his biographers has honestly acknowledged, "have been a tyrant." His superiority of character was early felt; and many were the previsions entertained of his future greatness and eminence. Among the admissible class of these predictions, that of his great uncle, Lucien Buonaparte, archdeacon of Ajaccio,\* is the most deserving of notice. That ecclesiastic, calling the children about his death-bed, to take farewell and bless them, addressed to them these memorable words:—"You, Joseph, are the eldest, but Napoleon is the head of the family: remember my words." Whenever Napoleon Buonaparte mentioned this injunction of his uncle, he used laughingly to say:—"This was a true disinheritance; it was the scene of Jacob and Esau." This remarkable distinction, Las Casas (*Memorial de Ste Helène ou Journal de la Vie Privée de l'Empereur*) tells us, was bestowed on him by his uncle on account of his grave and reflective character, and sound exercise of reason he displayed at a very early age. The same author has (and the panegyrically-inclined biographers of the emperor have subsequently reiterated the tale), with great particularity, stated the remarkable previsions of his hero's greatness, indicated from the circumstance of his birth taking place on a temporary couch, covered with tapestry, representing the heroes of the *Iliad*, to which his mother was obliged to have recourse from the sudden supervention of her labour while attending at the solemnization of mass on a festival. But stories

\* "The archdeacon of Ajaccio was an excellent old man. Good, generous, and intelligent: he was a father to us, and re-established the affairs of the family, which our father's fondness for pleasure had deteriorated. He was rich, but did not like to part with his money. He strove hard to persuade us that he had not saved anything. 'You well know,' he would say, 'that I have it not: your father's extravagance has left me nothing.' At the same time, he would authorise me to sell a head of cattle, or a hamper of wine: it was all a pretence. We had discovered a bag of money; and being piqued at

of the kind are unworthy the dignity of historical narration.

When he attained manhood, this superiority was of a more positive and determinate character, and was frequently recognised by his contemporaries. "This man," said a close and sagacious observer of character, "will create a new era in the world." In a letter, addressed by Joséphine to a friend on her approaching marriage with Napoleon Buonaparte, occur the following words:—"I admire the general's courage; the extent of his information on every subject on which he converses; his shrewd intelligence, which enables him to understand the thoughts of others before they are expressed; but I confess I am somewhat fearful of the control which he appears anxious to exercise over everything around him. His scrutinising glance has in it something singular, which is felt even by the directors: it really awes them; therefore, it may well be supposed to intimidate a woman."—(*Mémoires de Joséphine*.) Even Paoli's remark, whether uttered as indicative of his superior pretensions, or merely to cajole and win him to his purpose, is remarkable:—"This young man is cut from the antique; he is one of Plutarch's men." Even in his youth his superiority of intellect was felt and acknowledged. M. de Keraglion, inspector of the college of Brienne, inscribed on the margin of the report of his examination, opposite to the signature of Napoleon Buonaparte, the following testimony:—"A Corsican by character and birth. If favoured by circumstances, this young man will rise high." When scarcely eighteen years of age, his talents and acquirements were so highly appreciated by the Abbé Raynal, that he considered him one of the ornaments of his scientific *déjeûners*.

When about ten years old, he accompanied his father in the deputation from the Corsican noblesse to the French king, and was placed (April 23rd, 1779) in the Royal Military School at Brienne, into hearing him preach up poverty, while he had pieces of gold in his pockets, resolved to play him a trick. Pauline was quite young: we gave her the lesson; she drew out the bag; the doubloons rolled out, and covered the floor. We burst out into fits of laughter, while the good old man was almost choked with rage and confusion. Our mother came in, scolded, picked up the pieces of gold, and the archdeacon fell to protesting that the money was not his own. We knew what course to follow in this respect, and took care not to contradict him."—Las Casas, *Memorial de Ste Helène, ou Journal de la Vie Privée de l'Empereur*





HOUSE OF THE BONAPARTES AT AJACCIO.



BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE OF LODI.

which the Count of Marbœuf had procured him admission.\* While in that establishment, he was distinguished for his assiduous attention to his studies. To adopt his own words, he "wanted to learn, to know everything, and to distinguish" himself. He "devoured all the books that came in his way."† His devotion to mathematics, history, geography, military science, and general literature, was remarkable; but he made little progress in Latin, holding a very low position in the fourth form when even fifteen years' old. His favourite authors were Plutarch, Polybius, Arrian, Tacitus, and Ossian; the works of Vauban, Müller, Cohorn, and Folard. He was of very reserved manners, and mixed but little in the pastimes of his school-fellows; but his love for such diver-

sions as mimiced war was extreme; and the skill he displayed in his miniature fortifications and investments, and the tact and dexterity in directing the mock encounters and Lilliputian warfare of the attacking and defensive parties, attracted the notice and admiration of all observers. In 1783, he was sent to the Royal Military School at Paris, where his conduct and attention to his studies were the same as they had been at Brienne.‡ While at that establishment, he addressed a memorial to the vice-principal, Bérton, on the imperfect discipline and economy of that academy. Even at that early age, and in the subordinate condition in which he was placed, he could not restrain his uncontrollable disposition to detect and expose abuses.

#### COMMENCEMENT OF HIS MILITARY CAREER.

WHEN sixteen years of age, he was examined by the celebrated La Place, and obtained the brevet of a second lieutenantcy in the artillery regiment La Père.§ He joined his regiment at Valance, in Dauphiné, and while in garrison in that place, competed for the prize-medal offered for the best answer to Raynal's question. In 1792, he became captain of artillery; and, in 1793, having obtained leave of absence, he visited Corsica. While in that island, he was importuned by Paoli (who had been appointed by the Constituent Assembly to the command in chief in Corsica) to join the intended effort to reassert the independence of Corsica. To

attach him to his interest, he appointed him colonel of one of the two battalions of national militia which had been raised at Ajaccio; and, among other flatteries, to induce him to co-operate, the wily Corsican used to pat him on the back, and tell him he was "one of Plutarch's men—cast in the mould of the antique." Napoleon Buonaparte, however, was not to be won: he rejected the proposal, seeing, as it has been graphically said, "that Corsica was no longer the scene on which the love of freedom, or military prowess, could take their loftiest stand; and that the great drama that Paoli had rehearsed in his younger days, in an

\* His eldest sister, Pauline, was also educated at the academy of Ste Cyr, which was a foundation into which only young ladies of noble family were admitted.

† He was a great favourite with his teachers, who all, except one, had a high opinion of his abilities. That person was the dull, heavy M. Bauer, German master at the military school of Paris, who formed a contemptuous opinion of his abilities because he did not make much advancement in the German language. One day, Napoleon Buonaparte not being in his place, M. Bauer inquired where he was, and being told that he was attending his examination in the class of artillery—"Oh! so he does learn something," said the discriminating German. Why, sir, he is the best mathematician in the school," was the reply of one of the class. "Ah!" rejoined Bauer, "I have always heard it remarked, that none but a fool could learn mathematics." Even M. Keraglion, the inspector of the college, notwithstanding his high opinion of his intellectual endowment, formed a misapprehension of the bent of his genius. In his report presented to the king on Buonaparte's leaving Brienne, he states—"He would make an excellent marine."

‡ On visiting Brienne, when he had risen to power, he called on an old woman in the neighbourhood who had sold him milk and fruit while he was at that establishment, and asked her if she remembered a boy of the name of Buonaparte? "Yes," was her reply. "Did he always pay her for what he had of her?" "She believed so; perhaps a few sous might have been left." Napoleon Buonaparte presented her with a purse of gold, in discharge of any outstanding debt between them.

§ Mademoiselle Permon, afterwards Duchess of Abrantes, one of his earliest female acquaintances, mentions, that he came to her parents' home on the day on which he first put on his uniform, in the highest spirits, as is usual with young men on such an occasion; and that her younger sister, who had just left boarding-school, was so struck with his comical appearance, in the enormous boots which were at that time worn by the artillery, that she immediately burst into an immoderate fit of laughter, saying—He resembled nothing so much as Puss-in-Boots. As a proof that he retained no rancour for her raillery, he, a few days afterwards, presented her with an elegant bound copy of *Puss-in-Boots*.

obscure corner, to which he still wished to confine it, had got a kingdom for a stage, and nations to behold the swelling act." He turned a deaf ear to the entreaties and persuasions of the veteran chief, and joined the French party, under the command of Salicetti. His first service was the capture of the small fortress, called the Torre di Capitulo, near Ajaccio. On account of his departure from the national cause, he and his family were banished from Corsica, and their property confiscated. The family retired to Marseilles, and Napoleon Buonaparte returning to Paris, soon joined his regiment at Auxonne, in Burgundy. Having been about this time recommended by his countryman, Salicetti, to the notice of Barras, he rapidly passed through the various grades of promotion, obtained a colonelcy, and was employed in the south of France in preventing the convoys of ammuni-

tion, by the insurgents, to Marseilles, which was defended by the partisans of the Bourbons, who had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the republican form of government. It was while engaged in this duty, he composed and published the pamphlet entitled *The Supper of Beaucaire*, which, as has been before stated, was descriptive of the state of parties in that part of France, and was designed as a vindication of the politics of the Jacobins. For the services he had rendered by his sword and his pen, he was appointed by the government to the command of the artillery of the army besieging Toulon, under the direction of General Carteaux, that city, like many of the chief towns in the south of France, having risen in insurrection against the revolutionary government, and had invited the combined English, Spanish, and Neapolitan squadrons which were on the coast, to its aid.

#### SIEGE AND SURRENDER OF TOULON.

The commandant of artillery, on his arrival at head-quarters, found that the measures and operations adopted for the reduction of the fortress, were not only erroneous, but absolutely impracticable. The position of the batteries was not only wrong and useless, but they had been constructed two gunshots' distance from the walls, and three from the English shipping. The balls, also, were heated at so great a distance, that they became cold before they reached the guns. He pointed out these errors (in addition to that of attacking the body of the place, instead of the forts situated on the Hauteur de Grasse and the mountain of Faron) to Carteaux; but that vain coxcomb, who had been a music-master, told him, that his assistance was not wanted, but that he was welcome to stay and partake in *his glory*, without sharing the fatigue. But Carteaux's wife had more sense and penetration than her empty-pated husband. "Do let this young man have his way," said she; "he really must know more about the matter than you: if *he* succeeds, *you* will get the credit." As the music-general was obstinate, and would not listen to advice, Napoleon Buonaparte requested him to give his instructions in writing, that they might be taken as a guide in arranging the measures necessary to support the attack. When he had obtained the document, he made marginal

comments on it, pointing out its unscientific and impractical nature, and transmitted it to the Committee of the Convention. The consequence was Carteaux's recall, and the appointment of Doppet, who had practised as a physician. On the medical general's arrival, he found that the commandant of artillery had collected a train of 200 guns, and had constructed batteries capable of commanding the two forts of La Grasse (or, as the English termed it, "Little Gibraltar," on account of its strength and its commanding the narrow passage between the port and the Mediterranean) and Malbosquet, and of sweeping the harbour and roadstead. The representatives of the people (Barras, Salicetti, and the younger Robespierre—persons who had been deputed by the government to watch and report the proceedings of the generals), visiting these works, and finding that a large battery which the commandant of artillery had caused to be formed behind Malbosquet, but which he kept carefully concealed from the enemy by the cover of a plantation of olives—intending it for a *ruse* to distract the attention of the enemy as to the actual attack intended, by opening its fire for the first time, when the attack should be made for the possession of Little Gibraltar—had been made use of, ordered, in the absence of the commandant, an immediate cannonade, and the English, at the same

time, making a sally, captured the batteries and spiked the guns; but Napoleon Buonaparte appearing, and rallying the troops, the English were driven back into their forts, and their general, O'Hara, taken.

The doctor general, who had superseded the martial music-master, had a narrow escape of acquiring a splendid military reputation, by the taking of Little Gibraltar within forty-eight hours after his arrival in the camp. A French soldier, on duty in the trenches, having been taken by the Spaniards on guard in the redoubt, was so ill-treated, within sight of his comrades, that the latter commenced an attack on the fort, and being supported by a sufficient force, had reached the gorge of the redoubt, when Doppet's aid-de-camp being killed by his side, the general was seized with so great a panic, that he ordered the drums to beat a retreat; "thus doltishly repelling the rare fortune that had come with out-stretched arms to meet him." The soldiery were so indignant at the poltroon's conduct, that the Committee of Public Safety was compelled to depose him. The ex-doctor general was succeeded by Dugommier, a brave and veteran officer. On the appointment of that officer, the business of the siege proceeded in earnest and efficiently. Little Gibraltar was taken; and the combined fleet of England and Spain, after having exploded the magazines, and set the French shipping in the harbour on fire,\* having been discovered to have weighed anchor, and to be endeavouring to get out of the roads, accompanied by a flotilla containing many thousands of the inhabitants of Toulon and of the refugees from Marseilles, who dreaded the vengeance of the convention, a general assault was made; and thus was Toulon, after four months' siege, recovered to France, and the insurrectionary spirit in the south of France wholly subdued. But the conquest was tarnished with the slaughter of many hundreds of the remaining inhabitants, for their adhesion to the fallen monarchy; and the ferocious butchery extended even to the workmen (150 in number), who had assisted in the construction of the fortifications which had been

\* "Nine seventy-four gun-ships and four frigates were seen blazing at the same moment in the harbour, the fire and smoke of which resembled the eruption of a volcano; while the shouts of the victors, the cries of the fugitives—many of whom had not yet cleared the shore when the republican troops had entered the city—the constant roar of the artillery, playing on the town and the retiring

erected by the disaffected inhabitants and their English allies. An amusing anecdote is recorded in the *Memoir* of Las Casas, of a transaction that took place during this siege. A number of Parisians arriving at the camp, in fifteen splendid carriages, demanded an audience of the commander-in-chief and reproaching him with inactivity and delay in its operations, and the breach of his orders issued by the conventional sages, "to capture the fortress in three days," said, "We are volunteer-gunners from Paris: we burn with ardour to fulfil our country's expectations: furnish us with arms; to-morrow we will march upon the enemy." The commander-in-chief stood confounded; but, at Napoleon Buonaparte's suggestion, directed them to man, on the morrow, a park of artillery on the beach. When the Parisian military critics entered on their duties, an English frigate, observing a great bustle among the guns, saluted them with an interrogative broadside; and as there were no batteries or epaulments to shelter the embryo heroes, who had determined not to hide their candle under a bushel, but to make known their acts of noble daring and *volitare per ora*, they were quickly sent to the right-about; and as they did not feel an inclination to return "to fulfil their country's expectations," they furnished the camp with a fit of laughter at the rapid and dextrous use they made of their heels. Two other anecdotes of the military mania which had taken hold of the minds of the Parisians, are not uninteresting. Above 600 plans, concocted by the good people of Paris for the conduct of the siege, were transmitted to the camp during the brief space of time that Napoleon Buonaparte commanded the artillery. In this siege, Napoleon Buonaparte received three slight wounds—one in the head, one in the thigh, and one in the side, which last he received from the bayonet of an English serjeant of marines, at the time of the capture of General O'Hara. This last wound, when it healed, left a hollow mark behind, which never filled up, and which was visible when he was a corpse, after the lapse of twenty-eight years from the time of its infliction.

vessels, and the occasional explosion of a powder-magazine, whirling masses of blazing fragments high into the garish atmosphere, formed a scene as terrific as the imagination can well conceive. It was on this night of terror, conflagration, tears, and blood, that the star of Napoleon Buonaparte first ascended the horizon."—Scott's *History of Napoleon Buonaparte*.

## HIS SUBSEQUENT SERVICES AND MODE OF LIFE.

THE surrender of Toulon had established the reputation of Napoleon Buonaparte as a man of commanding abilities and a consummate officer. Though a studied silence of his eminent services at the siege of Toulon had been observed in the despatches, the observation of Barras, one of the commissioners of the army, in a letter addressed to Carnot, the then French war-minister, ("I earnestly recommend you to advance this young man speedily, otherwise he will find means to advance himself,") no doubt, operated in his favour. He was accordingly made a brigadier-general, and appointed to survey, and put into a proper state of defence, the whole line of fortifications skirting the Mediterranean coast of France. Having executed the undertaking to the satisfaction of the war-minister, Carnot, he was appointed to the chief command of the artillery of the army of the Maritime Alps, serving under General Dumerbion.

His services at Oneille, Del Cairo, Saorgio, and particularly in the dislodgement of the Sardinians from the narrow ravine between the mountains which separate France from Italy, known as the Col-di-Tendi, which gave the French the command of the range of the higher Maritime Alps, and thus removed the difficulties of their advance into Italy, were rewarded by the commander-in-chief's declaration to the Committee of War:—"I am indebted," said he, "to the comprehensive talents of General Buonaparte for the plans which have ensured our victory." Shortly after this event, he was sent by the war-minister on a secret mission to Genoa, on matters of diplomatic importance. On his return, he was arrested on suspicion of being concerned in the ambitious designs and schemes of tyranny of Robespierre, suspended from his military rank, and arraigned before the Committee of Public Safety. But after having been imprisoned a fortnight, his innocence appearing on inquiry, an order was issued for his release. When the officer who was the bearer of the order was introduced to him, he found him busy in his dungeon over the map of Lombardy;—so little power had

misfortune and the presence of danger to depress his spirits, or divert his mind from its darling and appropriate pursuits.

Not meeting with any military employment on his release, he joined his family, who then were struggling in very distressed circumstances at Marseilles. Here he fell in love with a Mademoiselle Clery (whose sister was afterwards married to his brother Joseph, and she herself became the wife of Bernadotte, and subsequently the Queen of Sweden), whom he would have married, had not his circumstances been too straitened to support a wife and supply the exigencies of a family.

On his return to Paris (1795), he solicited the war-office for employment, but his application being disregarded, he was so deficient of the means of support, as to be glad to employ himself in the office of the Topographical Committee, and for Norvins, the mapseller and publisher, in drawing maps and topographical plans. At this period of his life, his circumstances were so straitened, that, according to Bourrienne, such was his difficulty in finding daily funds to pay for his dinner, that he was under the necessity of pawning his watch.\* Among the curious and amusing anecdotes which his school-fellow and future secretary relates of him, were his proposals to him to take in co-partnership several houses then building in the Rue Montholou, for the purpose of sub-letting them. Such was his distress, that he and his brother Louis, the father of the present emperor, had but one coat between them, and used to wear it alternately; for it must be stated, to the eternal honour of Napoleon Buonaparte, that never, under the most trying circumstances, did he flinch from the reciprocal duties of family attachment. Folded in each other's arms they lay, during the long mornings of January, without fire and food, in a small garret, and on a wretched couch in the Rue des Fossés Montmartre, little suspecting that one of them, in less than ten months from that day, would have a terrible renown throughout France; and that the other, some years after, would

\* The pawnbroker was Bourrienne's brother, Fauvelet, who, with several others, had entered into a speculation of a national auction. They received everything which those who desired to quit France wished to sell, and funds were always advanced on

the articles previous to sale. It was in this shop at the time of the assault of the Tuileries, in August, 1792, that Napoleon Buonaparte's watch had been for some time in pawn.—Bourrienne's *Memoirs*.

have a crown bestowed on him by the same hand which now quivered with hunger and cold. It was during this frightful period of suffering, that Napoleon Buonaparte so often met with Talma, the actor, and was indebted to that great tragedian for a dinner at the Trois Frères Provençaux, in the Palais Royal. It was at this time, too, that he was arrested in the street by the large-boned lady of an eating-house, in the Rue de la Huchette, who exclaimed, as she shook him by the collar—"You good-for-nothing little Corsican, when do you mean to pay the seven francs you owe me—*pour mes fricandeaux*." To obtain supplies for his necessities, his fancy was fruitful in devices. "Every day," says Bourrienne, "we conceived some new project or other." Such is generally the conduct of professional, talented men, while pining in obscurity and neglect. We have known the talented but briefless barrister, devising schemes for patent-medicines; the skilful but unemployed physician, projecting companies, railroads, &c.; and the accomplished but neglected officer, thinking of converting his sword into a pastoral staff or a crosier, or planning settlements and distributions of territory in distant and unsettled regions.

The reasons that his applications for military employment were not attended to, originated, no doubt, in the interested and partial views of those who were entrusted with the administration of that department of the public service. The president of the military committee, Aubrey, an old officer of the ancient *régime*, objected to his youth. Napoleon Buonaparte's reply was:—"Presence in the field of battle might be reckoned in the place of years;" a sentiment partaking of the same lofty confidence in his superiority of intellect and ability to meet and provide for emergencies, as that in the reply which he made to the same functionary, on his removal from the army of Italy to that of La Vendee, when that officer reminded him of his youth:—"A man soon grows old on the field of battle;" or that in reply to the observation of one of the directors, who hesitated about his appointment as general of the army of Italy, as being too young:—"In a year I shall be either dead or old."\* All his qualifications and acknow-

ledged military talents were, however, disregarded by the interested and partial servants of the public, and he remained unemployed.

Indignant and disgusted at the treatment he received, he meditated entering the Turkish service, and with that view transmitted a proposal to the war-office to train the Turkish army, and instruct it in European tactics, so as to enable that power to resist the aggressions of Russia; at the same time soliciting permission to organise the Turkish artillery. "With the European tactics," said he, to a friend, "I will teach the Turks to pass over three centuries at once. I will impale ten regiments, if necessary, to reduce one to obedience." And he closed his remarks with the following memorable observation:—"Would it not be strange, should a Corsican soldier become King of Jerusalem." It has been well observed:—"That go where he would, and wherever he might find a field of action, he always contemplated greatness—always anticipated obtaining the summit of power." The usual ambition of men of talent—to be somebody in the great firm of mankind, and to do something useful and meritorious in the workshop of the world's happiness, did not suit Napoleon Buonaparte's craving and restless ambition: nothing would satisfy his towering aspirations and unbounded wishes, but the mastery and subjugation of his fellow-men. This feeling took possession of his heart in early life: he cherished the hallucination; and it was his guiding-star—his exciting and consoling genius throughout his singular and eventful career.

While awaiting the result of his application respecting his Turkish scheme, he was appointed to the command of a brigade of artillery in Holland; but the appointment was superseded by a course of events (in the furtherance of which, however much Napoleon Buonaparte's sense of humanity and moral obligation may be inculpated, his future interests were greatly promoted) which gave a new direction to his hopes and his prospects, and enrolled him in the order of marked and distinguished men, who have given a tone and direction to the thoughts of men calculated to improve and revolutionise the world.

\* Perhaps Aubrey's objection to the youthful pretensions of the military aspirant might have been considered to have been intended as a personal insult to Napoleon Buonaparte, as that officer had seen little or no service; and in this light, it is not im-

probable that Buonaparte considered it: for when the decree passed for the unfortunate exiles (among whom was Aubrey), who had been banished to Cayenne, to be restored to their country, he excepted him from its benefits.

## HIS PROMOTION AND MARRIAGE.

THE tyranny and usurpation of the convention having become too odious and insupportable to regain public confidence, and ensure domestic peace and security, a remodelment of the government was contemplated. But the projectors, who were the original offenders, desirous of securing to themselves as large a share as possible of power, proposed, that in the choice of representatives, two-thirds of the present members of the convention should be chosen, and if that number was not elected, the deficiency should be chosen out of their own body—a proposal rejected with indignation by the higher and intelligent classes of the Parisian population, as a restriction on the freedom of election, and a violation of all social rights. The convention persisting in their arbitrary and unjust pretensions, the citizens assembled in the several sections of Paris, and declaring their hostility to their measures, proceeded to nominate electors for choosing the new members. The national guards joined in the opposition. To oppose the insurgent sections (which were forty-eight out of the fifty-three into which Paris was sub-divided), General Menou was ordered to march, at the head of a column of troops, dissolve the assemblies, and disarm the national guard. When he arrived in the section le Pelletier, he found the national guards under the command of Danican, an old general of no great skill and reputation, drawn up at the end of the Rue Vivienne, in readiness to resist the dissolution of their assembly; and not being able to persuade that body to obey the commands of the convention, he retraced his steps to report the proceedings to his employers.

To remedy Menou's indecision, the Committee of Public Safety appointed Barras commander-in-chief; and, on his recommendation, supported by that of the representatives who had been with the army at Toulon and Nice, and by others who had become acquainted with the great resources of his genius as a member of the Topographical Committee, Napoleon Buonaparte was appointed second in command, but with the virtual and entire command. Immediately on the investment of his authority, he proceeded to make preparations for carrying into execution the designs of his employers. He seized the artillery at Sablons,

put himself at the head of the troops in Paris, and sent 800 muskets to the convention, that they might arm themselves during their sittings.

Matters remained in suspense between the two adverse parties till the following day, when 40,000 of the national guards advanced, by different streets, to the attack of the Tuileries, in which the convention held its sittings. The conventional troops were in readiness to resist them, drawn up in the Place Louis Quinze and the Place du Carousal. The artillery was planted on the bridges and places, in position, at the crossings of the streets through which the national guard must advance to the attack, and as soon as it reached the church of St. Roche, Rue St. Honoré, the fire of the artillery commenced, and at the same moment all the batteries, in every position, opened their fire, scattering grape-shot on the advancing columns and the assembled multitude, spreading death and destruction in every direction. The insurgent troops, after less than an hour's contest, taking to flight, the conventional forces marched into the various disaffected sections, and disarmed the inhabitants. The killed and wounded amounted to about 200 on each side.

For this important service, which secured the triumph of the conventionalists, and established them in their usurped power, Napoleon Buonaparte was appointed Governor of Paris, and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Interior. In the execution of the duties of this office, he formed an acquaintance destined to be of no small importance to him in his future career. This acquaintanceship originated in a singular circumstance.

One morning, at his military levee, a boy about twelve or thirteen years' old presented himself, and entreated Napoleon Buonaparte, that his father's sword should be returned to him. His father, the late Viscount Beauharnais, had been a general in the service of the republic, and had fallen under the axe of the guillotine a few days before the death of Robespierre. "I was so touched," says Napoleon Buonaparte, "by this affectionate request, that I ordered the sword to be given to him. This boy was Eugene Beauharnais. On seeing the sword, he burst into tears. I felt so much affected

by his conduct, that I noticed and praised him much. A few days afterwards, his mother came to return me a visit of thanks. I was much struck with her appearance, and still more with her fascinating address." The impression made by her beauty, and still more by her talents and singular gracefulness of address, soon ripened into a stronger feeling in her fascinated lover's bosom; to the increase of which, his frequent intercourse with his enchantress at Barras' apartments in the Luxembourg Palace, greatly contributed; and as the enchanted hero's talents, information, and conversational powers were great, they could not but interest the lady in his favour: they were accordingly, after the due and becoming period of "the sweet intercourse of looks and smiles" had elapsed, married (9th March, 1796), on which occasion he is said to have received 500,000 francs as a marriage portion.

Three days after the solemnization of the marriage-rites, Napoleon Buonaparte left Paris to take the command of the army of Italy.\* Much contradiction subsists among his biographers as to the channel from which he derived this appointment, which furnished him with the theatre for his most splendid achievements, and occupied the most brilliant period of his existence. He himself insinuated, that he was indebted for the appointment to his own merits, and the wish of the directory to remove him from Paris. But Joséphine's *Mémoires* give a different version of the story; and in a letter to one of her friends, on her approaching marriage with Napoleon Buonaparte, the following passage occurs:—"Barras assures me, that if I marry the general, he shall have the chief command of the army of Italy"—a declaration which receives confirmation from Las Casas' following remark in his *Mémorial de Ste Helene*:—"The dowry of the bride was the command of the army of Italy." Napoleon Buonaparte, however, as has just been said, always re-

\* On his appointment to the service of the line, Napoleon Buonaparte put himself under M. Chanez, general of brigade, and commandant of the fortifications of Paris, during the winter of 1795-'6, to be instructed in field-manœuvres and formations.

Could any one suppose, that the man who gave expression to the language contained in the following letter could cast aside the woman to whom he expressed attachment so unbounded, and to whom he owed so great obligation: but Napoleon Buonaparte, like many of the sons of men, when his interest and passions obtained the mastery of his sense of justice and obligation, his magniloquent promises,

puddied the inference, that he was indebted for the appointment to his marriage.

Joséphine was a woman extraordinarily endowed by nature: her goodness of heart, meekness and gentleness of disposition, and sound and intelligent mind, were not inferior to her beauty and her attractive gracefulness of manner and demeanour. No woman that ever lived, knew better how to practise "those graceful acts, those thousand delicacies"—the high and heart-endearing qualities which ennoble woman, and tend to assimilate her to angelic nature. "In addition to her beauty," says Las Casas, "Madame de Beauharnais possessed many excellent qualities: benevolence was her natural impulse;" or, as Bourrienne says, "a necessity of the heart." "The adorable Joséphine," as Bourrienne calls her in his *Mémoires*, was the daughter of M. Tasher de la Payene, a planter in Martinique, and was born in that island, June 24th, 1763. Being sent to France for the purpose of her education, she married, at an early age, the Viscount de Beauharnais (in pursuance of an arrangement, when they were both young, between her parents and the Marquis de Beauharnais, when governor of the French Antilles), an officer in the French army, and during the revolution a general in the republican armies on the Rhine. During the reign of terror of Robespierre, he perished on the scaffold, and his lovely wife was incarcerated in the dungeons of that monster until his downfall, and would have perished on the scaffold, had not his death superseded the mandate for her execution. The character of this admirable woman is well portrayed by Napoleon Buonaparte himself:—"If I gain battles, it is she who wins hearts: in everything she does there is a peculiar grace and delicacy." But he made an ungrateful return for her affection and services—"her perfect submission and devotedness to him." He met with his reward: "his star waned" from the moment of his ingratitude.† His his solemn vows, his prayerful and impassioned protestations, that she should be cherished, loved and protected, were all forgotten, and gave place to selfish and interested motives:—

"Adieu, mine adorable Joséphine! Think often of me. If thou dost cease to love thine Achilles, or if thy heart should ever grow cold towards him, thou wilt be very frightful and very unjust; but, I feel assured, thou wilt always love me, as I shall ever remain thy most attached friend. Death alone shall dissolve a union which sympathy, affection, and sentiment have formed."—*Letter to Joséphine, announcing the Victory of Arcola.*

noble-minded wife proved herself superior to all the weakness of the female heart—to even the resentments common to our nature.\* When she heard of his misfortunes, her distress was unspeakable. “My poor Cid!” “My Achille!” were her frequent exclamations. From that moment she was indifferent to everything: her health declined; life became burthensome to her. In a few days she ceased to breathe, and died with the words “Elbe!” “Napoleon!” on her lips. Her letters (which will appear in the course of the following pages) to her

faithless and ungrateful husband, on his divorce, his abdication, and exile at Elba, breathe the most exalted magnanimity of feeling, the noblest sentiments, and the most generous sacrifice of right and interest, ever displayed by womankind. Her levities and alleged frailties are lost in the splendour and effulgence of her many good qualities and nobleness of heart. She died May 25th, 1814, with the regret of the whole population of France, by whom she was considered their guardian, and styled by the unfortunate—“their mother.”

### ENGLAND'S CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES, BY SEA AND LAND, IN 1793.

THE operations of the British contingent force, under the Duke of York, sent to Holland, in March of this year, to co-operate with the imperialists, in Flanders, against the republican armies of France, and the arrival, in October, of Sir Charles Grey, at Ostend, with the armament which had been destined for the West Indies, have already been detailed in “The Campaign of the Armies of Republican France” in this year: it merely remains to state, that an armament was sent, in December, under the command of Lord Moira, to the assistance of the French royalists in the north of France; but, not being able to effect a landing on the coast, for want of co-operation on the part of the royalist leaders, it was obliged to return to England. The operations of the English, during the siege of Toulon, have also been stated in the same “Campaign of Republican France.”

The naval operations of the English against the French, in this year, except those at Toulon, were confined to engagements between light squadrons of frigates and single ships.

The first naval encounter was on the 13th of March, a few leagues to the westward of

Silly, between a British gun-brig sloop, mounting eight six-pounders, and a crew of seventy men, and the French privateer, *Sansculotte*, mounting eight long-pounders and four carronade twelve-pounders, and a crew of eighty men. After a three-hours' action, the *Sansculotte* was captured.

On the 13th of May, lat. 42° 34' north, and long. 13° 12' west, the British twelve pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, the *Iris*, engaged the *Citoyenne-Française*, mounting thirty-two guns; when, after a two-hours' action, the French ship hauled to the wind, and escaped, the *Iris* having been too crippled to pursue. A like result took place off Cape Finisterre, May 27th, between the English twelve-pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, manned by 192 men, and the French thirty-six-gun frigate, crew, 300; when, after two hours' action, the French thirty-six-gun frigate *Cléopâtre* appearing in sight, the *Venus* hauled off and escaped. In the same month, the *Hyæna* of twenty-four guns, and 160 men, fell in with the *Concorde* French frigate, of forty guns and 320 men, off Hispaniola, when, after a severe and spirited conflict, in which she was much shattered, the *Hyæna* was obliged to surrender.

\* She never permitted herself to make the least complaint, or to utter a single reproach of his perfidy and ingratitude. In addition to her declaration, “If my fall be necessary to his majesty's glory, I am ready to make the sacrifice,” she magnanimously addressed the following letter to him on the subject:—

“If your majesty have definitively resolved to deprive me of the title of your wife, the only one of which I ever was proud, and in which I placed my whole happiness; if your glory, if the prosperity of the state, depend absolutely on this great sacrifice, I am ready to make it. It is not the honours with which you have surrounded me that I regret: one thing alone rends my heart;—that I shall no longer

be your wife—shall no longer be your cherished friend—the faithful depository of all your cares and sorrows;—that I shall no longer be able to soothe and console you. Who will replace me?—Grant, O Heaven! that this young princess may give my husband, who for the last time I call so, what he has so long desired—a heir. Grant that, a happy wife and a tender mother, she may lose herself in the interests of her husband, as I have always endeavoured to promote his happiness alone.

“Your majesty may immediately give orders for the act to be drawn up which is to break the ties of nature, and place between you and me the barriers of indifference.”—JOSEPHINE.



BATTLE OF WATERLOO; FRENCH CAVALRY REPULSED.



On June 17th, the British twelve-pounder thirty-six-gun frigate, *Nymph*, crew, 240 men and boys, fell in with the aforementioned French frigate, *Cléopâtre*, about five or six leagues distant from Start Point, when a furious action commenced; but, after its continuance for fifty minutes, a portion of the *Nymph's* crew boarded their opponent, and obtained her possession.

Towards the end of July, the British twelve-pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, *Boston*, Captain Courtenay, cruising off New York, in the hope of intercepting the thirty-six-gun French frigate, *Embuscade*, Captain Rompart, lying at anchor in that harbour, and which, during her last cruise, had captured or destroyed more than sixty British merchant-vessels, Captain Courtenay expressing a desire of meeting the French ship at sea, while anxiously waiting off Long Shore Island the expected encounter, reconnoitred on the 30th, a French squadron, consisting of two seventy-fours, four frigates, and six corvettes, in the south-east; but, desirous of keeping his appointment with the French captain, he kept his station, the hostile squadron not observing him.

On the 31st, the *Embuscade* was descried coming down on the *Boston*. The English vessel immediately cleared for action. At five minutes past five A.M., a furious action commenced. At twenty minutes past six A.M., Captain Courtenay and Lieutenant Bütler, of the marines, were killed by the same shot; Lieutenants Edwards and Kerr being both below, wounded; but the crew being in confusion for want of officers, in a few minutes Lieutenant Edwards came on deck, and took the command. Both ships being now much shattered and disabled, the *Boston* put before the wind all the sail she could set, when the *Embuscade* stood after her; but, at eight A.M., bringing to with her head to the eastward, was soon lost sight of by the *Boston*. The *Boston's* crew consisted of 204 men; that of the *Embuscade*, 327. The loss of the English frigate, in killed, was ten—in wounded, twenty-four; that of the French frigate, fifty, in killed and wounded.

Crowds of Americans viewed, from its beginning to its termination, this long and close-fought action, from the Jersey beach. Captain Courtenay's widow had a pension of £500 settled on her, and each of his two children £50 each, as a reward of his gallantry and services.

About the middle of October, the British eighteen-pounder, thirty-six-gun frigate, *Crescent*, engaged the French thirty-six-gun frigate, *Réunion*, off Cape Barfleur, when, after a resistance of two hours, the *Réunion* struck her colours.

On the 24th of October, an engagement took place between the British twelve-pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, *Thames*, crew, 184 men and boys, and the French forty-gun frigate, *Uranie*, crew, 320, in lat. 47° 2' north, and long. 7° 22' west, when, after about four hours' conflict, the *Uranie* hauled off to the southward; but the *Thames* was in too crippled a condition to make sail in pursuit; and four French frigates, soon after making their appearance, the *Thames* struck her colours.

On the 25th of November, the British twelve-pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, cruising in the bight of Leogane, St. Domingo, fell in with the French thirty-six-gun frigate, *Inconstante*, when, after an hour's contest, the English vessel, *Iphigenia* appearing in sight, the *Inconstante* hauled down her colours.

In North America, the French small fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, on the coast of Newfoundland, were, on the 14th of May, taken possession of by Brigadier-general Ogilvie. In the West Indies, the island of Tobago was, on the 15th of April, captured by Major-general Cuyler. In September, the British took possession, in consequence of an arrangement with the inhabitants, of Cape Nicholas-Mole, in the island of St. Domingo. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, and all the French settlements on the coast of Malabar, as well as those which were in the vicinity of Bengal, surrendered to the British arms: an event which was the prelude of the total extinction of French power in the East.

#### CAMPAIGN OF 1794 OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE.

THE preceding winter had been devoted, both in Europe and France, to preparations for a fresh campaign, in which all the established relations, and balance of power in

that quarter of the globe, were eventually to be dissolved in the struggle. England doubled its militia force, increased the army to 60,000 men, the navy to 80,000 seamen,

and took 60,000 German troops into its pay, by virtue of its subsidiary treaties with the powers of the coalition. The preparations for the approaching gigantic struggle on the part of republican France were more than commensurate. By the decrees of the Committee of Public Safety, of 23rd August and 5th September of the preceding year, 1,200,000 men were in arms, destined to defend the frontier and to fill the depôts of the interior. This immense military force had been greatly improved in discipline since the conclusion of the preceding campaign; and, for the purpose of rendering the new levies efficient, two of their battalions were brigaded with one of the line. Of this enormous force, 250,000 men, including all the garrisons, were in the north; 40,000 in the Ardennes; 200,000 on the Rhine and the Moselle; 100,000 in the Alps; 120,000 in the Pyrenees; and 80,000 were stationed from Cherbourg to Rochelle—all under the direction and consummate military genius of Carnot. Its equipment was equal. As the requisite number of horses could not be obtained by the process of requisition of one horse out of every twenty-five horses in a canton, every commune, club, or section throughout France presented the republic with a completely-equipped and mounted horseman; the individuals of which species of voluntary contribution were styled *Jacobin cavaliers*. The financial resources of the republic were commensurate. Three-fourths of the whole property of France were placed at the disposal of the government; and the currency of the republic was augmented by the issue of nearly two hundred and fifty million sterling of assignats, its circulation being enforced and upheld by the power of the guillotine. These prodigious exertions were aided by improved methods of military operations—by accumulating an overwhelming force on one part of the enemy's lines, a process which gave to the republican forces a decided superiority over the Austrians, who still adhered to their system of extending their forces. The consequence was, that the republic, in 1794, reaped the fruits of its patriotic efforts in 1793. During those efforts, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and the republics of Genoa and Venice remained neutral.

The campaign first opened in the Pyrenees and the Alps. While severe reverses had befallen the arms of the coalition on the side of Italy, on the Rhine, and in Flanders, during the last campaign, the

Spaniards had kept their banners on the soil of the republic. They held the line of the Tesh, and lay in the fortified camp of Boulou, situated on the borders of that river. For the reduction of that camp, and the recovery of the French fortresses of Bellegarde, Collioure, Port Vendre, and St. Elme, which the Spaniards held, the central government determined to commence operations on both extremities of the range of the Pyrenees. General Dugommier was ordered to reinforce the army of the Eastern Pyrenees with a moiety of the troops with which he had recovered Toulon. On the 30th of April, the French attacked the Spaniards, then under the command of the Count La Union, and having stormed the Spanish position, made themselves masters of the causeway of Bellegarde, which is the grand road over the Pyrenees from France to Spain. The Spaniards, panic-struck, fled within their own frontiers, and took up a position in front of Figueiras, leaving 1,500 prisoners, 140 pieces of artillery, 800 mules laden with their baggage, and warlike materials for 20,000 men. The Spanish garrisons in the fortresses of St. Elme, Port Vendre, and Collioure, quickly surrendered, and that at Bellegarde, which is situated at the foot of the Eastern Pyrenees, surrendered on the 18th of September. Early in October, Dugommier advanced into Catalonia, and attacked the line of Spanish posts designed to check the advance of the enemy. Though Dugommier was slain in the attempt, the Spaniards were driven from all their positions and entrenchments. The Spaniards, in dismay, fled to Figueiras: and so great was their consternation, that that strong fortress, though defended by 200 pieces of artillery and 9,000 men, was surrendered, November 24th, to the republican outposts as soon as they appeared before the place. This occurrence produced so great dejection among the defenders of Rosas, that the garrison, mounting to 5,000 men, deserted the fortress in the beginning of the succeeding February, and retired by sea.

The success of the army of the Western Pyrenees was equally brilliant on the side of the Biscayan provinces. The republican forces, in the early part of June, burst into the valley of the Bastan, and forced the Col de Maya. Having overwhelmed the Spaniards in two engagements, Moucey led his columns into the deep valley of Roncesvalles, which is between Pamplona and Saint Jean.

Pic-de-Port, the pass in which romance represents Charlemagne and all his paladins to have been put to "dolorous rout" by the people of Navarre; and though harassed at every step, he overthrew his enemies in two successive engagements, on the 16th and 17th October. Having forced the heights of San Marcial, and captured the entrenched camp and fortified posts on the Bidassoa, he advanced to Fonterabia and San Sebastian, which surrendered on the first summons. On the 28th November, he attacked the Spanish army, which occupied a strong position at the head of the pass between Pamplona and Roncesvalles, when the French left wing being defeated, Moucey retreated and took up his cantonments in Guipuscoa. It has been already stated that Dugommier attacked the Spanish army under General Courten, in the neighbourhood of the camp of Madeleine; and though the movements of the republican army were for a moment paralysed by the death of its general, who was killed by the bursting of a shell, the Spaniards fell back, with the loss of their artillery, to their entrenched camp in the neighbourhood of Figueiras.

Discouraged by these defeats, and the disaffection of the inhabitants of the northern provinces, who indicated a love of democratic institutions, and the dream of independence as a separate republic under the protection of France, the Spanish government made proposals for peace, to which the central government of France were not disinclined to listen, as then two of their armies would be ready for attempting the meditated conquests to the south of the Alps. In the winter of 1794-'5, the military operations of the French armies in Spain were terminated.

On the side of the Alps, the French central government determined to establish their line of defence on that great chain of mountains. Towards Savoy, the republican armies had, in the preceding year, driven the Piedmontese into the valley of Piedmont; but in order to open a road into Italy, the Little St. Bernard and Mount Cenis must be reduced. On the side of Nice, the army of Italy was still encamped before Saorgio, without being able to force the formidable camp of Fourches. General Dugommier had been replaced by Dumorbion, whose counsels were directed by Napoleon Buonaparte, who had obtained the rank of general-of-brigade for his services at Toulon, and whose extraordinary

military abilities gave him great consideration and ascendancy in the army. Perceiving the impossibility of carrying the camp of Fourches by a direct attack in front, he prepared to turn Saorgio by its left, and thus cut off the retreat of its garrison and the camp at Fourches, by the great road over the Col, or defile de Tenda. Saorgio is situate in the valley of Roya. Parallel to this valley is that of Oneille, in which runs the Taggia. Napoleon Buonaparte's plan was to throw a division of 15,000 men into the valley of Oneille; to march that division to the sources of the Tanaro; then as far as Mount Tanarello; and thus to intercept the causeway of Saorgio, between the camp of Fourches and the defile of Tenda. By this means he showed, that the camp of Fourches, isolated from the Alps, must necessarily fall. The only objection to the plan was, that the French army must invade the territory of Genoa to carry it into execution. This was easy to accomplish; for the King of Sardinia, believing that the French would respect the neutrality of that republic, whose territories covered on one side the plains of Piedmont, and by the Rochetta and other passes afforded access to Alexandria and Turin, had neglected to take the precaution of fortifying himself on that side, collecting nearly all his strength in the passes of the Alps which led from Nice and Savoy, then in possession of the French. The plan of Napoleon Buonaparte was therefore adopted, and its execution immediately carried into operation.

On the 6th of April, the troops were in motion. Massena, with 20,000 men, passed the Roya, and advanced between Saorgio and the sea. Dumorbion remained in front of the enemy with 10,000 men; while Napoleon Buonaparte, with an equal force, advanced towards Oneille. Dumorbion attacked the position of the Piedmontese in front, while Massena and Napoleon Buonaparte advanced on their flanks and rear. Massena having traversed, at his pleasure, the neutral territory of Genoa, stormed the redoubts of Col Ardente, one of the defiles of the Alpine ridge. The attack of the centre, under Dumorbion, had been attended with equal success; while Napoleon Buonaparte, having driven an Austrian division out of Oneille, had advanced to Ormea, in the valley of Tanaro. The Sardinian, or Piedmontese forces, being thus pressed in front, and menaced in the rear and flanks, abandoned Saorgio and their camp at Fourches,

and fell back on the Col de Tenda, and ultimately abandoned that post to take refuge at Limona, beyond the chain of the Alps.

While these operations were taking place in the valley of Roya, the valleys of the Tinea and Vesubia were swept by the left of the army of Italy; and at the same time the army of the Alps, under General Dumas, was climbing Mont Cenis and the Little St. Bernard, and having forced those passes on the 23rd of April and the 14th of May, were advancing from the side of Savoy. The united armies of the Alps and Italy, now ascertaining that the Piedmontese and Austrians were projecting an attack along their line of posts, with the hope of compelling them to evacuate the Genoese territory, they scaled the Apennines, descended into Piedmont by the valley of the Bormida, and on the 21st of September, attacked the allies who were strongly posted at Cairo. The republican armies were led by Dumorbion, Massena, and Napoleon Buonaparte; but though they attacked with their usual impetuosity and assurance of victory, they were repulsed with the loss of 600 men. On the following day, however, the allies abandoned their strong position, and retired across the Bormida to Acqui. The results of this campaign were, that the imbecile King of Sardinia, Vittor Amedeo, had lost half of his states, and the principal passes and defences of the higher Alps, which separate Piedmont from Italy; and that the keys of the Alps and the Apennines were in the possession of the republican armies of France, the road opened to them into Italy, and an excellent base laid from the Apennines to Mont Blanc for their future operations. While encamped on these heights, Napoleon Buonaparte submitted two plans to the Committee of Public Safety, by which 50,000 men would have taken up their winter quarters on the southern side of the Alps, but which, not being adopted, postponed for two years the glories of his first Italian campaign.

The campaign on the great theatre of the war in the Netherlands, opened rather later than that on the side of the Alps and the Pyrenees. There, from the Vosges to the sea, 500,000 men were about to enter into deadly contest. The French army of the north, consisting of 160,000 men, commanded by Pichegru, was posted toward Lisle, Guise, and Maubeuge. Coburg, who still had the chief command of the coalitionists, had collected about 100,000

men to blockade Landrecies, while the Prussians advanced from the Moselle to the Sambre. Coburg was posted towards Guise; the Duke of York, in observation, towards Cambray. But the want of co-operation on the part of the King of Prussia, though subsidised by England and Holland, by virtue of the treaty of the Hague, to furnish 62,400 men, tended greatly to paralyse the measures of the confederates; that prince, instead of furnishing the stipulated contingent, having employed the subsidy, amounting to nearly two and-a-quarter million sterling, in his designs of sharing in the partition of Poland, and had, moreover, entered into secret negotiations for a separate peace with the French government.

The plan of the campaign by the allies was—while the Spaniards and Sardinians advanced from the Pyrenees and the Alps on Lyons, to capture Landrecies, and from that base to march direct on Paris. In pursuance of that plan, the siege of that fortress was commenced in the middle of April. During the operations, the French made reiterated efforts to raise the siege. In that made on the 26th of April on the English, under the Duke of York, near Cambray, they were driven back in confusion, with the loss of above 4,000 men and thirty-five cannon. It was in this repulse, that the 15th hussars charged headlong through the whole of their line, and completed their rout. Landrecies now capitulated, and its garrison of 5,000 men became prisoners of war.

While these operations were in progress, Souhan and Moreau, with 50,000 men, advanced into West Flanders against Clairfait, whose division of the imperial army formed the extreme right of the allied line. On the 25th of April, the Austrian general was driven back to Tournay, with the loss of 1,200 prisoners and thirty-three cannon. The surrender of Menin and Courtray followed; but the garrison of the first-mentioned town, consisting of 3,000 French emigrants and Hanoverians, cut their passage through the besiegers and joined the allies.

The Committee of Public Safety, now under the direction of Carnot, ordered Pichegru—an order which eventually decided the fate of the campaign—to attack the coalitionists on their wings posted on the Sambre and the Meuse, convinced, if beaten on that line, they would be separated from their base. To put this resolve into execution, Jourdan was ordered to reinforce the army of the Moselle with 15,000

men, drawn from the army of the Rhine; to leave on the Vosges the troops necessary to cover that frontier, and to proceed by forced marches, with 45,000 men, on the Ardenne forest, and form a junction with the army of the Sambre.

On the 9th of May, the right wing of the French army recrossed that river, and attacked the allies in their fortified position at Grandrengs. A furious battle ensued, which terminated by the French being driven across that river with the loss of 4,000 men and ten cannon; and, on the repetition of the same attempt on the 24th, they were driven a second time across that river, with a like loss of men, and twenty-five cannon; and had not Kléber arrived in time with fresh troops to arrest the allies, the whole army would have met with total destruction, as they were fleeing over the bridges of the river in the greatest confusion. On the 16th of the same month, however, Clairfait, who had crossed the Lys, with the intention of capturing Courtray, was attacked by Pichegru. After two days' obstinate contest, without any decisive advantage to either party, and the loss of 4,000 men on each side, Clairfait fell back into Flanders, and took up a position which enabled him to cover Ghent, Bruges, and Ostend.

The allies, encouraged by their success, now conceived the plan of enveloping and cutting off the left wing of the French army posted at Turcoing on the Marne, by moving on it from the various points which they occupied, in six columns, in concentric lines.

Those movements were to be executed on the 17th of May. Souhan and Moreau commanded the French army. The first notice they received of the design of the enemy was the march of Clairfait on Werwick. Moreau advanced to Werwick to arrest the march of Clairfait, and Souhan, with 45,000 men, advanced on Turcoing.

When the detached corps of the Duke of York and General Otto reached Turcoing, where they expected to find the head of Clairfait's column, they found themselves enveloped by Souhan's force. At three in the morning of the 18th, Otto was attacked by Souhan and soon put to flight. The English, under the Duke of York, though surprised and attacked by overwhelming numbers, after a stubborn resistance, also took to flight; and so sudden was the rout, that the duke with the greatest difficulty es-

caped. The other columns of the allies fell into confusion; and the emperor, from the heights of Templeuve, had the mortification of seeing his whole army take to flight, and his "plan of destruction," as the design had been vauntingly termed, brought to nought. The loss of the allies was 3,000 men and sixty cannon. The emperor, in discontent, left the scene of his discomfiture, and transferred the command of the army to the Prince of Coburg.

On the unsuccessful issue of the battle of Turcoing, the coalitionists fell back on Tournay. On the 22nd of May, Pichegru being desirous of capturing a convoy of provisions coming up the Scheldt, attacked the English and Hanoverian column at the village of Pont-a-Chin. A desperate and bloody conflict ensued. The impetuosity of the French at first gave them the superiority; but after the battle had continued from five o'clock in the morning till nine at night, they were driven back with the loss of 6,000 men. Pichegru, perceiving he could make no impression on this side, determined to transfer the theatre of war into West Flanders, and lay siege to Ypres. So discouraging had been the Austrian military operations in the Netherlands, that in a council of state, held at the imperial headquarters, two days after the battle of Turcoing, the resolution was adopted, that as soon as circumstances would afford a plausible pretext, the imperial armies should evacuate the Belgic provinces, on account of their burdensome nature, and the disaffection of their inhabitants.

On the 4th of June, Jourdan joined Pichegru with 40,000 men of the army of the Moselle. In a few days, the republican army crossed, for the third time, the Sambre, and resumed the siege of Charleroi. Clairfait advanced to its relief, and drove the French over the Sambre, with the loss of 3,000 men. But three days afterwards (June 13th), the French army re-crossing that river, resumed the siege of Tournay. Clairfait and Prince Coburg advanced with an army, amounting to 75,000 men; but before they reached their destination, the place had capitulated; the garrison having hardly laid down their arms without the gates, when the artillery of the allies announced their approach for its relief, and the arrival of the army for that relief in the sight of the French lines. On the following day (June 26th), the imperialists, in the hope of recovering the town, attacked the

enemy at day-break. The battle lasted the whole day. At first, the allies were successful; but the French receiving a powerful reinforcement towards the latter part of the day, the imperialists retreated to Halle. The battle, from the village on the plains at which it had taken place, was called the battle of Fleurus. The imperialists continuing their retreat, took post at Mont St. Jean and Waterloo, at the entrance of the forest of Soignies, in the hope of covering Brussels. Pichegru and Jourdan advanced with 150,000 men against them. Several minor actions having taken place between the rear-guard of the allies and the advanced French columns at Mont St. Jean, Braine l'Alleud, &c., in the course of the advance, the republican army attacked the allies in their entrenched camp, and driving them out at the point of the bayonet, pursued them through the streets of Brussels, which they entered in triumph on the 10th of July. Coburg and Clairfait retired behind the Dyle, with the intention of drawing near their resources at Cologne and Coblenz; and the Duke of York encamped between Mechlin and Louvain, with the intention of covering Antwerp and Holland. Bruges, Oudenarde, Ghent, Ostend, Valenciennes, Condé, Landrecies, Liege, Antwerp, &c., fell into the hands of the republicans; and thus, in one short campaign, the whole of Austrian Flanders and Brabant had fallen under the dominion of the republic of France. The Emperor of Austria was so discouraged by the events of the war, that to prevent his secession from the coalition, the English ministry were obliged to subsidise him with a loan of four million sterling, to secure his continuance in the coalition.

While this distinguished success attended the army of the north, that of the Rhine, on the eastern and southern frontiers, was no less encouraging. Early in the year, the fort of Kaiserslautern, the town of Spires, with many other forts and towns, had submitted to the republican forces; and though the Prussians, under Wöllendorf, had in the early part of May recovered possession of Kaiserslautern, the French army, commanded by Mechand, overthrew the Prussians, on the 12th of July, with so great a slaughter, as to compel them to abandon the Palatinate, a territory of sixty miles in length, and afford an opportunity of co-operating with the armies of Pichegru and Jourdan in the conquest of Holland,

and the extension of the French dominion to the very banks of the Rhine.

The approach of winter afforded no respite to the republican armies in their career of conquest. In the early part of September, the invasion of Holland was undertaken. Cadsand and Sluys, in Dutch Flanders, had been reduced by Moreau towards the end of August. The Duke of York, who had taken a defensive position behind the Au, for the defence of the United Provinces, being attacked on the morning of the 19th October, was compelled to retreat from his covering position, with the loss of 1,500 men, to the right bank of the Meuse, and eventually across the Waal and the Rhine, taking post at Arnheim, in Guelderland. The strong fortresses of Bois-le-duc, Venloo, Grave, Nimeguen, and other Dutch barrier-towns fell, one after the other, into the hands of the enemy. Early in December, the Duke of York, transferring the command of the British and Hanoverian forces to General Walmoden, set out for England. Towards the end of that month, the Meuse being completely frozen over, the French army under Pichegru crossed that river, and attacking the Dutch troops, put them to flight with the loss of 1,600 prisoners and sixty pieces of cannon. But on the 30th, Walmoden detached General Dundas, with 8,000 British infantry from Arnheim, against the enemy, who drove them back across the Waal with a considerable loss of men and cannon.

Notwithstanding the severity of the winter-season, no cessation was granted to the republican armies in the Netherlands: by the memorable decrees of the Committee of Public Safety, enforced by the command of the commissioners who accompanied the armies, they were ordered to resume offensive operations. Masses of men were thrown on the retreating columns of Clairfait, who after sustaining another defeat, left Julier and Aix-la-Chapelle to Jourdan. Having rallied again, he was attacked on the 3rd of October at Ruremonde, with the loss of 3,000 men and thirty-six cannon. Retreating with his exhausted army, he left Cologne and Coblenz open to the enemy. In his evacuation of the first-mentioned town, the French pressed so closely on his rear, as to have the opportunity of shouting after the fleeing host, that that was not the road to Paris. Bonn, Worms, the formidable fortress of Maestricht, &c., soon fell into the possession of the republicans; so that, with

the exception of Mayence, the French were masters of every place on the left bank of the Rhine between Landau and Nimeguen.

Such was the result of the campaign of 1794 of republican France. Though it began inauspiciously, it terminated gloriously. Flanders and Holland were subdued, the Italian States were trembling for their existence; Spain was suing for peace; and

the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Germany were indicating a like inclination. In the execution of those objects, her heroic armies displayed the most exalted, patriotic devotion, and the most unbounded self-sacrifice. During the whole of the campaign, and even in the very depth of winter, the troops were half-naked, and often in want of the very necessaries to support life.

#### ENGLAND'S BATTLES BY SEA AND LAND IN 1794.

IN the campaign of 1794, carried on between the armies of the coalitionists and those of republican France, the British and Hanoverian forces, under the Duke of York, were first engaged with the enemy near Cambray. A large force of the enemy being collected in Cæsar's Camp, near that city, on the 26th of April, their centre, under Pichegru, advanced against the Duke of York's division, but was driven back with considerable loss. It was on this occasion, that the 15th hussars, at the head of the British cavalry, drove headlong through the enemy's line, thus completing their rout. In the battle of Turcoing, fought May 18th, the Duke of York's corps being attacked by an overwhelming force of 45,000 men, under General Souham, and finding its communication with the main army cut off by the advance of another corps of 15,000 men, on the side of Lisle, was, after an obstinate resistance, obliged to give way and retreat to Tournay. There, at five o'clock in the morning of the 22nd of May, the British contingent was attacked by Pichegru. After a desperate and bloody contest, which lasted till nine o'clock at night, the enemy was repulsed, and the village of Pont-à-chun, which was the object of contest, remained in the hands of the English. In consequence of the reverses of the imperialists, the British contingent retreated to Oudenarde, which also finding untenable, it retreated towards Antwerp. During these transactions, an effective force of 10,000 men, under Lord Moira, had, in the end of June, landed at Ostend. The earl immediately marched to the assistance of the Duke of York. On his reaching Alost, he was attacked by the enemy, but repulsed them with considerable loss. Two days afterwards, he effected a junction with the duke. They posted their united forces along the canal between Brussels and Antwerp; but

being attacked there, they retreated to Mechlin. Being repeatedly attacked here, they abandoned the place and retreated to Antwerp, with a determination to take post there, for the purpose of affording time to the Dutch to put their strongholds in a position of defence; but the Dutch appearing disinclined to exert themselves, the English forces took a defensive position behind the Aa, when being attacked by the enemy, they retired to the right bank of the Meuse, with the loss of 1,500 men. The duke sustained considerable losses in the successive attacks on the 10th, 19th, and 27th of October, and in the early part of December, he transferred the command of the British and Hanoverian forces to the Hanoverian general, Walmoden, and returned to England.

In the early part of this year, the island of Corsica had been wrested from France, and received under the protection of Great Britain. This was effected by the bravery of Lord Hood. He, after the evacuation of Toulon, had remained with the Mediterranean fleet in the bay of St. Hyères, an anchorage formed by a small group of islands of that name. On the 24th of January, the British fleet, with 1,400 troops on board, under the command of Major-general Dundas, got under weigh from the bay of St. Hyères, and set sail for the bay of San-Fiorenzo, in Corsica. On February 5th, the troops took possession of the tower of Mortella. Lord Hood, not being able to obtain the co-operation of General Dundas, who deemed the reduction of Bastia, the capital of the island, impracticable with the force under his command, took on board a part of his fleet that portion of the land forces which had originally been ordered to serve on board the fleet as marines, and on the 2nd of April set sail for Bastia, where he arrived at anchorage on the 4th. On

the same evening, the troops, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Villettes, with the guns, mortars, and ordnance stores, and also a detachment of seamen, commanded by Captain Horatio Nelson, of the *Agamemnon*, landed a little to the northward of the town. On the 11th, the batteries were opened; and on the 27th, the town and citadel sur-

rendered. On the 19th of June, the allegiance of the Corsicans was transferred to the British crown.

A reinforcement of 2,000 men now arriving from Gibraltar, the reduction of the fortress of Calvi was undertaken; and on the 10th of August after a slight resistance, it surrendered.

#### THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE FLEETS OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, JUNE 1st, 1794.

As the spring of the year advanced, the channel-fleet, under the command of Lord Howe, which had rendezvoused during the winter at Torbay, Plymouth, or Portsmouth, was ordered to put to sea, for the purpose of seeing the East and West India and Newfoundland convoys clear of the channel, and to intercept the large French convoy, amounting to 200 vessels, laden with the produce of the French West India settlements, and flour and provisions taken in American ports, valued at five millions sterling. Besides intercepting this rich convoy, which was anxiously expected by the famished population of France during the Reign of Terror, the admiral was directed to proceed for Ushant, to look after the French fleet, which had set sail from Brest.

On the 2nd of May, the fleet and convoy, amounting to 148 sail, including forty-nine ships of war, set sail from St. Helens. Having arrived off the Lizard on the 4th, Rear-admiral Montague was detached with six seventy-four's and two frigates, to protect the convoy to the latitude of Cape Finisterre, where Captain Peter Rainer, who had been previously detached with the *Suffolk* (seventy-four), a sixty-four, and five frigates, undertook the escort of the convoy for the remainder of the passage. Thus the channel-fleet was reduced to twenty-six sail of the line, seven frigates, one hospital-ship, one brig-sloop, and two cutters.

The English fleet cruised in the Bay of Biscay for several days, in blowy, foggy weather, a hundred leagues to the westward of Ushant, in expectation of falling in with the French fleet. On the 25th of May, after a fruitless search for the enemy, two French corvettes were observed steering after the fleet, on the supposition, as afterwards appeared, that it was the French fleet. They were both captured; the *Républicain*, eighteen guns and 139 men, and the *Inconnu*, twelve guns and 116 men,

both from Brest, and in search of their own fleet. These, as well as several other prizes and recaptures, were destroyed, as no arrangement could be made for sending them into port, without diminishing the efficiency of the fleet in regard to frigates. The English fleet then stood under easy sail to the northward, conformably with the inference deduced from the latest intelligence of the enemy's fleet, the principal station of which was supposed to be between the parallels of 45° and 47° 30'. On the morning of the 28th, several French ships were discovered by the advanced frigates, four or five leagues to windward, the wind then blowing fresh from the south by west, with a rough sea. Chase was immediately given; and on the evening of that day, an action took place between the enemy's rear-guard and the British vanguard, in the course of which the *Revolutionnaire*, a three-decker, and the sternmost ship, was so damaged, that she struck to the *Audacious*; but night coming on, she was not taken possession of, but was towed, on the following morning, into Rochefort. On the 29th, at daylight, the two fleets were within six miles distance of each other. Each fleet manœuvred to gain the weather-gauge of the other. Howe, at the head of several ships, passed through the French fleet, and then put them about again, in preparation to renew the attack; but the rest of the fleet passing at the time to leeward, and beyond the sternmost ships of the French line, the action was discontinued. A dense fog concealed the hostile fleets from each other during the 30th, and the morning of the following day. On the evening of the 31st, the fog clearing off, the enemy was seen to the leeward; but before the British fleet could get up abreast, the day was too far advanced to bring on the action. During the fog, the French admiral had been rejoined by the four sail of the line and two frigates, which he had



THE FIRST CONSUL BONAPARTE AND LORD WHITWORTH.



detached to co-operate with the squadron escorting the West Indian convoy.

The dawn of the 1st of June (Sunday), disclosed the hostile fleet, about three miles to leeward, in order of battle. The British fleet, having the weather-gauge, immediately bore down, in an oblique direction, on its opponents, and was abreast of them about seven o'clock, A.M. The enemy resolutely awaited the advance, and opened a heavy fire on the British vessels, as soon as they came within range. At about half-past eight, the British admiral made the signal for the fleet to close, to pass through the French line, and engage to leeward, so that, if worsted, the enemy could not escape. At a little before half-past nine, the *Queen Charlotte* (Howe's flag-ship), followed by the *Defence*, the *Marlborough*,\* the *Royal George*, the *Queen*, and the *Brunswick*, reached the centre of the French line. The English flag-ship, steering a direct course for the *Montagne*, the flag-ship of the French commander-in-chief, Rear-admiral Villaret Joyeuse, and disregarding the fire opened on her as she approached the object of her attack, poured her whole broadsides into the stern of the *Montagne*, as she passed slowly through the line, from the effect of which 300 men were killed or wounded on the hostile vessel. At nearly the same moment, the action became general in the centre. In about an hour from the commencement of the battle, the *Montagne* sheered off, followed by all the ships in her van which could carry sail, and leaving twelve engaged in close action. The battle having been maintained by both sides with desperate resolution, seven ships of the line remained in the hands of the conquerors; but one of them (the *Vengeur*) having received too many shots between wind and water, filled and foundered, with 280 prisoners on board, as soon as the English flag

was hoisted on her. The loss in killed and wounded had been great. That on board of the English fleet, was 290 killed and 858 wounded. The French represented theirs to have been 3,000; but it is well known that it much exceeded that number. On board of the six ships taken, the killed amounted to 190; the wounded to 380. The number of prisoners on board of the captured ships, was 2,300.

The battle of the 1st of June may be thus summarily described:— About half-past nine A.M., the French van opened its fire on the British van. In about a quarter of an hour, the fire of the French became general, and Lord Howe and his divisional flag-officers, bearing the signal for close action at their mast-heads, commenced a heavy fire in return. A few of the British ships cut through the French line, and engaged their opponents to leeward; the remainder hauled up to windward, and opened their fire, some at a long, others at a shorter or more effectual distance. At ten minutes past ten, A.M., when the action was at its height, the French admiral, on the *Montagne*, made sail ahead, followed by the second astern, and afterwards by such other of his ships as, like the *Montagne*, had suffered little in their rigging and sails. At about half-past eleven, A.M., the heat of the action was over, and the British were left with eleven, the French with twelve, more or less dismasted ships. None of the French ships had, at this time, struck their colours; or, if they had struck, had since rehoisted them: they, for the most part, were striving to escape, under a sprit-sail, or some small sail, set on the tallest stump left to them; and continued to fire on every British ship that passed within gun-shot.

After failing in his attempt to cut off the *Queen*, in her disabled state, Villaret stood

\* A curious incident is said to have occurred on board this ship. When she was entirely dismasted, a whisper of surrender is said to have been uttered, which Lieutenant Monkton (then in command, the captain having been removed on account of the severe wound he had received) overhearing, exclaimed, "he would be damned if she should ever surrender; and that he would nail her colours to the stump of the mast. At that moment, a cock, having escaped from the coop which had been broken during the contest, suddenly perched himself on the stump of the main-mast, and crowed aloud; in an instant, three hearty cheers rang through the ship's company, and they immediately renewed the fight with redoubled vigour. On the arrival of the ship at Plymouth, the cock was made a present of to Lord

George Jennox, the governor, in whose possession he lived to a good old age. The whole of the colours, except the white ensign, of the *Marlborough* having been shot away, she was fired into by several English ships, on the supposition that she was French; and at last, that colour being carried away, Appleford, one of the crew, loudly exclaiming, in the true spirit of a British sailor, "the English colours shall never be dishonoured where I am," stripped off the red coat of a marine who had been killed, stuck it on a boarding-pike and exalted it into the air, at the same time saying, that when all the red coats were gone, he would hoist the blue jackets. This conduct infused fresh spirit into his comrades, and they fought with great bravery until the ship surrendered.

on, and succeeded, contrary to all expectation, in recovering and cutting off four of his dismasted ships, the *Républicain*, *Mutius*, *Scipion*, and *Jemappes*; a fifth, the *Terrible*, having previously joined him by fighting her way through the British fleet. At about fifteen minutes past one, P.M., the general firing ceased; but it was not till thirty minutes past two, P.M., that the six dismasted ships nearest at hand, the *Sanspareil*, *Juste*, *Amérique*, *Impétueux*, *Northumberland*, and *Achille*, were secured by the British; and none of these opened their fire on the ships which advanced to take possession of them. At a little after six P.M., a seventh French ship, the *Vengeur*, was taken possession of, but in so shattered a state, that in ten minutes afterwards, she went down, with upwards of 200 of her crew on board, composed chiefly of the wounded.

Among the snips engaged on this eventful day, the *Brunswick*\* and the *Vengeur* deserve to be recorded in the roll of fame. The conduct of the captain and crew of the former was above all praise.

The oblique mode of closing on the enemy's fleet, and the advanced position which the *Brunswick* took, firing close abreast of the *Queen Charlotte*, occasioned her to receive much of the fire directed at the admiral's ship. From this cause the *Brunswick's* cock-pit was half-filled with killed and wounded before she returned a shot, and her masts, sails, and rigging were much damaged. Captain Harvey intended, in obedience to Lord Howe's orders, to pass under the stern of the *Jacobin*, but the latter being ranged ahead, and the *Achille*, the *Jacobin's* next astern, having taken her place, he found this to be impracticable, and that he must pass through the opening between the *Achille* and the *Vengeur*. The latter ship, however, in order to frustrate this design, made sail ahead, and the *Brunswick* was left with no alternative but to run the *Vengeur* on board, unless, indeed, Captain Harvey disregarded his orders, and rounded to windward. Putting her helm down, therefore, to avoid the tremendous effects which must otherwise have ensued from the collision, the *Brunswick* fell alongside her opponent, and her

\* The *Brunswick* had a figure-head representing the head of the Duke of Brunswick, with a laced hat on. During the battle, the hat being struck off by a cannon-shot, the crew of the ship, thinking it derogating from the duke's character that his emblem should continue uncovered in the face of the enemy,

best bower, sheet, and stream anchors hooked the *Vengeur's* weather, fore, main, and mizen chains. The two ships then paid round off before the wind and left the scene of action.

It is reported, that the master of the *Brunswick* asked Captain Harvey, if they should cut adrift from the French ship, and that the reply was—"No; we have got her, and we will keep her." One of the most determined actions on record then took place, each individual of the crews of both ships fighting as if the fate of their respective countries depended on their exertions; and fast and furious became the contest. Eight of the *Brunswick's* lower-deck ports, being found to be jammed by the *Vengeur's* side, were quickly blown off, and the muzzles of the guns touching each other, vomited forth their deadly fire.

The *Vengeur's* musketry played in the meanwhile sad havoc on the *Brunswick's* poop and quarter-deck, and having thirty-six-pounder carronades on the poop, from which langridge (old rusty nails and pieces of iron) was fired, the officers and men fell rapidly before it. A party of the 29th regiment, doing duty as marines, commanded by Captain Alexander Saunders, made a most effectual return by the steadiness of their fire; but at length their gallant captain fell dead upon the deck. Captain Harvey was wounded by a musket-ball, which tore away three fingers of his right hand, but binding his handkerchief round his hand, he continued at his post as before. Several other officers were killed and wounded about the same time.

At about eleven, A.M., a large ship was observed on the larboard quarter of the *Brunswick*, bearing down upon her, having her fore-castle, gangways, and lower rigging, crowded with men, with the apparent intention of boarding the *Brunswick*, and releasing the *Vengeur*. As many of the larboard guns as would bear, were therefore pointed at the stranger, which was the *Achille*, and a double-headed shot, in addition to the round shot already in the guns was put into each. The *Achille* having advanced to within musket-shot, these guns were fired with deliberate aim; and this being repeated four or five times, the fore-mast, being the only remaining mast of the ship, sent a deputation to the quarter-deck, to request Captain Harvey would be pleased to order his servant to give them his laced cocked-hat to supply the loss. The request being granted, the carpenter nailed the captain's hat on the duke's head, where it remained till the battle ended.

*Achille*, fell over the bows. Some of the *Brunswick's* people contended, that the *Achille* lost her three masts by this fire. The dismasted *Achille*, being unable to clear away the wreck of her masts which had fallen over the starboard side, could not make any adequate return to the firing of the *Brunswick*, and, therefore, hauled down her colours. Having, however, an opponent already attached to her, whose vigorous fire was as yet unsubdued, the *Brunswick* could not spare the men to take possession of the prize, which, after a time, rehoisted her colours and bore up under her sprit-sail.

The firing, which had lasted between the *Brunswick* and the *Vengeur* for an hour and a-half, without a moment's cessation, continued as vigorous as before. By this time, the quarter-deck of the British ship was nearly deserted, but the main and lower-deck guns were fired with great effect. Watching the roll of their adversary, the *Brunswick's* men depressed and elevated their guns, so as to pass the shot upwards and downwards through her decks.

In the heat of the action, Captain Harvey was knocked down by a splinter, which struck him on his loins; but he regained his legs, although seriously hurt, and continued to animate his men. Shortly afterwards, the crown of a double-headed shot, which had split, struck his right-arm and shattered it to pieces. Finding himself growing faint from loss of blood, he was now obliged to leave the deck; and on assistance being proffered him, he refused it, saying—"I will not have a single man leave his quarters on my account. My legs still remain to bear me down into the cock-pit." In this wounded and shattered state he essayed to go, when, casting a languid, yet affectionate look towards his brave crew, he said—"Persevere, my brave lads, in your duty! continue the action with spirit, for the honour of our king and country; and remember my last words—the colours of the *Brunswick* shall never be struck!" The command now devolved on Lieutenant W. E. Craft, who fought the ship with great bravery until about half-an-hour after noon. At forty-five minutes past twelve, the two ships having been in contest three hours, separated, after tearing away the *Brunswick's* anchors from their fastenings. The *Ramillies* (Captain Henry Harvey, brother to the *Brunswick's* captain), now opportunely advanced to the *Brunswick's* assistance, and also in time to save the rem-

nant of the *Vengeur's* devoted crew; but perceiving the *Achille* making off under sprit-sail, he quitted the two exhausted combatants, and made sail in pursuit.

At one, P.M., all firing between the *Brunswick* and *Vengeur* had ceased, the *Vengeur* having displayed a union-jack over the quarter, in token of surrender, and as a means of procuring assistance. But the *Brunswick* had no boat to send, and could not afford the assistance required. At half-past one the *Brunswick's* mizen-mast fell; and at this time the *Vengeur* had removed the union-jack to the larboard cross-jack yard-arm. Finding, from the *Brunswick's* disabled state, that it would be impossible to haul up for the fleet, Lieutenant Cracraft determined on bearing up to the northward; and accordingly, her crew were soon busily engaged in fishing the wounded masts, in securing the lower-deck ports, and stopping the shot-holes, through which the sea was now rushing at every roll of the ship, in order to enable them to reach Plymouth.

"Just as the *Brunswick* quitted the *Vengeur*, her fore and main-masts fell, and the ship rolled a complete and sinking wreck. In this state, the crew became almost frenzied; and finding no ship—English or French—approaching to their capture or rescue, rushed to the spirit-room. The English flag was also torn down, and the frantic wretches, rehoisting the republican flag, endeavoured to get the ship before the wind, in the hope of reaching a friendly port. Fortunately, the *Alfred* and *Culloden* accompanied by the cutter *Rattler*, at about six, P.M., approached to their rescue, and the most strenuous efforts were used to save the remaining crew of the sinking ship. The boats of the *Alfred* took off 213; and those of the *Culloden* and *Rattler* as many more; so that, when the ship went down, scarcely any but the badly wounded could have perished in her. The waving of the tri-coloured flag to and fro, and the cries of *Vive la Nation!* and *Vive la Republique!* which some of the drowning wretches are described as uttering, might possibly have been used by those who, having imbibed most freely of the contents of the spirit-room, were under its maddening influence."

The British fleet consisted of three 100-gun ships—the *Queen Charlotte*, the *Royal George*, and the *Royal Sovereign*; five ninety-eight-gun ships—the *Barfleur*, *Impregnable*, *Queen*, and *Glory*; two eighty-gun ships—the *Gibraltar* and *Cesar*; seven-

teen seventy-four-gun ships; seven frigates, two cutters; and two fire-ships. The French fleet consisted of one 120-gun ship, the *Montagne*; two 110-gun ships—the *Terrible* and *Révolutionnaire*; four eighty-gun ships—the *Indomptable*, *Jacobin*, *Juste*, and *Scipion*; seventeen seventy-four-gun ships, and eight frigates. Most of the ships composing the French fleet were of the finest class, possessing, in a superior degree, the qualities of sailing and carrying their lower-deck ports. Their weight of metal was superior to that of the English, in the proportion of thirteen to twelve; whereas the British ships were all smaller than those of a comparative class in the French service, and consequently of a more diminished scantling, or smaller dimensions of timber—an object of immense importance when ships are closely engaged. The ships taken were—*Le Sans Pareil*, *Le Juste*, *Le Jacobin*, *L'Achille*, *L'Empéteux*, and *Le Northumberland*. The sunken ships were—*L'Amérique* and *Le Vengeur*: of the first, all the crew were drowned; of the second, about 200.

The French deputy or commissioner, Jean Bon Saint André, and Barrère, president of the Committee of Public Safety, claimed the victory. The former, in his report, said that the English fleet consisted of thirty-six ships of the line, and that the battle lasted from nine o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon, when several of the English ships having been sunk, the remainder sheered off with all the sail they could carry. Barrère's account was "ten times more fabulous." He, however, admitted, that he feared that the seven dismantled ships, which his countrymen had been compelled to leave behind them, "were lost." His description of the catastrophe of the *Vengeur* was highly coloured. The crew, he said, seeing that she was filling, refused to a man to surrender, and fought their lower-deck guns till the water reached them; then gathered on the quarter-deck; and having hoisted every flag, pennant, and streamer they had on board, went down with her, shouting—*Vive la République! Vive la France!* the last thing disappearing beneath the waves being the tri-colour flag. This story is repeated by M. Thiers, and numerous other French authors, and was also received as authentic, even in England, till the appearance of the following letter from Rear-admiral Griffiths, in the *Sun* newspaper, in November, 1838:—

"Since the period of Lord Howe's victory, on the 1st of June, 1794; the story of the

*Vengeur*, French seventy-four-gun ship, going down with colours flying, and her crew crying *Vive la République! Vive la Liberté!* &c., and the further absurdity of their continuing firing the main-deck guns after her lower-deck was immersed, has been repeatedly declared, and has been very recently asserted by a French author (M. Thiers.) It originated, no doubt, on the part of the French, in political and exciting motives, precisely as Buonaparte caused his victory at Trafalgar to be promulgated through France. While these reports and confident assertions were confined to our neighbours, it seemed little worth the while to contradict them. But now, when two English authors of celebrity (Mr. Allison, in his *History of Europe during the French Revolution*; and Mr. Carlisle, in his similar work) give it the confirmation of English authority, I consider it right, then, to declare that the whole story is a ridiculous piece of nonsense. At the time the *Vengeur* sunk, the action had ceased some time. The French fleet were making off before the wind, and Captain Renaudin and his son had been nearly half-an-hour prisoners on board his majesty's ship *Culloden*, of which ship I was fourth-lieutenant; and about 127 of the crew were also prisoners, either on board the *Culloden* or in her boats; besides, I believe, 100 in the *Alfred*, and some forty in the hired cutter, commanded by Lieutenant (the late rear-admiral) Winne. The *Vengeur* was taken possession of by the boats of the *Culloden*, Lieutenant Rotherham; and the *Alfred*, Lieutenant Deschamps; and Captain Renaudin and myself, who were, by Captain Schomberg's desire, at lunch in his cabin, hearing the cries of distress, ran to the star-board quarter-gallery, and thence witnessed the melancholy scene. Never were men in distress more ready to save themselves."

Mr. Rose, who knew, personally, many of the officers engaged on the 1st of June, also treats the story as a fiction. His words are:—"Far from challenging certain death, and glorying in their fate, those poor wretches (the crew of the *Vengeur*), whose gallant defence deserved a better fate, substituted our union-jack for the republican ensign, and spread themselves over the sides and rigging of the ship, stretching out their hands to their enemies, and supplicating their assistance. Part of the crew were saved by the exertions of their enemies; but the crowds which attempted to spring into each boat, made all further efforts desperate,

and checked the compassionate zeal of their conquerors. Two of the French officers, indeed, betrayed no anxiety to avail themselves of any means of safety, and continued walking up and down the stern-gallery, apparently engaged in conversation; while the ship filling, and gradually sinking deeper and deeper, at length admitted the water into her ports; then righted for a moment, and was immediately engulfed. \* \* \* \* So entirely destitute of foundation is this account of Barrère, that there is not an officer who was present but bears witness to the fact of the French crew having actually noised the British ensign; there is not one who does not testify to the eagerness with which they implored succour, and the generous anxiety with which the English attempted to save them.”\*

The battle of the 1st of June was fought at a greater distance from land than any sea-fight between fleets recorded in history.

On the 30th of November, 1794, all the officers mentioned in Lord Howe's letter, received a gold medal for their conduct in the battle of the 1st of June, 1794. The other naval transactions of this year, were:—

On the 5th of June, Lord Hood having gained intelligence that the Toulon fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, had put to sea, immediately proceeded in pursuit of it.

On the 10th, the two fleets gained sight of each other, and on the 11th were between three and four leagues apart. The French fleet pushed for the anchorage in Gourjean bay, which it safely entered. Though the British fleet made all sail in chase, the only ship which could get near was the twenty-eight-gun frigate, *Dido*, which received and returned the fire of some of the hostile rear ships, as well as that of two forts which guarded the anchorage. Had not the unfavourable state of the weather frustrated the intention, Lord Hood would have followed the French fleet into the bay.

The French frigates, *Cybèle* and *Prudente*, with two or three corvettes, and some formidable privateers, having been very troublesome in the Indian and Chinese seas, a squadron, consisting of the Indiamen *William Pitt*, *Britannia*, *Nonsuch*, and the com-

pany's brig-tender, *Nautilus*, were, on February the 2nd, dispatched to the eastern entrance of the Straits of Singapore. On the 21st, the squadron was joined by the *Houghton* East Indiaman, and on the 22nd, they descried two French privateers, the *Vengeur*, mounting thirty-four guns, and the *Résolute*, twenty-six guns. These two vessels, after a short encounter, surrendered. On the 25th, the French squadron, consisting of the *Prudente*, *Cybèle*, *Duguay-Troin*, and the fourteen-gun brig, *Vulcain*, were observed working up in chase. The British squadron cut its cables, and prepared to engage. After a smart fire, the French squadron stood away, and was soon out of sight. French frigates and privateers, chiefly in squadrons of three or four, having been very destructive to British commerce in their cruises in the English Channel, the *Arethusa*, *Flora*, *Melampus*, *Concorde*, and *Nymphe*, under the command of Sir John Borlase Warren, were ordered to sea. On the 23rd of April, they fell in with the French squadron, composed of the *Engageante*, *Pomone*, *Résolute*, and the twenty-gun corvette, *Babel*. After a contest of one hour, the French set every yard of canvas they could spread; but the *Arethusa*, *Melampus*, and *Concorde*, rapidly pursued, and, on coming up with the *Babel*, *Pomone*, and *Engageante*, resuming the action, those vessels surrendered.

On the 18th of June, the British squadron, composed of the thirty-six-gun frigate, *Crescent*, a twelve-pounder thirty-two-gun frigate, and twenty-four-gun ship *Eurydice*, under the command of Captain Sir James Saumarez, while cruising off the island of Jersey, fell in with a French squadron, consisting of two seventy-fours, two thirty-six-gun frigates, and a fourteen-gun brig. On account of the great superiority of the French squadron, the *Eurydice*, which was a dull sailer, was ordered to make the best of her way to Guernsey, while the *Crescent* and *Druid* engaged and kept at bay the French ships. At length the two English vessels, under a press of sail, made for the Guernsey road, and, though closely pursued by the French ships, entered the harbour; the garrison and inhabitants witnessing the gallant exploit. The other frigate-actions of this year were of little interest, the com-

\* To the professional reader, the narrative of the two partial and indecisive actions of the 28th and 29th of May, and of the glorious battle on June 1st, as detailed in Lord Howe's journal, and to be found

at pages 226 to 235 of his Life by Burrows; as also that from the log of an officer of the *Culloden*, detailed in the *United Service Journal* for 1843, vol. i., p. 518, &c., are recommended for perusal.

batants separating without any conclusive results.

In the West Indies, the French island of Martinique surrendered in March; that of

Sainte-Lucie in April; and that of Guadeloupe, with its dependencies, the islands Marie-Galante, Désirade, and the Saintes, in the course of the same month.

#### CAMPAIGNS OF 1795 OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE.

THE French government having annexed to the republic of France the Austrian Netherlands, which had been reduced by their armies to subjection in the preceding campaign, directed their general, Pichegru, to invade Holland, the general mass of the inhabitants of that country having indicated an unfeigned satisfaction at the victorious progress of the French arms during the late campaign, and a desire to shake off the rule of their existing government, for that of a republican form.

From this moment the French spread themselves like a torrent through Holland, and they were everywhere received with open arms as liberators. Clothes and food, of which they stood in great need, were abundantly furnished to them. Pichegru was invited to enter Amsterdam with his army, which he did on the 20th of January. All the strong fortresses threw their gates open on the approach of the republican armies of France; and, in the course of the month, the seven united provinces were in their possession. The Dutch fleet, anchored in the Texel, was taken possession of by a division of cavalry, which crossed the Zuyder-Zee, then frozen over, and summoned the vessels to surrender. As an acknowledgment of their fraternal affection for their new prosciytes, the French generals levied heavy requisitions of clothes and provisions on their new friends. The contribution of the city of Bergen-op-Zoom alone amounted to one million and-a-half sterling. The sums levied on the Dutch, in the course of this year, in money, and in requisitions of all species of necessaries, were computed at more than four millions sterling, without including the losses by plunder and exactions to which the inhabitants of the country were exposed. It was by this system of contribution—a system which had rarely been resorted to by belligerent powers since the time of the Romans—that the French government sustained its war expenditure. In the campaign of 1794, the sums thus obtained by seizures, which were being perpetually made, of hostile stores, merchandise

accumulated for the use of armies, and the levying of enormous contributions of money, provisions, clothes, &c., enabled the French government to maintain their large and numerous armies, and prosecute their various wars with vigour. During the space of the last twelve months, the plunder of the magazines and store-houses belonging to the allied armies in the Flemish provinces, together with the immense quantities of specie, provisions, and stores, levied on the Austrian Netherlands, had enabled them to maintain their numerous forces in that country, without the necessity of having recourse to the French exchequer. The reduction of Holland in this year, effected the same object in respect of the army employed in its subjection. These were the sources to which they were indebted for their success and numerous conquests; a list of which, in this and the past year, the government caused to be printed and affixed to a tablet hung up in the hall of the convention, and copies of it were sent to the armies, together with an enumeration of the victories by which those conquests had been effected. The document stated, that they consisted of the ten provinces of the Austrian Netherlands, the seven united provinces, the bishoprics of Liege, Worms, and Spire, the electorates of Trèves, Cologne, and Mayence, the duchies of Deux-Ponts, Juliers, and Cleves, and the Palatinate. In Italy, their conquests had been the duchy of Savoy and the principalities of Nice and Monaco; and in Spain, the provinces of Biscay and Catalonia—conquests which added a population of thirteen millions to the thirty-seven millions of native Frenchmen. In the space of seventeen months, they had won twenty-seven battles, and had been victorious in one hundred and twenty actions of less note. They had taken one hundred and sixteen strong cities and fortified places: but what redounded most to their honour, they had, with infant and undisciplined armies, struck terror into their enemies, and overthrown the best disciplined armies of Europe, elated with past triumphs over warlike enemies.

Flushed with so many glorious exploits, the document concluded with saying, that a successful issue must attend their exertions, and eventually the French republic would give laws to the surrounding nations. These were sounding announcements; but it must be acknowledged, they were not much exaggerated. At this period, Pichegru had commanded in Belgium and Holland, Jourdan was stationed along the banks of the Meuse, Moreau towards the banks of the Rhine, Scherer and Marceau occupied the frontiers of Spain, Kellerman was posted on the Alps, and Conclava and Hoche on the coasts of the British Channel and those of the Bay of Biscay; and the terror of the French arms had spread in every direction.

The campaign of this year was first opened on the Italian frontiers of France, where the arms of the French republic had gained important advantages in the preceding campaign. The Austrians and Sardinians had collected a formidable force in the passes of the Maritime Alps and the Apennines. On May 12th, the French, under Kellerman, advanced against the Col Dumont, near Mont Cenis, and drove the Sardinians from it with considerable loss. But the French forces being much diminished, by the necessity of detaching troops to suppress a revolt at Toulon, the imperialists availed themselves of the opportunity; and assuming offensive operations, made a simultaneous attack on the line of the republican fortified posts, from which the French forces were driven with considerable loss.

But the peace with Spain having enabled the French government to detach to the support of the army of Italy the army of the eastern Pyrenees, under Scherer, the French determined to attack the allied army. The Austrians, under Argenteau, were established in the Loavo valley; the Piedmontese, under Colli, in the entrenched camp of Ceva. At six o'clock of the morning of the 23rd of November, the French army, the right-wing of which was commanded by Scherer, the centre by Massena, and the left by Serrurier, advanced to the attack. After an obstinate resistance, Massena forced the Austrian centre, and penetrated into the interior of their line. In the course of the following morning, Serrurier, attacking Colli, separated him from his allies. From this moment confusion ensued, and the allies commenced their retreat, in terrific weather, and through frightful roads. Five thousand prisoners,

forty pieces of artillery, and immense stores fell into the hands of the victors. The slain, on the side of the allies, amounted to 2,000 men; that of the French was scarcely 1,000. This battle, which was the most decisive gained by the republican forces since the commencement of the war, was the prelude of the celebrated Italian campaigns of Napoleon Buonaparte.

The war on the Spanish frontier during this campaign, was of short duration; the reverses of the late campaign having totally disqualified the Spanish government to contend with its opponents. The fall of Figueras and Rosas, in January, and the defeat of the Spanish army, near the town of Sistella, in the month of May, determined the court of Madrid to separate itself from the coalition. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded between the French and Spanish governments, at Basle, in Switzerland, on the 22nd of July; by which Spain ceded to France the Spanish half of the island of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo, in the West Indies. On the 5th of April, the King of Prussia also concluded a treaty of peace with the French republic, by virtue of which, in hopes of prospective aggrandisements, at the cost of Austria, and in anticipation of being able to round his dominions by the possession of Hanover, he ceded to the French all the Prussian territory on the left bank of the Rhine.

It was not till the month of June that the campaign was opened on the Rhine. At that time, Moreau commanded the army of the north, encamped in Holland; Jourdan, that of the Sambre and Meuse, stationed on the Rhine, near Cologne; and Pichegru, that of the Rhine, cantoned from Mentz or Mayence, to Strasburg. The Austrian army, amounting to 150,000 men, under Clairfait and Wurmser, was stationed on the opposite banks of the Rhine; the first on the Lower Rhine, the second on the Upper Rhine.

On the 6th of June, Jourdan suddenly crossing the Rhine in great force, the Austrians, posted at Düsseldorf, abandoned that city, and fell back to effect a junction with a large body of their countrymen, who lay entrenched on the river Lahn; and so great was the terror inspired by the successes of the French in the last campaign, that the whole of the Austrian force rapidly retreated on the advance of Jourdan. Encouraged by this success, Pichegru imme-

diately put his army in motion, and crossing the Rhine near Mannheim, laid siege to that city, which, after a severe bombardment, surrendered. By this position on the right bank of the Rhine, he was master of all the country lying between Clairfait's army on the north, and Wurmser's to the south of the Maine. The siege of Mayence was, therefore, resolved on, and its investment immediately took place.

Marshal Bender, who had, on the retreat and dissolution of the grand army of the coalition in the preceding campaign, thrown himself, with 10,000 men, into Luxembourg, surrendered on the 7th of July; by which an immense train of artillery fell into the hands of the republican forces, and of which they were in great want. The marshal was compelled to this step, from the resources of the country being completely exhausted.

With the exception of Mayence, the bulwark of the Germanic empire on the Rhine, the French were now masters of the whole of the left bank of that river, and of the estuaries through which the Rhine flows into the North Sea, from Holland to Strasburg. To recover their lost position, a junction of Wurmser's and Clairfait's armies was projected. Pichegru, in order to intercept their junction, posted a large division of his army midway between them. Wurmser's army first approached; and, being impetuously attacked by the republican forces, took to flight. The French dispersing on all sides in quest of plunder, the Austrian cavalry suddenly turned upon them, and putting a large number of them to the sword, compelled them to flee back to Mannheim in the greatest confusion.

This circumstance decided the fate of the campaign. Clairfait having received reinforcements, advanced on Jourdan's army which had invested Mayence, and falling on its rear, took a large quantity of artillery destined for the siege. Jourdan, being now unable to continue the blockade, recrossed the Maine, and retreated to Düsseldorf, harassed by Clairfait.

So strongly was the tide of success now turned against the French, that the army which had crossed the Rhine at Mannheim, under Pichegru, was obliged to recross the river, leaving in Mannheim a garrison of 10,000 men. While these transactions were in operation, the garrison of Mayence had been strongly reinforced by the Austrians, while other divisions of their army were effecting their passage over the Rhine, to attack

the enemy encamped under Jourdan before that city. To repel the intended attack, Pichegru advanced by forced marches from Mannheim; but before he could effect the intended junction with Jourdan, Clairfait had, by forced marches, reached Mayence, to effect its relief. At day-break of the 29th October, the Austrians advanced to the attack of the lines of circumvallation on the left bank of the river, and in the construction of which the French army had been engaged during the last year. Assailed in front by the garrison, and taken in flank on the right and left by the relieving divisions, the French abandoned the first line almost without opposition. Having made for some time an obstinate defence in the second line, they fell into confusion, and fled in all directions, leaving the whole of their artillery, magazines, and stores, in the hands of the victors.

Clairfait now crossed the Rhine, and effected a junction with Wurmser. Having retaken the Palatinate, and the greater part of the country between the Rhine and the Moselle, they laid siege to Mannheim. Jourdan was ordered by the directory to effect a junction with Pichegru, and advance to the relief of that town. The central position of Clairfait and Wurmser, who both covered the siege, prevented that junction, and Jourdan, failing in several unsuccessful attempts, fell back, leaving Mannheim to its fate. The reduction of the town took place in the end of November, when a garrison of 9,000 men became prisoners.

The successes of the Austrians emboldened them to form the project of penetrating to Luxembourg. Wurmser advanced against Pichegru, and drove him back to the lines of the Queich and the neighbourhood of Landau; while Clairfait pressed Jourdan so severely, that he gladly accepted a proposal for the suspension of hostilities during the winter season.

Such was the result of this campaign, which had been begun so prosperously. The career of French conquest had been checked, and its armies driven behind the Rhine. The republic had, however, completely frustrated the measures of the allied powers. Two of the principal members of that formidable coalition had been detached from it, besides others of secondary influence. It had revolutionised the governments of all the countries which it had subdued, together with the political opinions of a large majority of the inhabitants. The

Austrian Netherlands, to which their ancient denomination of Belgium was now solemnly affixed, besides other territories, were incorporated with the French republic. The German powers, on the left side of the Rhine, indicated a willingness to unite with as her did also Switzerland and the republic of Geneva.

Since Howe's victory, and the disasters in the Mediterranean, and at l'Orient, the French marine had become so disorganised, that the government relinquished all hopes of success from large squadrons; they, therefore, determined to confine their naval operations to depredations on the British trade and navigation—a system to which the politics of France had constantly resorted under the monarchy, after experiencing so great disasters at sea as to disable her marine from successfully encountering that of Britain in open fight. The vast extent of British commerce afforded them an ample field for this species of warfare, and they were proportionately successful. The list of their captures, during the year 1795,

they said, exceeded two-thirds of their own losses: they had taken 3,000 vessels, and had lost only 800.

The predatory warfare of the republic on British commerce was chiefly successful on that branch of trade carried on with Turkey, which, from the necessity of traversing the whole length of the Mediterranean, lay more exposed than any other. In order to intercept this trade, together with that from the ports of Italy, a squadron of nine ships of the line was put under the command of Admiral Richery. The English trade of the Mediterranean, amounting to sixty sail, was escorted by three ships of the line and four frigates: it had proceeded on its way homeward, as far as the latitude of Cape St. Vincent, where it was attacked by Richery's squadron, and one-half of it was taken, together with a ship of the line.

Besides Richery's squadron, one was fitted out at Toulon, and two at Rochefort, in order to intercept the homeward-bound fleets from Jamaica; but they made capture of only twelve vessels.

#### THE BRITISH RETREAT FROM THE NETHERLANDS.

AFTER the capture of Nimeguen, the French crossed the Waal, and advanced against the British troops, stationed at Arnheim and its vicinity; but being repulsed, and compelled to retrace their steps, they waited till the setting in of the frost, which marked the close of the year 1794, and the beginning of 1795, for its severity; when the rivers being sufficiently frozen over to bear large bodies of men, with their cannon and other heavy materials, they crossed the Waaland the Meuse on the 27th of December, 1794, with an immense force, whose operations extended, from their right to their left, over a line of about forty miles. The allied armies were too much reduced, through sickness and the want of necessaries, both in the commissariat and medical departments, to make an effectual opposition. The enemy, therefore, carried all the posts in the isle of Bommel, and forced the lines of Breda, having made 1,600 prisoners and taken twenty-one pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of baggage. The enemy being then masters of the north side of the Waal, and menacing the towns of Culenberg and Gorcum, it was determined to compel them to repass the Waal. For this purpose, 8,000

British troops marched against them, on the 30th of December, under the command of General Dundas. The French were posted at Thuyl. A vigorous attack having been made on the enemy, they were driven from all their posts, with a considerable loss of men and cannon. But this advantage had been of but little use to the allies. The strength of the British troops was daily diminishing from sickness, want of necessaries, and the excessive rigour of the season. This circumstance had encouraged the enemy to renew their attempt to recross the Waal. On the 4th of January, 1795, the French effected the passage of the river. To save the remains of the British army, an immediate retreat was determined on. Accordingly, on the 6th, it retired towards the Leck, having previously spiked its heavy cannon, and destroyed all the ammunition which could not be removed. The French immediately pursued, and so closely pressed were the British, that an engagement ensued, in which each side fought with so much obstinacy, that they were alternately repulsed and returned to the charge four successive times. The French at last gave way; but their superiority of strength prevented a

pursuit. The British, availing themselves of their momentary success, continued their retreat. But no respite was given them. On the 10th, the French recrossed the Waal in so great a force, that it was found impossible to withstand them. General Walmoden, on whom the command of the British troops and the Hanoverian subsidiaries had devolved, on the Duke of York's return to England, in the beginning of December of the preceding year, was posted between Arnheim and Nimeguen, at the defile of the Greb, in the province of Utrecht. Pichegru, at the head of 70,000 men, attacked the British and their subsidiaries on all sides; who, after such a resistance as their great inferiority would permit them to make, were compelled to retreat with a considerable loss of their camp equipage. An attack was made, four days after, on some posts which the British had taken to secure their retreat; but the defenders maintained their ground until nightfall, when they retired unpursued. In their various operations, the British army had not only to contend with the immense superiority of the enemy, which continually overwhelmed all effectual resistance, but the Dutch manifested a most determined enmity to them. In the Dutch towns and villages through which they passed, they met with every injury and disservice which inveterate malice could suggest, in consequence of the assembled states of the Dutch provinces having, in the preceding October, resolved to abandon the connexion with Great Britain, and enter into terms of peace and amity with the French republic.

To the shattered remnant of the British army, thus surrounded by open and secret enemies, the only resource remaining was to endeavour to effect a total retreat. But this was no easy task, in the woeful situation to which it was now reduced. The sufferings of the sick and wounded were in the highest degree appalling. They were, in the midst of this rigorous season, carried in open wagons, exposed to the inclemency of the weather; and, through the neglect and peculation of the commissariat and medical departments, destitute of the necessaries their condition required. Numbers, even of those troops who could continue the march, were frozen to death; many dropped down exhausted, and many perished through want—especially during the march in the night between the 16th and 17th of January, in the course of the retreat across the sandy

desert and houseless districts which intervened between Utrecht and the town of Deventer, in the midst of an unceasing hurricane of wind, snow, and sleet. On reaching that town (the 27th), the shattered British force had, after one of the most distressing marches which ever a retreating army had experienced, expected a respite from their sufferings of a few days; but they were obliged, by the rapid pursuit of the enemy, to quit that town two days after entering it. Fifty thousand of the enemy were pursuing them with all possible speed, in hopes of cutting off their communication from the other column, directing its march to Zutphen, and thus either overwhelm them, or force them to an unconditional surrender. But so firm and steady were the movements of the British column amidst incessantly opposing obstacles that they surmounted all the difficulties thrown in their way, either by the enemy or the elements. Most of their marches were performed through and in the midst of ice and snow, mud or water, often up to the middle. On the 10th of February, they crossed the Vecht, the river which subdivides the province of Overysse; and on the 12th, the river Ems, at Rheine. They continued their retreat in the midst of all these discouragements till the 24th. On that day, a body of the French army came up with them, and an engagement ensued, in which, with an inconsiderable loss, the British troops displayed so great firmness, that the enemy could not make any effectual impression on them. Resuming their march with little interruption, they at length reached Bremen, about the end of March. Here they were joined by other divisions of the army. That division which was under Lord Cathcart, had to encounter even more than a common share of the difficulties just stated, the French hanging continually on its rear, so that scarcely a day passed without the occurrence of a skirmish. The country was hostile to them all the way. The city of Gröningen shut its gates against them; and, like the other divisions of the retreating army, they suffered the direst distress and privation, in addition to the rigour of the season.

Thus assailed in every direction, both by the enemy openly, and by the Dutch covertly, the shattered British divisions traversed and fought their way through the provinces of Utrecht, Guelderland, Overysse, and Gröningen, almost destitute of necessaries.

and encumbered with a heavy train of artillery, baggage and wagons, loaded with sick and wounded. For upwards of two months, the wretched fragments of the army, which had left the shores of England in 1794, in a state of most efficient discipline, had endured this severe trial in a country churlishly inhospitable and inimical, and in whose defence they had suffered that sore trial.

On the 14th of April, the remnant of the surviving army embarked on board the transports, at the mouth of a creek, near Bremen Lake; and on the 24th, cleared the mouth of the Weser. The fleet of transports, with its convoy, after having sustained much tempestuous weather, on the 28th reached the Nore, when it parted into different divisions—one bound for Harwich; one for Portsmouth; and one for Greenwich; where they safely arrived.

On the 18th of February, a treaty of defensive alliance was concluded between Great Britain and Russia, by virtue of which, the latter was to furnish the former with 10,000 infantry and 2,000 horse, and the former to supply the latter with twelve ships of the line; and on the 29th of May, a like treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Austria, in which each power engaged to succour its ally, in case of attack, with 20,000 foot and 6,000 horse. In February, war was declared against Holland, and all Dutch ships in British ports were seized. Early in March, the Toulon fleet, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, six frigates, and two corvettes, under Rear-admiral Pierre Martin, put to sea, with the design of landing an expedition in Corsica, for the expulsion of the English from that island. The Mediterranean fleet, consisting of thirteen sail of the line and four frigates, under Vice-admiral Hotham, fell in with the enemy on the 12th, between Corsica and Genoa; when, after seven hours' firing, two ships of the line, the *Ca Ira* and the *Censeur*, fell into the hands of the English. Nelson, who was in command of the *Agamemnon*, recommended his superior to pursue the enemy. But Hotham's reply was, "We must be contented; we have done well." But Nelson's rejoinder was, "Had we taken ten sail, and allowed the eleventh to escape, when it had been possible to have got at her, I could never have called it well done." The total loss of the British fleet, was seventy-four killed and 274 wounded; that on board the French ships, which were

crowded with troops, was much greater. The French fleet fell back to Hyères Bay near Toulon; and the British to San Fiorenzo Bay, near Corsica.

Pierre Martin having been joined by six sail of the line, two frigates, and two cutters, from Brest, again put to sea, with seventeen sail of the line, six frigates and corvettes. Hotham, who had been reinforced with eleven sail of the line and frigates, from Gibraltar and England, obtained sight of him near Cape Roux, off Hyères. The French fleet immediately fled for the coast, and only a few of the English van-ships being able to get up with its rear, the French fleet, after a smart action, got safely into Frejus Bay, leaving the *Alcide* (seventy-four), which had been disabled, in the hands of the English. But before that ship could be taken possession of, a box of combustibles, in her foretop, taking fire, the whole ship was enveloped in a blaze, and above 400 of its crew were blown into the air. About 300 of the crew were saved by the English boats, nearest to the *Alcide*. The total loss of the British fleet was, eleven killed and twenty-seven wounded. The French fleet returned to Toulon, and the British proceeded to Leghorn.

On the 30th of May, a squadron, consisting of five ships of the line and two frigates, under Vice-admiral Cornwallis, sailed from Spithead, on a cruise off Ushant. On the 8th of June, it fell in with Rear-admiral Vence's squadron, with a numerous convoy in charge, on his return to Brest. Chase was immediately given, and eight vessels, laden with wine and brandy, were captured. On the 16th, while proceeding towards Belleisle, to reconnoitre the road in which Vence and his squadron had taken refuge, the English admiral fell in with the Brest fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and as many frigates, under Vice-admiral Villaret Joyeuse, and which had been joined by Vence's squadron. On the 17th, the French fleet advanced to the attack, formed in three divisions. Having sustained the fire of the whole French fleet during seven hours, the English admiral formed his squadron in a wedge-like form, and fought his way through the hostile fleet, without the loss of a single man killed, and only twelve men wounded.

On the 12th of June, the channel-fleet, consisting of fourteen ships of the line and six frigates, sailed from St. Helens, under the command of Lord Bridport, for the pur-

pose of protecting the expedition under Commodore Sir John Borlace Warren, bound to Quiberon Bay, to assist the Vendean royalists. Lord Bridport continued in company with his charge till the 19th; when, being near the Ouessant Islands, and the wind blowing fair for Quiberon, the British fleet stood out from the coast, in order to keep an offing, and be ready to receive the Brest fleet, should it attempt to molest the expedition. On the 22nd, the look-out frigates of the English fleet made the signal that the enemy's fleet was in sight. As it was evidently the intention of the French admiral to sheer off, the fastest-sailing ships of the British fleet were ordered to give chase, and bring the enemy to action, until the remainder of the fleet could come up. There being but little wind, the van of the British did not come up with the enemy till the morning of the 23rd. The action began a little before six o'clock, off Isle-Grôix, and continued till nine, when the *Alexandre*, *Tigre*, and *Formidable* struck their colours. The French fleet escaped under the protection of the batteries of Port L'Orient; where, according to the testimony of one of the officers of the fleet, the whole of it might have been taken or destroyed, had it not been for "the unaccountable forbearance of Lord Bridport." "S'ils avaient bien manœuré," [the British ships] says the French critic, "ils avaient pu, ou prendre tous nos vaisseaux, ou les faire périr à la côte." The loss of the English was thirty-one killed, and 113 wounded. On board of the French ships taken, the killed and wounded were 670.

The Quiberon expedition, of which mention has just been made, consisted of the three line-of-battle ships, *Robust*, *Thunderer*, and *Standard*, also the frigates *Pomone*, *Anson*, *Artois*, *Arethuse*, *Concorde*, and *Galatea*, and fifty sail of transports, having on board about 2,500 French emigrants, commanded by Comte de Puissaye, assisted by the Comtes d'Hervilly and de Sombreuil, and a vast quantity of arms, ammunition, and clothing, for the purpose of distribution among the Vendean and Chouan royalists. While the expedition had been making all sail, Sir Sidney Smith and Admiral Cornwallis made demonstrations on various parts of the coast, for the purpose of misleading the enemy as to the real point of attack. On the 27th, at day-break, the emigrant troops, with 300 British marines, were disembarked, and were joined by 16,000 royalists. Fort

Penthièvre, situated on a commanding eminence, on the northern extremity of the peninsula of Quiberon, after a short resistance, surrendered, with 600 men. On the night of the 16th of July, the Comte d'Hervilly, at the head of 5,000 men, including 200 British marines, made an unsuccessful attack on the right flank of General Hoche's army, strongly posted on the heights of St. Barbe; and the whole force would probably have been compelled to surrender, had not some British ships anchored near the shore, compelled, by a vigorous fire, the republicans to desist from the pursuit.

Desertion now daily thinned the royalist ranks: those privateers who had enlisted from the French prisons in England, from a desire of recovering their liberty, deserted and carried intelligence to the enemy of the situation of the royalist army. In consequence of that information, Hoche formed a plan for the attack of the fort and camp occupied by the royalists. Accordingly, on the night of the 20th, amidst a howling storm and a pelting rain, a party of the emigrant soldiers deserted, and quickly conducted back to the fort a large body of republican troops. In an instant, all was confusion. While the faithful were staining the ground with their blood, the timorous laid down their arms, and joined the assailants in the cry of *Vive la république!* and the traitorous massacred their officers, and those of their comrades who did not join in the republican war-whoop. About 1,100 men, led by Puissaye, hastened to the shore, to escape to the shipping. Others, headed by Sombreuil, resisted, until Hoche consented to receive their submission as prisoners of war, provided the Convention assented to that condition. But, instead of conforming to the capitulation, the inhuman General le Moine marched the gallant Sombreuil, with several other emigrants of distinction, to Quimper, where they were shot next day, by virtue of the decision of a military tribunal. The booty which fell into the hands of the republicans was immense; clothing, accoutrements, and warlike stores, sufficient for an army of 40,000 men, having been landed at the time of the disembarkation of the troops. Six ships, also, which had arrived only on the evening previous to the surprise, laden with rum, brandy, and provisos, became a prize to the French.

After this calamity, Sir John Warren to

possession of the islands of Hoedic and Houat. He next made an attempt on the island of Noirmoutier, at the mouth of the Loire, but the republicans being too strong there to warrant success, he proceeded to the Isle Dieu, about five miles to the southward of Noirmoutier, of which he took possession. In the beginning of October, Sir John was joined at Isle Dieu, by the thirty-eight-gun frigate *Jason*, escorting a fleet of transports, containing 4,000 British troops on board, under the command of Major-general Doyle. But as no use could be made of this force, on account of the unpromising condition of the royalist cause, they were, at the close of this year, re-embarked on board the transports; and, evacuating the Isle Dieu, returned to England.

Of the three French West India islands—Martinique, St. Lucie, and Tobago—which had been captured by Sir Charles Grey and Sir John Jervis, in 1794, the last-mentioned had been retaken by the French before the conclusion of the year. Early in the present year, St. Eustatius, the great magazine of the Dutch islands, had surrendered to the French republican forces; and having put it in a strong position of defence, they made it the basis of their operations for the recovery of the islands they had lost, and the revolutionising of the British colonies. For this purpose, a large force was put under the command of the notorious Victor Hugues, a man of a ferocious disposition, but uncommon activity and courage, with orders to put into execution the decree of the Convention by which the negroes were to be declared free. He, and other emissaries, went from island to island, preaching up equality and the rights of man to the negroes and people of colour, and a crusade against the English and the French royalists. Arms and uniforms were furnished to all the blacks and mulattoes disposed to enter into the French service. It was at the head of this desperate multitude, aided by about 4,000 regular troops, that he had retaken Guadaloupe. The recovery of the other French islands was now projected; and, in the spring of this year, a concerted revolt took place at the same time in the other captured islands. In St. Lucie, the English troops were taken by surprise, and after a gallant resistance, compelled to retire into the fort. After a three months' blockade, the fort was compelled to surrender; and such of the British as were not butchered were shipped off the island. The flame spread to Dominique, Granada, and St. Vincent;

but after a severe struggle, it was extinguished in those islands, except in the interior and mountainous parts of St. Vincent, where the Caribbs were not subdued until after several desperate encounters with the British troops. Under the auspices of Victor Hugues and the French Convention, the Maroons of Jamaica, who were the descendants of negroes who had revolted and fled to the mountains in the time of the Spaniards, carried on a long and sanguinary contest with the British troops stationed in that island.

Another cause added fuel to the flame of insurrection. When Jamaica was conquered from the Spaniards during the government of Oliver Cromwell, the Maroon descendants of the African slaves, whom the Spaniards had left behind them, refused submission to the conquerors, and retired to the lofty ridge of mountains which intersect the island, insisting that the lands which they inhabited should be their own, themselves remain free, and retain their former customs and privileges. This having been agreed to, and solemnly ratified, they had lived ever since independent of the British government in Jamaica. Among their privileges was the stipulation, that they were not to be punished by the courts of judicature of the island, but to be tried and punished according to their own laws. It happened, unfortunately, that two of them, being detected in theft, instead of being put into the hands of their countrymen to receive their merited punishment, were, by the authority of a magistrate, sentenced to be whipped. They appealed to their clansmen to procure them redress for this breach of their privilege. The Maroons complained to the government that their privileges had been violated, and demanded satisfaction. Not obtaining the desired redress, they had recourse to arms. Whether it proceeded from a contemptuous feeling towards them, or a determination to punish their temerity, no endeavours were adopted to bring about a reconciliation; but they were proceeded against with unrelenting severity. They made a desperate defence, but were at length subdued, and almost exterminated. The recesses to which they fled for shelter, were so intricately situated, and so difficult of access and discovery, that bloodhounds were procured from the Spanish island of Cuba, in order to pursue and trace them by their scent. But, fortunately, before the arrival of those dogs, the insurgents had submitted to the government.

On the declaration of war with Holland, measures had been taken to gain possession of its colonial settlements. In February, a small squadron, under Vice-admiral Duncan, had been dispatched to the North Sea, to watch the motions of the Dutch fleet lying in the Texel. Early in August, a Russian fleet, consisting of twelve crazy ships of the line and seven frigates, had associated itself with the British squadron; but the combined fleets had no other enemy to encounter during the year than the storms and shoals of the North Sea. On the 16th of September of this year, the Dutch colony, at the Cape of Good Hope, surrendered to Admiral Elphinstone and General Clarke, after an ineffectual defence. In the East Indies, Trincomalee, and other forts in Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and all the remaining Dutch settlements on the continent of India, had previously surrendered.

Many encounters between single English and French ships took place during this year. Though in each case the enemy had a decided superiority in the amount of the crews, the number of guns, and the weight of metal, victory was the invariable attendant on the British flag. The first and most memorable was that between the *Blanche* and the *Pique*. It has been already stated in the English battles of 1794, that the *Blanche*, commanded by Captain Faulkner, while cruising off the island of Désirade, one of the dependencies of Guadaloupe, had captured a large French schooner under the guns of the fort of that island. Having dispatched his prize to the harbour of the Saintes, two small islands close to Guadaloupe, and then in possession of the British, he proceeded on a cruise off Pointe-à-Pitre, a harbour in Grande-terre, Guadaloupe, and in which lay, ready for sea, the French thirty-six-gun frigate, *Pique*, with 400 men on board. In order to entice his antagonist to battle, Captain Faulkner, though his vessel carried but thirty-two guns of inferior metal, and the crew scarcely exceeded 200 men, stood as near the enemy's fort as he prudently could. The *Pique* answered the challenge; but when approaching the *Blanche*, she indicated a wavering inclination for the fight; Captain Faulkner therefore made towards an American schooner, from Bordeaux to Pointe-à-Pitre, with wine and brandy; and finding his enemy not disposed to prevent him

from making the capture, and despairing of the *Pique* leaving the protection of the fort while the *Blanche* continued in sight, he stood off towards the islands of Marie-Galante and Dominica. When between those islands, he observed the *Pique* about two leagues astern, and immediately made sail towards her. The *Blanche* being on the starboard tack, and the *Pique* on the larboard, as they passed each other they exchanged broadsides. A desperate contest ensued. Captain Faulkner, while in the act of securing the enemy with a hawser, with which he had lashed her bowsprit to his own capstan, fell lifeless from a musket-ball which had pierced his heart; but his officers and crew, nothing daunted, continued the action until the *Pique* struck her colours, about five o'clock next morning, the contest having lasted the whole night. On board the *Blanche*, the killed were eight, and twenty-one wounded. The killed on board the *Pique* were seventy-six; the wounded, 110.

In this, as well as in the two preceding years, many of the British naval officers had distinguished themselves by exploits of the most daring nature. Captain Pellew, of the *Nymph*; Saumarez, of the *Crescent*; Laforey, of the *Carisfort*; Paget, of the *Romney*; Newcome, of the *Orpheus*, with many others, had rendered themselves and their ships highly celebrated in the naval transactions of this war. The British officers sought the enemy with the greatest zeal and ardour. Both in foreign parts, and on their own coast, the French dreaded them. Few of their war-ships which ventured out of their ports, either single or in squadrons, could escape the vigilance of the English, who either took or destroyed them, by compelling them to run ashore, and burning them. Many of their exploits were of the most daring kind. They ventured close in with the land, exposed to the superior fire of formidable batteries, which they frequently silenced with their own guns; sometimes landing their people, and committing the enemy's shipping to the flames, in spite of the most vigorous resistance. Those British officers who chiefly distinguished themselves by actions of the kind, were Sir Richard Strachan, Sir Edward Pellew, Sir John Warren, and Sir Sidney Smith, who, by their exertions and successes, became the terror of the French marine.

## CAMPAIGNS OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE IN 1796.

THOUGH the close of the year 1795 had not been favourable to the arms of the republic, the Directory, who had obtained possession of the government, through the agency of Napoleon Buonaparte, determined to keep alive the martial spirit of their armies, and to prosecute the war with vigour. For this purpose, the Directory published an address to the different armies of the republic. It was conceived in very animated terms, was sent to all the military bodies of the republic, and read to them with great solemnity. The different armies received it in the most enthusiastic manner, and professed their readiness to die in defence of the republic.

But though the French armies had been driven from every post which they had occupied on the eastern banks of the Rhine, and had been compelled to recross that river, they had maintained a decided superiority in every other quarter, especially on the side of Italy. The Directory, therefore, determined to prosecute the war on that frontier with vigour. The people of the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Modena, were disaffected to the imperial government; the commonalty in the republics of Venice and Genoa professed no attachment to their rulers; and in Naples, Tuscany, and the papal dominions, the disaffected were numerous.

The undertaking, however, was difficult. Environed by mountains, the passes of which were strongly fortified and guarded by numerous troops, the French army, though it had reduced many fortresses in the heart of the Alps, had not been able to make an effectual impression on Piedmont, without which an entrance into Italy could not be practicably undertaken. The powers interested in the preservation of Italy, aware of the hostile intentions of the French, had made preparations for its defence. The imperial troops amounted to 80,000 men; those of the Sardinian army, to 60,000; and the king of Naples and the pope were embodying large numbers of troops.

Though the forces with which the French intended to attack their enemies in this

quarter were greatly inferior in numbers, they consisted of resolute soldiers, hardened by giant battles amidst the Pyrenees and Alps, full of enthusiasm, and impatient to enter into action. They were at the time cantoned along the rocky and barren coast of the sea, called the river of Genoa, within three leagues of that city; and the Austrians and Piedmontese were posted on the opposite mountains.

The general appointed to carry the plan of invasion into execution was Napoleon Buonaparte, he having recommended himself to the notice of the Directory by the services he had rendered in the action between the troops of the Convention and the sections of Paris, in October of the preceding year.

The new general reached the head-quarters of the army on the 29th of March, 1796. From that moment, a total change took place in his manner, conduct, and language: he assumed a stately and repelling coldness of demeanour (free, however, of supercilious *hauteur* or arrogance) to all around him. "He kept," says Foy,\* "from the first, his lieutenants (among whom were Bessières, Augereau, Berthier, Massena, L'Allemand, Stengel, Latour, Serrurier, Lannes, Murat, &c.) at the same respectful distance as he afterwards did the great men of the earth."† Even at this time, the vision of establishing dynasties, of settling of territories, of making transferences of subjects, and the other little playful and amusing acts in which lawless and arbitrary power loves to recreate and revel for the welfare and happiness of mankind, seems to have flitted before his eyes, and to have given a direction to his future designs and conduct. The idea which then took possession of his brain was the object of his waking and sleeping idolatry during his after-life, till the concurrence of circumstances, and his own ingenuity, brought it into life and activity.

On his inspection of the condition and *matériel* of the army, he found the troops wretchedly clothed, ill-fed, their pay in

\* *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule.*

† Even when at Brienne he gave some indications of this disposition. At the holiday fêtes of that establishment, it was customary for the pupils to give dramatic representations, to which the inhabitants of the place were invited. On one of those occasions, when Napoleon Buonaparte had been ap-

pointed officer of the day to see that order was preserved, the janitor's wife presented herself for admission without a ticket, and, being refused, made a clamour. The case was reported to Napoleon Buonaparte: in an imperative tone he exclaimed, "Let that woman, who brings into this place the license of the camp, be removed!"

arrears, the cavalry half-starved, and the artillery deficient of the means of transport. To reorganise the army, and render it efficient for service, he directed all the energies and activity of his mind. To revive the spirits of the troops, and animate them to exertion, he issued the following address:—

“Soldiers! you are almost naked and half-starved: the republic owes you much, and can give you nothing! The patience and courage you have shown in the midst of these rocks are admirable. But this gains you no renown: no glory results from your endurance. I am come to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world! Rich provinces and opulent cities will be in your power;—there, you will find honour, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy! with such a prospect before you, can you be wanting in courage and constancy?”

This cheering and spirit-stirring address, which converted (*in prospectu*) the territory, wealth, and abundance of the enemy into the patrimony of the army, was received with enthusiastic acclamations, made the sinking hearts of the soldiers beat high with hope and confidence, and encouraged them to endure their privations with cheerfulness and perseverance. From its tenor, the army saw that the road to glory, honour, and wealth, was to follow the star of their fearless and accomplished leader; and it was

\* Scarcely had he assumed the command of the army, when he received a note addressed to him by the Sardinian general, Colli, requiring the liberation of a French emigrant, of the name of Moulin, who, while acting as an envoy for the Austrian government, had been arrested by his countrymen; threatening, in case of non-compliance, reprisal on the person of a French officer, then his prisoner. Napoleon Buonaparte's reply was:—“Sir, an emigrant is a parricide, whom no character can protect. There was a want of respect towards the French people in sending Moulin as an envoy. You know the laws of war: I, therefore, cannot understand the reprisal with which you threaten my chief of brigade, Barthelemy. If, contrary to all the rules by which belligerents ought to be regulated, you permit an act of such barbarity, every one of your prisoners, in future, shall answer for the consequence with the most unsparing vengeance. As to the rest, I hold the officers of your nation in the esteem due to brave soldiers.”

† So great was the poverty of the treasury, that this sum was all that could be raised to enable him “to conquer Italy, and march upon the empire of the world.” When the command was offered him, Carnot told him, “It was to the command of men alone he could be appointed, the troops being destitute of every thing but arms.” Napoleon Buonaparte's reply was:—“That if he would let him have men enough, that was all he required: he would answer for the rest.”

with that view it was issued. Events proved its policy.\* The object of the invasion of the Italian provinces of Austria was—first, to compel that power to withdraw, or, at least, weaken its armies which were hovering on the French frontier of the Rhine; secondly, to detach the king of Sardinia from his alliance with Austria; and, thirdly, as the cause of royalism in France was supposed to draw its chief support from the secret influence exercised by the Romish church, to lessen the ascendancy of the popish priesthood, by the reduction of the papal see into submission to the dictates of the republic. Independent of these causes, the object of the revolutionary government of France was to revolutionise Italy, and to avenge the insult offered to the republic by the assassination of its agent, Basseville, in a popular tumult at Rome.

To undertake the execution of these great and various objects, the means were very slender and inefficient. The army of Italy was in a very inefficient state, and did not exceed 35,000 effective troops, while those of the enemy exceeded 80,000. The military chest was very low: it contained only the 2,000 louis d'ors which Napoleon Buonaparte had brought with him from Paris.† The magazines were grievously deficient in stores of all kinds. As the republic had no means of supplying these deficiencies, they

Las Casas mentions the following curious fact:—“An order of the day was published, signed by Berthier, and dated on the very day of the victory at Albenga, directing the general-in-chief, on his arrival at the head-quarters at Nice, to distribute to each of the different generals of division, to enable them to enter on the campaign, four louis in specie.” Berthier preserved this order as a great curiosity. During the early period of the republic, the conduct of the French generals and their disinterestedness form a striking contrast to the rapacity and extortion of the leaders of the armies of France after Napoleon Buonaparte's ascendancy. “During the first year of the republic,” general Foy tells us (*Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule*), “the French generals made war with an austerity and a moderation befitting the noble cause for which they had taken up arms. The pay was then eight francs per month for the higher ranks. At head-quarters they ate at table no other bread than the bread of the soldier, and no other meat than the meat that he received.” And in another part of his admirable work, he informs us, that during the practice and observance of that noble austerity and moderation, the French arms were not tarnished by those acts of atrocity and violence—that series of conflagrations, massacres, lust, and rapine—which disgraced and dishonoured human nature, under the ascendancy of Napoleon Buonaparte, in the wars, which were afterwards carried on in Italy, Germany, Spain, and Portugal.



JULIUS CÆSAR.



INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS.



were to be obtained by requisition, that is, contributions levied on the countries with which the republic was at war; and the command was so strictly observed, that the French army was not only thus fed and paid, but the generals were enriched, and above 50,000,000 francs found their way into the French exchequer from the system of plunder and spoliation put into execution during the first Italian campaign.

To surmount the difficulties with which he was surrounded, Napoleon Buonaparte made a great change in the established rules and principles of war; indeed, the same had been the case with the leaders of the first armies of the republic, when, to adopt General Foy's vivid expression, "eight hundred thousand men started from the earth at the cry of the country in danger, to combat its enemies." Such were the tactics of Dumourier, Pichegru, Moreau, Dampier, Dugommier, and all the able generals of the revolutionary early times. It was by celerity of action, rapid marches, sudden attacks, precision of formation and deployment, and promptitude of execution, unencumbered with tents, camp-equipage, military hospitals, and commissariat stores, that those splendid and decisive victories were won, (and that, too, in a great measure, in the absence of magazines, of all sorts of stores, and munitions of war;)—that astonished and astounded the men of routine and precedent in the art of war.\* By them, the system of attack in mass or column was adopted; out not, however, as is universally, but mistakingly supposed, as more effective and decisive than that in line, but in order to make up for the deficiency of discipline and steadiness to which new levies are necessarily subject, troops in column (especially young soldiers) deriving a confidence and mutual dependence from its density and compactness: if the head of the column consists of

steady and tried soldiers, the momentum and impetus derived from the inexperienced and unsteady in its other parts, contribute to its effects. The notion entertained from the success of the column-attacks of the French on the armies of Austria, Prussia, &c., that that mode of formation is the most conducive to victory, was absolutely disproved, when attempted to be put into execution against the British. At Talavera, Busaco, and Waterloo, the column-attacks were completely frustrated. At Talavera, the British line kept up an incessant rolling fire on the head of the column, while the flanks inclining forwards, directing their fire against both sides of the column, overthrew it. At Busaco, the head of the French column fired; when the English line, overlapping both its flanks, drove it back, after three discharges, with prodigious slaughter. At Waterloo, the whole French army advanced to the charge in column-formations, the guard being formed into three distinct bodies, each having a battalion in line and a battalion in column on each of its flanks; when the English line, converging its extremities on the flanks of the enemy, poured in so steady and well-directed a fire, as to stagger and overthrow the foe. The same skilful and high-minded men adopted, and put into force in their tactics, the first great principle of the science of war—(and, indeed, of mechanical and mathematical science, which constitute the principles and basis of military science)—that victory is generally dependent on the greatest quantity of effective force brought into action, on the decisive point or points of the field of battle, at the same moment. Napoleon Buonaparte adopted and developed the same system, and was favoured with the same results. He deemed that the best formation or manœuvre was that which produced those effects, and he was suc-

\* It was the love of country, of liberty, of independence, that stimulated the victors of Fleurus, Jemappes, and Valmy. The wild impulse of their zeal amounted to fanaticism. The undisciplined enthusiasm and patriotic energies of the sans-culotte bands of Pichegru, Jourdan, Dampier, and Dugommier, set at nought all the well-practised tactics of the parade of Potsdam—all the theories that had been adopted by the so-called great masters in the art of war, both ancient and modern. Bold in the strength that freedom gave, the republican sans-culottes required no other tactics but "*Ca-ira*," and no strategy but "*en avant*." The French generals of the infant republic, availing themselves of this exalted feeling, and aware that their raw levies were sadly inferior in discipline to their

veteran opponents, formed them into masses or columns, that they might by their weight break an extended line, and cutting or separating it into parts, might thus turn and attack it in detail. From these masses, in the first efforts of the republican soldiers, as the columns advanced to the assault, the boldest and most enterprising of the men started forward to act as *tirailleurs*, or, as the light troops were latterly called, *voltigeurs*. In the more improved state of French military science, the French generals, thinking that some great physical force was inherent and mysteriously concealed in their column-attacks, reduced the formation and mode of attack into an apparently scientific form. The evolution received its full development in the hands of Napoleon Buonaparte.

cessful. His practice was, to bring the greatest force that he possibly could against a weak, a detached, or an isolated point of his adversary's army; and having become victorious there, the dependent parts fell into his power, as a necessary consequence. He was, however, highly skilled in strategical operations,—was eminently endowed with the power of combination of masses to execute those decisive manœuvres that decide the fortune of battles,—and possessed the military *coup d'œil* in a manner almost infallible. No general who has ever appeared on the theatre of warfare, was endowed with the power of calculation (by which the precise moment at which his columns of infantry could attack the disorderly lines of his enemy, with all but certainty of success) in a more eminent degree than he. In more abstract language, it may be said, that his system of tactics consisted in concentrating his forces on important points, instead of extending them in long lines of posts and detached bodies—in making his preliminary movements by vast swarms of voltigeurs, or light troops, when drawing near his enemy's position, in order to conceal the direction of the attack; and in attacking promptly and vigorously when the moment for action arrived. But great as Napoleon Buonaparte's military talent was, it must be admitted, that he committed many great errors. Let us investigate the case; and for the sake of brevity, confine ourselves to his two last displays of "consummate military genius"—the battles of Fleurus and Waterloo.

In those contests, was the skill displayed with which popular and even military opinion gave him the credit for preparing his plans of operation? There, most assuredly, he did not display that consummate and unequalled military genius for which he had been so much lauded. What was the mode of his operations? Was it on the field of Fleurus, by repeated and successive attacks and repulses on and from the villages of Ligny and St. Amand; and on the field of Waterloo, on Hougomont and La Haye Sainte, that he gave proofs of his great military capacity? Without wasting time in the inquiry respecting the Prussian positions of Ligny, we will confine ourselves to the English one of Hougomont.

The attack on Hougomont was erroneous for two reasons: first, though it was the key of the position, and covered the right wing of the British army, and that its cap-

ture would have compelled the Duke of Wellington to assume a new disposition of his forces, yet its loss would not have so seriously compromised the safety of the army as is generally supposed, particularly as it stood low; and, therefore, had it been taken, its capture would have had no commanding influence on the British army, and could have decided nothing; and thus the time of which it was of importance to Napoleon Buonaparte to avail himself before the Duke of Wellington could receive any co-operation from the Prussian army, was fatally wasted; secondly, that those columns which were slaughtered before its defences, would have been of the highest importance, and might possibly have decided the fortune of the day, when he made the grand attack. A consummate knowledge of military science would, therefore, have suggested the turning or flanking of that post. On the other hand, the obstinate defence of that position by Wellington, proved his knowledge of the art of war. His object was to gain time until he received the co-operation of Blucher; and the retention of this position enabled him to protract the contest until he was able to make the grand assault which was to decide the battle. The three and entire divisions which contended against the ten battalions in and about Hougomont, and the five battalions that disputed the place with the few hundred men stationed there, were profitably occupied for the interests of the British army, but most unprofitably for those of the French army. Napoleon Buonaparte's grand or general attack with the columns composed of the old and young guard, was also erroneous, as they advanced to the attack without their flanks having any support or protection. His attacks during the battle were also ill-planned:—infantry alone in one part of the line, and cavalry alone in another part, were sent to attack infantry, cavalry, and artillery combined.

Nor were these the entire of Napoleon Buonaparte's military errors. At the battle of Marengo, he committed the following great error:—when Melas contracted his front upon his centre, Napoleon Buonaparte, instead of manœuvring in mass upon his adversary's centre, weakened his own centre to strengthen his wings, with the intention of surrounding the Austrian army. As soon as Melas observed this movement, he advanced his centre rapidly in mass on the weakened centre of the French, and dis-

persing it, divided his victorious column into two parts, and rapidly wheeling to the right and left, advanced on both the French wings, which, seeing their centre in flight, followed its example. The battle was alone saved by the advance of the divisions of Lemoncier and Dessaix at the critical moment; and Napoleon Buonaparte, having been joined by the fugitives, he formed the whole in two close columns, and rushed impetuously on the victorious Austrians before they could form again in mass, or assume any available attitude of defence. In his Russian campaign also he committed a series of errors and blunders which were at variance with the great principles of military science. Even his preparations for its inception were defective and inefficient in the highest degree. He could not, had he exerted the least thought, have reasonably expected to put his system of requisition—of “making the war feed the war”—into operation, in the deserted steppes of Russia, and that, too, in the tract of a large retreating army. The French commissariat was in so defective a state, and the supplies so insufficient, that the Marquis Chambray says, in his *Expédition de Russie*, the troops were obliged to subsist by marauding in their march even through Prussia and Poland. His inaction after the battle of Borodino was reprehensible in the highest degree, and may be considered one of the principal causes of his discomfiture.

But the errors which prevailed in Napoleon Buonaparte's system of tactics were not confined to himself; they extended to his generals. The plan of attacking posts and positions which might safely have been turned or passed, and which would have followed the fate of the day, was, instead of making one well-combined simultaneous effort, put into execution at Fuentes d'Onor and Albuera. Had the troops employed in obtaining possession of the first-mentioned village been called into action on that part of the field on which the fusileer brigade determined the fortune of the day, the issue of the battle of Albuera might have been otherwise than it was.

The impolicy of this system of modern tactics, especially where it is not possible to arrest the progress of the attack on the main body of the army, as was the case at Waterloo, Fuentes d'Onor, and Albuera, is self-evident. You not only uselessly sacrifice your men, but you waste time,

and present your adversary with the chance of availing himself of the occurrence of some of those freaks of fortune which occur in the course of battles, and often frustrate the best and wisest plans and combinations. To assailants, therefore, partial actions and the capture of particular points are not of so much importance as to him who acts on the defensive. The defence of posts and positions, situated either on his front or flank, is, to a weak or dispirited enemy, of the highest importance. To him the advantages of walls and barricades are great; he is enabled to resist the heavy columns of his adversary with a small number of his forces; and the loss of the enemy must be great before those positions, if they be well and obstinately defended, can be carried. To adopt in all cases, and under all circumstances, the modern practice of *la petite guerre*, or the war of posts and positions, implies a capacity of not being able to distinguish between generals and particulars—between a rule and its exceptions.

But for the errors just stated, Napoleon Buonaparte made large compensation in his deviations from the routine methods of warfare. In his invasion of Italy, he not only deviated from the established rules of tactics, and disregarded the practice of supplying his army with the usual *matériel* and equipments of war—with stores, a commissariat, and a military chest—but he even deviated from all his predecessors in his method of invasion. Instead of penetrating the country by some of the passes of the Alpine range, and encountering the difficulties which would thereby have presented themselves to his ill-provided army, he made his irruption by the comparatively level country—namely, the narrow pass, called the Boschetta, situated at the point where the Alps and Apennines form a junction—that is, where the former range melts as it were into the first and lowest elevation of the latter range.

Another inducement to adopt this line of invasion was, the probability it presented of enabling him to intersect and separate the Austrian and Sardinian forces; as from the point he intended to debouch, it would be as practicable to march upon Milan, which the Austrians were interested to defend, as on Turin. In the execution of these operations, the Italian campaign commenced, of which the battle of Montenotte was the precursor.

## BATTLE OF MONTENOTTE.

To protect Genoa and the entrance of Italy, the Austrian general, Beaulieu, distributed his army into three divisions. D'Argenteau was posted on the heights of Montenotte and the two villages bearing the same name; the Sardinian forces, under Colli, occupied Ceva, which formed the extreme right line of the allied army; and Beaulieu himself took post at Voltri, a small town, six miles west of Genoa, for the protection of that city. The Austrian general supposed he had posted his several divisions sufficiently in communication with one another. The tactics of the French general were to render that communication impracticable.

On the 10th of April, the van of the French army had reached Voltri; but was forced back on the main body. D'Argenteau at the same moment attacked the French redoubts at Montelegino; but, being gallantly resisted by Colonel Rampon, he retreated with the intention of renewing the assault next day. In the course of the night, Napoleon Buonaparte, having left a sufficient force to watch Beaulieu, concentrating his whole force, threw it on the Austrian centre. In the morning, D'Argenteau saw himself surrounded; Massena and Angereau on his flank and in his rear, and Napoleon Buonaparte behind the redoubts. In the engagement which ensued, his loss was 1,000 slain, 2,000 prisoners, and all his colours and cannon. He effected his retreat with difficulty, and retired among the intricate mountains of those regions to reorganise

his shattered and dispirited forces. Thus did Napoleon Buonaparte, by the application of the first principle of military and mechanical science—that the greater momentum must overpower the less, and that mathematical accuracy of combination necessary to execute decisive manœuvres—win his first field of glory, and baffle the measures of the adherents to routine and etiquette, who fancied that nothing was to be done in warfare but by a servile observance of rule and regular usage. Thus was lost the battle of Montenotte, or, as it is otherwise termed, Montenuovo; and no other result could have taken place from the faulty disposition of the allied army—the mountainous nature of the country so preventing communication between the separate divisions, that the battle was lost before Beaulieu and Colli had any information of its commencement—an error which attended the Austrian operations throughout the whole of the contest of the revolutionary and imperial wars of France. The armies of that power were always too much subdivided; and the subdivisions were posted over too extended a line of operations to allow a combination of force soon enough to offer a chance of success against such active, enterprising, and impetuous foes as they had to contend with. Time and experience never convinced the Austrian generals of their error: discomfiture was, therefore, the necessary consequence of their obstinacy and ignorance.

## BATTLES OF MILLESIMO AND MONDOVI.

THE victory of Montenotte having opened to the French the plains of Piedmont, and separated the Austrian and Sardinian armies, Beaulieu retreated on the village of Dego, to cover the road to Milan, and Colli took post at Millesimo, with the strong position of the heights of Biestro between them, to protect the entrance into Piedmont. Their intention was to remain in their positions until they received succour from Lombardy, and were joined by the troops under D'Ar-

genteau. But their active and enterprising adversary was not inclined to allow them such respite.

On the 13th of April, the day following the battle of Montenuovo, Napoleon Buonaparte made a general assault on the line of the allied army, and totally defeated Beaulieu and Colli at Millesimo. Nine days afterwards, Colli was again, in his disastrous retreat, overthrown at Mondovi, as Wukassowich had previously been at Dego.\*

\* It was at this time that Lannes, afterwards Duke of Montebello, and one of the bravest marshals of the empire, first attracted the notice of Napoleon Buonaparte. "The talent of Lannes," said Napoleon Buonaparte, "was equal to his bravery. He was at once the Roland of the army,

and a giant in capacity. He had great experience in war: had been in fifty-four pitched battles, and three hundred combats. He was cool in the midst of fire; and possessed a clear penetrating eye, ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might present itself."—*O'Meara*.

## RESULTS OF THE BATTLES OF MONTENUOVO, MILLESIMO, AND MONDOVI.

THUS, in less than a fortnight, were the two great roads of Piedmont and Lombardy (or, to adopt an ingenious historian's emphatic expression, "the gates of Italy") thrown open to the French. Through these they advanced to the conquest of the rich and fertile plains of Lombardy, and speedily to the subjugation of the whole of Italy. They had been conquerors in three great battles against forces much superior to their own,—had inflicted a loss on their enemies of 25,000 men, in killed, wounded, and taken,—had captured twenty-one standards, and eighty pieces of artillery,—reduced the king of Sardinia to the necessity of suing for an armistice, which was granted him on the condition of his giving up possession of the strong fortresses of Coni, Cevi, and Alexandria, called "the keys of the Alps," into the hands of the victors; and peace was granted only on the condition of his delivering up five other fortresses,—that he renounced the alliance of the combined powers at war with the republic,—and that the French troops should, at all times, have right of passage through his dominions, to Italy. For these great and splendid achievements, the Convention voted thanks five times, in the course of a month, to the army of Italy, and ordered a medal (the first of the splendid series recording his victories, designed by David) of the victorious chief to be struck, as a tribute to his genius.

The consummate genius displayed by the leader of the republican armies during this brief campaign cannot be disputed; and the modest language of the young general's despatches to the Directory, lent additional grace to his fame. At this time, the name of Napoleon Buonaparte was (in a political point of view) spotless; and the eyes of all Europe were fixed in admiration on his career. His character and principles, at that period, appear to great advantage from the following proclamation, issued to restrain the atrocities and depravity of the French troops, and infuse into their bosoms feelings of humanity, and a sense of the honour and integrity which ought to be the emphatic distinction of the military character, and on the observance of which the welfare and success of armies materially depend.

"Friends! I promise you the conquest of all Italy. But there is one condition which you must swear to fulfil: it is, that

you respect the people whom you come to set free—that you forbear those frightful pillages to which some depraved men are excited by our enemies. Without this forbearance, you will not be considered the liberators of an enslaved people: you will be their scourge; you will not be an honour to the French nation;—they will hiss you. Your victories, your courage, your success—the blood of your brothers slain in the field—all will be lost—even honour and glory. As to myself and the other generals who possess your esteem, we should blush to command an army without discipline, without curb—who know no law but force. But, invested with the national authorities,—strong in justice and in law, I can make that small portion of heartless and cowardly men respect the laws of humanity and honour, which they thus trample under foot. I will not suffer brigands to soil your laurels: the robbers shall be shot without mercy: some have been shot already. It has given me satisfaction to see the manner in which the true soldiers of the republic have executed such orders. People of Italy! the French are the friends of all nations. Range yourselves with confidence under our colours. Your property, your religion, and your customs, shall be sacredly respected."

His moral character, also, at this period, was exemplary, and forms a striking contrast to the unbounded licentiousness in which he indulged after he had obtained the consular and imperial powers. His letters, at this time, were full of the most affectionate expressions of regard and attachment to his wife. The indications they contain of "home-sickness," and the longings for the calm and quiet enjoyments of domestic life, in the society of her from whom honour and duty to his country had compelled him to separate himself "in her prime of love, her very spousal embraces," leave a favourable impression of the feelings of his heart. It is with regret that we shall have to state, in the sequel, that his life was not "unstained by any private vice," as has been asserted by the author of *The War in the Peninsula*. The current stories of Napoleon Buonaparte's amours and love peccadilloes were numerous and piquant; but they were probably exaggerated and embellished to suit the prurient fancies of his Parisian subjects.

## BATTLE OF FOMBIA.

NAPOLÉON BUONAPARTE allowed his victorious troops to remain no longer in inaction than was necessary to consolidate the columns. As soon as that was accomplished, he prepared for instant motion, and issued the following proclamation, dated from Cherasco, a town situated within ten leagues of Turin:—

“Soldiers you have, in fifteen days, gained six victories; taken twenty-one stand of colours, fifty-five pieces of cannon, with several fortresses; and have reduced to subjection the richest part of Piedmont. You have captured 15,000 prisoners, and killed or wounded more than 10,000 of your foes. Hitherto you have been fighting for barren rocks, made memorable by your valour, though useless to your country; but your exploits now equal those of the armies of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute at first, your valour has supplied all your wants. You have gained battles without cannon; passed rivers without bridges; performed forced marches without shoes; and bivouacked without wine and liquors, and often without bread. None but republican phalanxes—the soldiers of liberty—were capable of such sacrifices. Thanks to you, soldiers! for your perseverance. Your grateful and admiring country owes its safety to you. But, soldiers! you have yet done nothing while anything remains to do. Neither Turin or Milan is yours: the ashes of the conquerors of Tarquin are still trodden under foot by the assassins of Basseville. I am told there are some among you whose courage is giving way; who would rather return to the summits of the Alps and the Apennines. No: I cannot believe it. The conquerors of Montenotte, of Millesimo, of Dego, of Mondovi, burn to carry still further the glories of the French name.”

Having made the necessary preparations, and animated his troops to co-operation in his great designs, he determined to seize on

Tuscany, Venice, and the other Italian states, before they had time to assume a hostile attitude; and to occupy the Milanese territory before the Austrian government could dispatch an army to the assistance of Beaulieu.

Piedmont being in the possession of the French, Beaulieu, for the purpose of protecting Lombardy, by covering Milan, and preventing his adversary from effecting the passage of the Po, concentrated his forces behind that river. But, by a series of well-planned feints, Napoleon Buonaparte so effectually deceived the Austrian general, that, in a rapid and well-executed march of fifty miles, he reached Placenza, and crossed the river at that point, without the loss of a single man; while the old Austrian routine-general was waiting for him at Valenza, at which place he was sure that the French would attempt a passage, *because he himself* had effected “a passage at that point!” The advanced divisions of the hostile armies met at Fombia on the 8th of May, when the Austrians, being defeated with a heavy loss, retreated in great confusion across the river Adda, leaving all their artillery in the hands of the conquerors.

The French troops now entered the territories of the Duke of Parma, who was obliged to pay 2,000,000 of francs in silver, besides furnishing supplies of corn, provisions, and artillery horses for the use of the French army. In addition to the military contribution, he was compelled to give up twenty of the principal paintings in the gallery of Parma, among which was the celebrated St. Jerome, by Correggio. The duke offered a million of francs as its ransom, which several of Napoleon Buonaparte’s officers urging him to accept, he replied—“The million he offers would soon be spent; but the possession of such a *chef-d’œuvre* at Paris, will adorn that capital for ages, and give birth to similar exertions of genius.”

## BATTLE OF LODI, AND ITS RESULTS.

To oppose the passage of the Adda, the Austrian general had established his headquarters at Lodi, a town situated on the eastern bank of that river. On the advance of the French, his outposts and rear-guard were driven through the town; but a

battery of thirty pieces of artillery, stationed at the opposite end of the wooden bridge, so as to sweep it completely, arresting the progress of the assailants, Napoleon Buonaparte constructed, on the French side of the river, a strong battery in direct opposition to it.

The French opening a furious cannonade, the Austrian general caused his line of battle to fall back a considerable distance from his artillery, to avoid the range of the French fire. During the contest, General Beaumont, who had been detached with the cavalry to ford the river at a distant point, falling on the enemy's flank, occasioned some confusion in that quarter, which Napoleon Buonaparte observing, he ordered the column of grenadiers, which was drawn up ready for the purpose close to the bridge, under the shelter of the houses, to advance to force its passage. The column, consisting of 6,000 men, rushed forward with the war-shout of "*Vive la république!*" but the tempest of grape-shot with which they were assailed, checking them, Napoleon Buonaparte, Berthier, Massena, Lannes, D'Allemagne, and Dupont hurried to the front of their men, and dashing onwards, followed by the whole column, crossed the bridge—Lannes being the first, and Napoleon Buonaparte the second who reached the Austrian side. The artillerymen were cut down before the infantry could advance to their support, and the French forces forming rapidly as they crossed the bridge, advanced forwards, when the Austrian army, being thrown into confusion by their own cavalry, was routed with great slaughter. "The terrible passage" of this bridge—the result, as he expresses himself in his official despatch, of promptitude of execution, and "the sudden effect produced on the enemy," by the boldness of "the charge of the intrepid column" occasioned the loss of but 200 men to the French. It was on this occasion that the soldiery, delighted with the valour and dauntless exposure of his person, conferred on Napoleon Buonaparte the *soubriquet* or nick-name of "The Little Corporal," an expression which became their favourite camp-appellation of him.\* On this occasion, also, the conqueror addressed to his soldiers one of those eloquent and heart-stirring proclamations, which contributed as much as his victories, by captivating the minds of men, to his astonishing success. The touching expression—"Your parents, your

wives, your sisters, your lovers rejoice at your success, and glory in their connexion with you: when you return to your homes, your fellow-citizens will say of each of you, in passing, 'He was a soldier in the army of Italy,'" could not fail of producing a powerful effect on the army, and of fostering the military spirit in the people of France. The proclamation ran thus:—

"Soldiers! You have rushed like a torrent from the heights of the Apennines: you have overwhelmed and dispersed all that opposed your march. Piedmont, delivered from the tyranny of Austria, has resigned itself to its natural inclination for peace and friendship for France. Milan is yours, and the republican standards wave over the whole of Lombardy. The dukes of Parma and Modena owe their political existence to your generosity. The army which so proudly menaced you, can now no longer find a barrier to protect itself against your courage: the Po, the Tessino, the Adda, could not stop you for a single day. Those boasted bulwarks of Italy—the Alps, have proved useless; you have crossed them as rapidly as you did the Apennines. Such success has carried joy into the bosom of your country: fêtes in honour of your victories have been ordered by your national representatives, to be celebrated in all the communes of the republic. Then your mothers, your wives, your sisters, your lovers will rejoice at your success, and glory in their connection with you. Yes, soldiers! you have done much; but much still remains to be done. Shall it be said of us, that we have gained victories, without knowing how to profit by them? Shall posterity have to reproach us with having found a Capua in Lombardy? But I see you are desirous of hastening to arms. Well, then, let us set forth. We have still forced marches to make—enemies to subdue—laurels to reap—injuries to avenge! . . . The hour of vengeance has struck. But let the people of all nations rest in peace: we are the friends of every people, and especially of the descendants of Brutus, Scipio, and the other great men whom we have taken as our models. To restore the capital—to re-

\* A singular custom was established in the army of Italy. After each battle, the oldest soldiers used to hold a council, and confer a new rank on their young general, who, when he made his appearance in the camp, was received by the veterans, and saluted with his new title. They made him a corporal at Lodi, and a sergeant at Castiglione. At Vellagio, they had surnamed him "The Invincible."

"Le Petit Caporal," however, continued his prevalent title. Perhaps this nick-name contributed, in some degree, to his miraculous success on his return from Elba, in 1815. While he was haranguing the troops sent to oppose and capture him, a voice from the ranks exclaimed, "*Vive notre petit caporal!* we will never fight against him."—*Mémorial à Ste Helène, par Las Casas.*

place there the statues of the heroes who rendered it immortal—to rouse the Roman people from ages of slavery;—such will be the fruit of our victories. They will form an epoch in history to you will belong the glory of having changed the face of the most beautiful part of Europe. The French people, free within and respected without, will give to Europe a glorious name, which will indemnify it for all the sacrifices it has made for the last six years. You will then return to your homes, and your fellow-citizens, will say, as they point at you, ‘He was of the army of Italy.’”

The results of this splendid achievement were the surrender of Cremona, Pizzighitona, and the city of Milan. The only exertion made to resist the progress of the French, was an invocation of the aid to be derived from superstition. The Archduke Ferdinand (the governor of Milan, and the em-

peror’s representative in Lombardy) underwent the most select penances, made many long prayers and endless processions, and unweariedly invoked the whole calendar of saints to take compassion on, and assist him in the defence of his trust; but finding their saintships all deaf to his supplications and entreaties, he fled from Milan; and four days after the affair of Lodi, the French became masters of that city,\* when they levied twenty millions of livres, and selected twenty of the finest paintings in the Ambrosian gallery, and other superb works of art, to enrich the Parisian collection. At this time, a circumstance took place, which tended greatly to tarnish the French arms, and “fixed the first dark and indelible stain on the name of Napoleon Buonaparte.”

The intolerable exactions and peculations to which the Italians were exposed—the pillage of their works of the fine arts—and the little reverence the French seemed dis-

\* On the evening of the day previous to the capture of the city of Milan, Napoleon Buonaparte was engaged to dine at the mansion of a lady of consequence, who, in consideration of the high reputation of her guest, conducted the honours of her table with the most marked attention and politeness. Napoleon Buonaparte, however, being fully occupied with the momentous events that were to characterise the succeeding day, replied with coldness and brevity to the repeated marks of deference which his hostess pointedly expressed towards him, who, at length, in order to give animation to the company, requested to know the general’s age, adding, by way of palliation of the apparent rudeness of the inquiry, “that he appeared by far too young to have already gained so many laurels.” “Truly, madam,” answered Napoleon Buonaparte, smiling, “I am not indeed very old at the present moment; but in less than twenty-four hours I shall count much more; for to-day I have to number twenty-five years, whereas, to-morrow, I shall have attained Milan (mille-ans, a thousand years.)” Though not remarkable for his courtly grace and refinement of manners, he could render himself eminently agreeable, when it suited his purpose and inclination to do so.

“Politeness, in his intercourse with the fair sex,” says Bourrienne, in his *Memoirs*, “was no part of the character of Napoleon Buonaparte: he rarely had anything agreeable to say to them. Often, indeed, he addressed to them unbecoming compliments, or the most extraordinary remarks. Sometimes he would say, ‘Heavens! how red your arms are!’ at others, ‘What a villainous head-dress you have!’ or ‘Who has bundled up your hair in that fashion?’ Sometimes, ‘What a shabby dress you have; I have seen you in that one at least twenty times!’ or again, ‘How dirty your gown is! Do you never change it?’ To the beautiful Duchess of Chevreuse, remarkable for her fine flaxen hair, he said, ‘Why, bless me! your hair is red! (*vous avez les cheveux roux*;)’ but as this was evidently a play on her name, it was, no doubt, intended to be anything but offensive. On the subject of finding fault with the dress of the

ladies of his court he had no mercy, as he liked to see females appear attractive and elegant, and wished to see money disbursed. He was often present at the toilet of his wife, who had a most correct taste, and had probably rendered him fastidious as to the costume of the ladies. This was also his practice with his second wife, Maria Louisa. At first, elegance in female dress was what he chiefly admired: at a later period, splendour and magnificence; but always propriety. At the commencement of the consulate, he expressed his dislike of the fashion which left the neck exposed. And he was not only fond of splendour and magnificence in female apparel, but also throughout all his household arrangements, taking care, however, that he was not imposed on; and for this purpose he checked his accounts himself, and adopted a very simple process for the purpose—one that convinced his dependants that they could not impose on him, and which exempted him from the trouble of frequently undertaking the task, as his household was in constant fear of detection. His method was thus:—When the accounts were presented to him, he would cast his eyes on the first article (sugar, for example), and finding some millions of pounds set down as having been consumed, he would take a pen, and say to the person who drew the accounts:—‘How many individuals are there in my household?’—‘Sire, so many.’ ‘And how many pounds of sugar do you suppose they consume a-day, on an average?’—‘Sire, so many.’ He immediately made his calculation, and having satisfied himself, he would give back the paper, saying—‘Sir, I have doubled your estimate of the daily consumption, and yet you are enormously beyond the mark. Your account is faulty. Make it out again, and let me have greater correctness.’ This reproof would be sufficient to establish the strictest regularity. Speaking of his private, as well as of his public administration, he was in the habit of saying—‘I have introduced such order, and employed so many checks, that I cannot be much imposed on. If I am wronged at all, I leave the guilty person to settle the matter with his own conscience.’”

posed to pay to the shrines of catholicism and the clergy, excited the indignation of the whole population of Lombardy, and drove them into open insurrection against their oppressors. Napoleon Buonaparte marched against the insurgent city of Pavia, and having reduced the insurgents to submission, inflicted military execution on the whole municipality, as well as such of the inhabitants as had taken an active

part against the French garrison; and also levied a tribute of 25,000,000 francs on the devoted city. At the same time, Lannes took, "everywhere throughout the imperial fiefs, the most dreadful vengeance on the insurgents that military execution could inflict." He burnt Binasco, and massacred the whole of its inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex. The male inhabitants of Lugo met with the same sad fate.

#### BATTLE OF VALLEGGIO.

NAPOLÉON BUONAPARTE having by his severity stifled the spirit of insurrection in Lombardy, continued his march; and on the 28th of May he entered the city of Brescia, situate in the Venetian territory. In the meanwhile Beaulieu, having collected his scattered forces, and received some additional aid, had taken position at Valleggio, on the river Mincio; and being of opinion, that the French general would attempt the passage of the river at Peschiera, had prepared to receive him at that place. But Napoleon Buonaparte (who, about this time, had dropped the *u* in his name) repeating the tactics that he had pursued at Placenza, passed that river at the bridge of Borghetto, and forced the Austrian general to retreat behind the Adige, another tributary of the Po. An occurrence, however, now happened, had fortune been propitious to the Austrians, that would have consoled them for all their reverses and blunders. A detachment, consisting of dragoons and hussars, of the left of the Austrian line, stationed at Puzzuolo, which lies further

down the Mincio than Valleggio, hearing the cannonade at Borghetto, advanced to the assistance of their countrymen. At the time of their arrival, Napoleon Buonaparte was about to sit down to dinner with a small retinue of officers. The attack of the Austrians was so sudden, that his friends had barely time to shut and barricade the gates of the house. Napoleon Buonaparte escaped by a back passage, and hurriedly reached Massena's division, which was occupied at the other side of the bridge, cooking their dinner; the rest of the French army being engaged in the pursuit of their discomfited and fleeing foes. To prevent similar occurrences, Napoleon Buonaparte caused the formation of a body or company of men, called *Guides* (veterans of ten years' service at least), whose duty it was to attend to the personal safety of the commander-in-chief, and who were never brought into action except when important movements and desperate emergencies required the utmost efforts. This corps was the germ of the imperial guard.\*

\* It first bore the appellation of *the consular guard*, and consisted of about 2,100 veteran soldiers, distinguished as horse and foot grenadiers, horse and foot chasseurs, and artillery. In 1804, the period of Napoleon Buonaparte's assumption of the imperial diadem, it assumed the title of *the imperial guard*, and numbered about 10,000 men; and a squadron was formed from the corps of guides who had accompanied Napoleon Buonaparte in his Egyptian campaigns, clad in the oriental costume. In 1807, a regiment of Polish lancers was added. In 1809, eight new regiments were added, under the denomination of *tirailleurs grenadiers*, *tirailleurs chasseurs*, and *conscript chasseurs*, under the general title of *the young guard*. In 1810, on his marriage with Maria Louisa of Austria, an augmentation of the old guard took place, and at the close of that year, the incorporated body of the old and young guard numbered 33,500 men. In 1811, the Dutch guards of Louis Buonaparte, on his abdication, were incorporated into the young guard; on which occa-

sion the old and young guard received an addition of 9,000 men. Latterly, the number of the old and young guard exceeded 60,000 men. On the birth of the King of Rome, a regiment of two battalions of boys, from ten to sixteen years of age, was formed, under the name of *the pupils of the guard*, to be called *guards of the King of Rome*.

The imperial guard was only called on to act in great emergencies. When its columns were ordered to move to the attack, every soldier knew that it was to march where the struggle was deadliest, and the fate of the army was to be decided. The bugle was never to sound a retreat for him, and no reserve was to help him to sustain the shock. Beaten troops rallied at its approach—despair gave way to confidence—and the cry of terror was changed into the shout of victory. The enemy, on the other hand, when they saw the deep and massive columns of the guard approaching, were already half beaten. The prestiges of victory paralysed their arms, and they struggled against hope. No sooner were they or-

All that remained now to Austria of her Italian possessions was the citadel of Milan, which still resisted the French, and the strong and almost impregnable fortress of Mantua; and these were destined shortly to fall into the hands of the conqueror.

#### SIEGE AND BLOCKADE OF MANTUA.

BOTH the city and fortress of Mantua are situated on the island of Seraglio, which lies in the midst of the stagnant waters and morasses formed by the river Mincio, and is connected by five narrow causeways to the mainland, three of which are defended by fortresses or intrenched camps; the other two by gates, draw-bridges, and batteries. The garrison had been reinforced by Beaulieu, and consisted of about 14,000 men, with a prodigious train of artillery.

Napoleon Buonaparte determined on its immediate investment. By sudden and overwhelming assaults he obtained possession of four of the causeways; but learning that Wurmser, one of the most able and experienced of the Austrian generals, was advancing, with a great additional force, to supersede Beaulieu, he prepared to meet the emergency. He accordingly converted the siege of Mantua into a blockade, leaving Serrurier in command, and returned to Milan, to execute the treaty for which preliminaries had been entered into with the king of Sardinia and the states of Genoa and Venice. By intrigue and intimidation, the French general had detached the king of Naples from the coalition with the allied powers, and thus weakened the army of Beaulieu by the separation of many thousand veteran and

experienced troops. He compelled the Vatican to submission and quiescence, and obtained from that power, for his friendship, the cession of Ancona, Ferrara, and Bologna, a contribution of 24,000,000 francs, and the right of selection of 100 statues and paintings, chosen out of the national museums or the private collections, by Monge and other scavans or connoisseurs who accompanied the French army; having before obtained similar contributions, and forty works of the fine arts, from the dukes of Parma and Modena. He seized Leghorn, confiscated the whole of the English merchandise found there, and destroyed the English factory. He collected a number of Corsican emigrants in Tuscany, and arming them, conveyed them to that island, which, in the course of three months, detached itself from its British alliance, and became a division of France, after it had cost England £2,500,000 sterling. He, moreover, revolutionised the whole of the north of Italy, establishing there a group of republics, ready to be the subservient allies of France. At the same time the citadel of Milan capitulated; and he was thus supplied with a park of artillery, consisting nearly of 150 guns, for the commencement of his operations against Mantua.

#### BATTLES OF SALO, LONATO, AND CASTIGLIONE

ALL Lombardy, except Mantua, being now subdued, the conqueror prepared to oppose the overwhelming torrent which was ready to pour down upon Lombardy from the passes of the Tyrol. Having opened the trenches before Mantua, he marched to combat the foe with an army amounting to about 40,000 men.

The Austrian army, to the amount of 80,000 men, was advancing in three divi-

dered up, than the general conviction was, that the final hour of the one or the other army was at hand: then the contest along the different portions of the French line became apparently of no moment; every one awaited the result of their shock. At Auster-

sions. The right wing, under Davidovich, was detached to Brescia; the left, under Quasdonovich, was to descend the Adige and manœuvre on Verona; while the centre, under Wurmser, advanced to the relief of Mantua. This disposition was adopted to cut off the retreat of the French, as the fighting old general made a sure calculation that he should beat them, and the disposition would have been judicious for the pur-

litz, Jena, Friedland, Wagram, and Marengo, they had carried terror and confusion into the ranks of their opponents. But Waterloo broke the spell, as the glorious battles of the Peninsula had disenchanted the belief in French invincibility.

pose; but the large extent of country taken up for that purpose, so separated the columns, as to prevent them supporting one another in proper time, should they be attacked—an error that had prevailed in all Beaulieu's movements, and which, as has been before said, attended those of all the other Austrian generals during the whole war, and was the cause of their frequent defeats.

The hostile armies soon came in presence of each other; and, during the first two days, the French retreated before the Austrian columns, leaving them in possession of Castiglione, Brescia, Salo, and Corona. But the tide of success, which had for thirteen consecutive days run against the French, had no visible effect on Napoleon Buonaparte's measures. Having rendered the rear of his army secure, and brought the two wings into connection, he determined to put his usual and decisive manœuvre (of attacking his adversary's separated divisions in detail) into practice. He, therefore, on the 31st of July, broke up the siege of Mantua, burying his guns and balls which he could not remove in the trenches, and casting his powder and the gun-carriages into the lake.

He first attacked one division of Quasdonovich's column at Salo, and another at Lonato. In the meanwhile, Wurmser having forced the French rear-guards from their posts, advanced to resume his communication with Quasdonovich; but having, by this manœuvre, left the centre of the Austrian line greatly weakened, Massena and Angereau attacked it at Lonato and Castiglione, and threw it into complete discomfiture and rout. Here, again, one of those accidents nearly favoured the discomfited Austrians and proved fatal to Napoleon Buonaparte. He had entered Lonato with a small retinue, when an Austrian general, who had received information, from some

peasants, that the French commander-in-chief was in the town, appeared with a body of four or five thousand men before the place, and sent an officer with a flag of truce to summon the French troops who were in possession to surrender. Napoleon Buonaparte received the Austrian officer at the head of his staff, and desiring his eyes to be unbandaged, said—"What means this insolence? Do you beard the French general in the midst of his army? Go and tell your general, that I give him eight minutes to lay down his arms: he is in the midst of the French army! That time passed, he has nothing to hope." The boldness of the demand inclined the enemy to submit to a force not above a fourth of their number, and thus saved Napoleon Buonaparte from the imminent danger in which he was placed. Wurmser, with an activity not familiar to German policy, occupied himself in endeavouring to repair his disasters. Having victualled Mantua, and collected the scattered remains of his routed army, he advanced, on the 5th of August, to Castiglione. In the engagement which ensued, the Austrian army was completely routed, and pursued to the gates of Trent and Roveredo, the very places from which the Austrian general had advanced, confident of victory, and in which the Austrian soldiers had made various exhibitions emblematic of their overthrow of the republican sans-culottes. In this disastrous campaign (which the French army called—from the rapid and uninterrupted succession of victories—"the campaign of five days"), Wurmser lost above half his army, and all his cannon and stores. It was at this period that the foundation of the Polish legion (which afterwards became so renowned in the imperial wars) was laid, from the emigrants of that nation who flocked in numbers to Napoleon's standard.

#### BATTLES OF ROVEREDO, PRIMOLANO, BASSANO,

THE Austrian general was, however, not yet subdued. Being reinforced with 20,000 fresh troops, he advanced to the relief of Mantua; and again committed the besetting error of Austrian generals—of dividing his force beyond the power of combination, as instant necessity or circumstances might require. He left 20,000 men under Davidovich, at Roveredo, to cover the Tyrol,

while he advanced to raise the blockade of Mantua.

Napoleon Buonaparte suffered him to advance to Bassano, a distance sufficient to prevent the possibility of combination in sufficient time, when either division was attacked; and then, rapidly marching against Davidovich, attacked him in his strongly-intrenched camp, in front of Roveredo, and

defeated him, with the loss of 7,000 prisoners, and the greater part of his artillery and colours. The consequence of this victory was, that Trent fell into the hands of the French, and Wurmser's communication with the Tyrol was cut off.

To redeem his ill-fortune, the Austrian commander-in-chief adopted the following plan:—Being of opinion that Napoleon Buonaparte was about to put into execution Carnot's masterly scheme of operation—namely, the junction of the army of Italy with the armies of the Rhine, under Jourdan and Moreau; and that thus their joint advance would be effected on Vienna—he determined to wait in Lombardy, in order to cut off his retreat through Italy. But his anticipations proved disastrous to him. For Napoleon Buonaparte, having recourse to his accustomed plan of forced marches, passed over sixty miles of ground in two days, and suddenly coming on Wurmser, attacked him in his position at Primolano, and defeated his rearguard, with the loss of 4,000 prisoners.\* Next day, September 8th, he attacked him at Bassano, and took 6,000 prisoners with all his artillery, baggage, and colours. Wurmser, effecting his escape with great difficulty, threw himself into Mantua, with 16,000 men—the remnant of the fine army with which he had entered Italy, and been reinforced with during his ill-fated operations in that country. Another of Napoleon Buonaparte's narrow escapes from being captured—like those he had met with

\* It is stated, that on the evening after this battle, Napoleon Buonaparte, in his eagerness to pursue the fleeing enemy, outrode all his suite, and passed the night alone, wrapped in his cloak, on the ground in the midst of a regiment of infantry, who bivouacked round the town. "A private soldier shared with him his rations, and reminded him of it, after he became emperor, in the camp at Boulogne."

† The following anecdote of this battle is stated by Las Casas to have been narrated by Napoleon Buonaparte in one of his conversations at St. Helena:—On the night following the battle of Bassano, Napoleon Buonaparte, accompanied by some superior officers, was going over the field on which the battle had been fought, for the purpose of seeing that the wounded were attended to. The moon shed her light on the scene, and the profound silence of the night was disturbed only by the cries of the wounded and the groans of the dying. Suddenly a dog, which had been lying upon a dead body, came forward moaning, alternately advancing and receding, as if hesitating between the desire of avenging the death of his master, and the apprehension of allowing the body to become cold, which he appeared to be desirous of reviving. Napoleon Buonaparte checked his horse, and after remaining for some minutes absorbed in profound meditation, exclaimed, "what a lesson for man!" Perhaps the

at Valleggio and Lonato—occurred at this time. In one of the fierce skirmishes that took place, he was completely surrounded for a moment, but escaped by reining aside his charger, and spurting away at a furious rate.†

Having again dispersed the imperial army, he issued a proclamation, calling on the Tyrolese to shake off the yoke of Austria, and revolutionise themselves. But those hardy and gallant mountaineers rejected the proposal, preferring their German connection to French fraternisation; and arming themselves, waited the signal to resist their invaders.

Napoleon Buonaparte appeared again before Mantua. A battle ensuing, September 13th, between the hostile armies near the suburb of St. George, which is close to the citadel, terminated in the flight of the Austrian army within the walls of the city, after having sustained a severe loss. Napoleon Buonaparte then appointed Serrurier to the command of the blockade, and placing his army in cantonments, went to Milan, to organise the various republics which he had instituted in the north of Italy.

At this time he wrote to the Directory, complaining of their not putting a larger force at his disposal, and informing them that he was about to lose the whole of his Italian conquests:—"Mantua cannot be reduced before the middle of February; you will perceive from that how critical our situation is; and our political system is, if

incident will be more interesting to the reader if presented in the graphic language of Napoleon Buonaparte, as given by Las Casas: "In the deep silence of a beautiful moonlight, while passing over the field of battle, strewn with the dead and the dying, a dog leaping suddenly from beneath the clothes of his dead master, rushed upon us, and then immediately returned to his hiding-place, howling piteously: he alternately licked his master's face and again flew at us—thus at once soliciting aid and seeking revenge. Whether owing to my own particular turn of mind at the moment—the time, the place, or the action itself—no incident on any field of battle ever produced so deep an impression on me. This man, thought I, perhaps has friends in the camp, or in his company; and here he lies, forsaken by all except his dog. What a lesson nature here presents through the medium of an animal! What a strange being is man; and how mysterious are his impressions! I had, without emotion, ordered battles which were to decide the fate of the army; I had beheld, with tearless eyes, the execution of these operations, by which numbers of my countrymen were sacrificed; and here my feelings were roused by the mournful howling of a dog!" Several similar occurrences are detailed in the *Campaigns and Battle-Fields of Wellington and his Comrades*.

possible, still worse. Peace with Naples is indispensable; an alliance with Genoa and Turin necessary. Lose no time in taking the people of Lombardy, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara under your protection, and, above all, send reinforcements. The emperor has thrice reformed his army since the commencement of the campaign. Every thing is going wrong in Italy; the *prestige*

of our forces is dissipated; the enemy now count our ranks. It is indispensable that you take into your instant consideration the critical situation of the Italian army, and forthwith secure it friends both among king and people. The influence of Rome is incalculable; you did wrong in breaking with that power; I would have temporised with it, as we have done with Venice and Genoa."

#### BATTLE OF ARCOLA.

AUSTRIA availed herself of the breathing-time which the inaction of the French armies now presented. Having, by the discomfiture of the French armies of the Rhine, under Jourdan and Moreau been enabled to recruit her resources, she prepared to resume the war in Italy with renewed vigour. Marshal Alvinzi, a general of high reputation, was therefore ordered to march with an army of 40,000 men, to effect a junction with the remnant of Quasdonovich's army, which had been recruited in the Tyrol, and amounted to 18,000 men under Davidowich, and advance to the relief of Mantua and the reconquest of Lombardy.

On the advance of the imperial army into the Lombard territory, the French, under Massena and Joubert, being compelled by Davidowich to retreat from their positions of Corona and Rivoli, Napoleon Buonaparte hurried to the assistance of his retreating forces. Presenting himself to the discomfited troops—"Soldiers!" said he, "you have displeased me. You have shown neither discipline, constancy, nor courage: you have suffered yourselves to be driven from positions where a handful of brave men might have arrested the progress of an army. You are no longer French soldiers. Let it be written on the colours—'They belong not to the army of Italy.'" "These words," says the writer of the *Montholon Memoirs*, "were answered by the tears and groans of the soldiery. The rules of discipline could not stifle their sense of humiliation; and several of the grenadiers, who had deserved, and who wore emblems of distinction, called out from their ranks—'General! we have been misrepresented. Place us in the van of the army, and you shall then judge whether we do not belong to the army of Italy.'" Events soon proved that the general had no reason to repent of his clemency.

A severe rencontre ensued at Vicenza; and as the victory remained undecided, Napoleon Buonaparte retreated, and took up his position at Verona. Alvinzi occupied the strong heights of Caldiero, from which he repulsed Massena's assault with great loss.

Napoleon Buonaparte, now fearing that Alvinzi would effect a junction with Davidowich, to deceive his adversary made the feint of retreating to Mantua; but after marching some distance rearwards, suddenly wheeling his columns towards the Adige, he returned in the night, and took up his position at Arcola, in the midst of a sea of morasses, in the rear of Alvinzi's army. Having thus turned Alvinzi's position, and brought the battle to a field where the bravery of a few would, on the narrow causeways which traversed those marshes, be of more avail than the superiority of numbers, he divided his force into three columns, and advanced at daybreak (November 15th) to the attack of that place by the causeways, across which the marshes that surround the town are passable, and attacked the two battalions stationed there. The Austrians defended the causeways and bridge with great gallantry, and drove Augereau, who commanded the first column, back with much loss. Napoleon Buonaparte, seizing a standard, and dashing forward through a tempest of shot, exclaiming, "Follow your general!" at the head of a column planted the standard on the middle of the bridge; and at the same time, recalling to the minds of the soldiers the glories of Lodi, said, "Frenchmen! grenadiers! will you then abandon your colours?" The column immediately rushed forward to the bridge; but Alvinzi having reinforced his battalions, the effects of the fire of the artillery was so devastating, that the French were again driven back, and, in the *melee*, Napoleon Buona-

parte fell over the parapet of the bridge into the morass, where he remained sunk up to the middle, without the power of extricating himself. The troops seeing his imminent danger, rushed forward again to the charge, with the cry, "Forwards!—forwards!—save the general!" and pressed forwards with a violence so irresistible, as to overpower all opposition. They carried the bridge; and Arcola was taken. "During this terrible strife, Lannes received three wounds. His aid-de-camp, Meuron, was killed by his side when covering his general with his body; and all his personal staff were badly wounded."

Alvinzi, now fearing that his communication with Davidowich would be cut off, abandoned Caldiero, and retired behind Arcola. By the interposition of Alvinzi between him and Vaubois, Napoleon Buonaparte being apprehensive that Davidowich might either overwhelm Vaubois, or advance to the relief of Mantua, evacuated Arcola, and assumed his former position at Ronco. But ascertaining next day, that Davidowich had made no movement, he advanced again on Arcola, which, having been repossessed by the Austrians, was as bravely defended. This attack not succeeding, Napoleon Buonaparte retreated again to Ronco; but on the following morning the assault was renewed, and the battle raged during the day with fluctuating success and undiminished fury, until decided by a general charge of all the French forces, in conjunction with the following stratagem, which will be best described in Napoleon Buonaparte's own words, as he uttered them in one of his conversations at St. Helena:—

"At Arcola, I gained the battle with twenty-five horsemen. I perceived the critical moment of lassitude of both armies, when the oldest and bravest would have been glad to be in their tents. All my men had been engaged. Three times I had been

obliged to re-establish the battle. There remained near me about twenty-five "guides." I sent them round, under Colonel Hercule, on the flank of the enemy, with four or five trumpets, ordering them to blow loud and charge furiously. 'Here is the French cavalry,' was the cry; and all took to flight." The Austrians supposed that Murat had, with all the French cavalry, forced his way through the bogs; and at that moment, Napoleon Buonaparte ordering a general assault in front, a complete rout took place, after a desperate struggle of three days' duration.

Thus ended the three battles of Arcola, with the loss of 12,000 slain, 6,000 prisoners, eighteen cannon, and four stand of colours, on the side of the Austrians; and 8,000 killed on that of the French. It was on the first of these days, while Napoleon Buonaparte was unable to extricate himself from his perilous condition in the marsh, that the brave Meuron, who at Toulon had saved his life by a similar display of heroism and devotion, observing a bomb about to explode near Napoleon Buonaparte, threw himself between it and his general, and was killed on the spot.\*

The battle of Arcola, which lasted three days, or rather combined three separate actions, fought on consecutive days, forms a splendid epoch in the annals of warfare, and ranks among those military movements which display the strategic skill, as well as the never-failing presence of mind of Napoleon Buonaparte. Although several times worsted, still his fertile genius supplied him with fresh schemes, which not only enabled him to retrieve what he had lost, but also to turn the very reverses he had sustained into means for ultimately carrying his object. It is in the rapid conception of the means of escaping danger, and of converting the chance of success to his own advantage, that the genius of a consummate general chiefly consists.

#### BATTLE OF RIVOLI.

The Austrian generals now began to put into operation those measures which they should before have attempted. Davidowich

made an advance on Verona, and Wurmser a desperate sally from Mantua, in order to effectuate a junction; but they were frus-

\* He improved the condition of the officer and the soldier when retired from service. An imperial decree reserved for wounded military officers all the civil employments which they could properly fill.

The brave man, when expiring on the field of honour, felt no pang for the lot of those whom he left behind him. "The emperor was there to succour the widow, and be a father to the orphan."

trated in their attempts. Thus the imperialists were baffled in their fourth effort to regain possession of Lombardy, in which they might probably have been successful, had Alvinzi and Davidowich not neglected to form a junction after the discomfiture of Vaubois and Massena. The consequence of their unaccountable error and delay was the possession of Trent, and the command of the passage into the Tyrol by the French.

During the period of inaction that followed the battles of Arcola, Napoleon Buonaparte employed himself in reorganising the Cispadane and Transpadane republics; and his favours were repaid by a body of Italian troops placed at his disposal.

Austria, ever slow in action, and perverse in effort, but persevering in purpose, prepared again to renew the contest. Alvinzi, being reinforced with new levies, found himself at the head of 60,000 men; but not profiting by the experience of his former disasters, he descended from the passes of the Tyrol by two distinct lines of march and double plans of operation, with the intention of forming a junction before the walls of Mantua.

In the meantime, Napoleon Buonaparte having concentrated his forces, posted Joubert at Rivoli, with orders to dispute the important position with all his might, should Alvinzi attempt to force it. The Austrians attacked Joubert on the 13th of January 1797, with so much vigour, that, fearing he should be dislodged, he sent information of his situation to Napoleon Buonaparte, who, after examining his maps, exclaimed—"It is clear—it is clear;—to Rivoli!" and immediately advanced from Verona to his assistance, and by a forced march, reached Rivoli just at the moment that Joubert was retreating from his position. Napoleon Buonaparte ascended the heights about two o'clock in the morning of the 14th, and surveying from them the Austrian encamp-

ment in the plains below (which he was easily enabled to do, as the moon shone bright, and the Austrian watch-fires were numerous), he judged, from the unoccupied distances between the five separate encampments, that the artillery and cavalry had not then arrived; and therefore determined to commence the attack without delay. At break of day he began the action by driving the Austrians from the chapel of St. Mark. This post was twice taken and retaken.

The Austrian columns, having made their attacks on the heights by isolated movements, instead of one combined simultaneous effort, and being assailed by a heavy and destructive cannonade from the French batteries (to which they had no artillery to oppose, supported by successive charges of cavalry and infantry, were utterly broken and routed; and the fifth division, which had been detached, under Lusignan, to bring up the artillery, and then proceed to out-flank the French army and cut off Joubert, now making its appearance, was compelled to lay down its arms; and thus, as the French soldiery humorously observed, on seeing its approach, to "furnish further supplies for their muskets." Had Lusignan's movement been better timed, and Alvinzi not have fallen into the snare contrived for him by his wily adversary,\* Lusignan's appearance in the rear of the French might have made the 14th of January one of the darkest, instead of one of the brightest, days in the military chronicles of Napoleon Buonaparte. But the Austrians were not, as Napoleon Buonaparte sarcastically observed on this occasion, "apt to calculate the value of minutes." Their sluggish movements, want of decision, and servile adherence to rule and etiquette, were the cause of all their discomfiture. Well might they complain, that their great opponent would not make war by rule and method.†

\* When Napoleon Buonaparte saw the perilous situation that Joubert's division was exposed to by Lusignan's appearance in its rear, he sent a flag of truce to Alvinzi, proposing a suspension of arms for half-an-hour, as he had some propositions to make in consequence of the arrival of a courier with despatches from Paris. Alvinzi, ever impressed with the idea that military ought to be subordinate to diplomatic operations, fell into the snare; and, in the meantime, the French having made the movements necessary to repel the danger, extricated themselves.

† On this subject the anecdote told of a Hungarian officer, who was among the prisoners taken at

the defeat of the Austrians at Fombia, is not uninteresting. The remark was made by him in a conversation with Napoleon Buonaparte while the army was in bivouac. The old Hungarian, not being aware with whom he was conversing, expressed, in strong terms, his disapprobation of the irregularity of the French general's tactics. "The French have a young general," said the old routine tactitioner, "who knows nothing of the regular rules of war. To-day he is in our rear; to-morrow on our flank; and the next day in our front. There is no enduring such violations of all the rules of war: the practice is intolerable." In the battle of Rivoli Napoleon Buonaparte had three horses shot under him.

## INVESTMENT AND CAPTURE OF MANTUA.

DURING the fierce and sanguinary struggle of Rivoli, Napoleon Buonaparte received information that Provera had forced the passage of the Adige, Augereau not being able to resist him; and that he had already advanced to Lago di Guarda, by means of which he held communication with Wurmser in Mantua. He immediately prepared to meet the emergency. Leaving Massena, Murat, and Joubert to pursue Alvinzi, he hurried to the assistance of Serrurier and the blockading force before Mantua.

Having marched during the whole of the night and of the following day, he reached the vicinity of Mantua at night-fall. Finding Provera strongly posted, and Serrurier's situation highly critical, he determined on immediate action, and proceeded forthwith to make the requisite dispositions for the purpose. So great was his anxiety to ascertain that all the necessary preparations had been attended to, that he occupied the whole of the night in visiting the outposts. At one of these he found the sentinel, fatigued and overpowered with the preceding day and night's march, asleep by the root of a tree. The general, taking the musket of the sentry without waking him, performed duty in his place. At the soldier's waking, and perceiving with terror and despair the countenance and occupation of his general, he fell on his knees. "My friend," said Napoleon Buonaparte mildly, "here is your musket: as you fought hard and marched long yesterday, your sleep is excusable; but a moment's inattention might at present ruin the army. I happened to be awake, and have held your post for you. You will be more careful another time." As Mr. Lockhart has observed, this anecdote has been adopted by the various biographers of Napoleon Buonaparte, with all the particulars of the story notwithstanding the air of improbability that seems to belong to it. Such

anecdotes as these, ever and anon flying from column to column, nourished" the devotion of the soldiery; and to adopt General Foy's expression,\* rendered Napoleon Buonaparte "the life of camps and of glory." "The power he exercised over the minds of the soldiers," was, as Marmont observes, "like the mysterious power by which nature animates and calls into life the various objects of creation." "His ascendancy over the affections of the army, and their devotion to him, were such," says Ségur,† "that even during the horrors and privations of the disastrous retreat from Moscow, some men crawled to fall and die at his feet; and even in the ravings of delirium, they implored, but never reproached him. If there were any imprecations, they were not heard when he was present. Of all our misfortunes, the greatest was still that of displeasing him. He was the idol of the army, and like hope in the heart of man." Sir John Cam Hobhouse tells us, in his *Travels*, "that at a parade in the Tuileries (Sunday, May 30th, 1815), I remarked an enthusiasm, an affection, a delight, apparent in the countenances of the troops at the sight of their general, which no parent can command in the eldest of his family."‡

This enthusiastic devotion, which so wrought on the spirits of the men as to amount almost to idolatry, was produced by several causes.—1. The solicitude he manifested for the welfare and comfort of the army, provided that solicitude did not tend to compromise his plans and ambition. 2. The purity of his military administration. Favouritism found no countenance with him: merit and ability alone won his favour. Among thousands of instances, may be cited the cases of Bernard and the "ill-fated dragoon." 3. The sympathy and interest he evinced in behalf of the suffer-

"an inch deeper, and you will find the emperor;" as also that of the man who threw his amputated arm into the air, with an exclamation of his devotion and attachment to the god of his idolatry. "Often," says Lannes, "would the dying men, in their last agonies, feebly shout the national cry—'Vive l'Empereur.'" The instances in which, when he was exposed to danger, his soldiers interposed their own bodies to protect him, are innumerable. His aid-de-camp, Meuron, did this both at Toulon and Arcola, at which last-mentioned place he sealed his fidelity and devotion by his death.

\* *Histoire de la Guerre de la Péninsule sous Napoleon.*

† *Histoire de Napoleon et de la Grande Armée, en 1812.*

‡ Among the number of instances that occurred while the wounded were undergoing amputation of their limbs, or other severe surgical operations, in which they expressed their devotion to their general, that of the soldier who, while undergoing the extraction of a ball from his left side, gaily said to the surgeon as the probe went into the wound, and he thought it was approaching his heart,

ings of the troops. He often spent hours on the field of battle to see that the wounded received the attention the occasion would allow. He visited the hospitals in person, to ascertain that the sufferers were properly attended to, often applying his hands to their wounds and counting their scars, at the same time cheering and soothing them with his voice. 4. When he reviewed the troops, it was his practice to go, at a slow pace, through the ranks on foot, asking questions, listening patiently to the history of the grievances of every one and their pretensions, and on the spot to satisfy well-founded claims. On such occasions, he always asked the officers, and often the soldiers, in what battles they had been engaged; and to those who had received serious wounds, he gave the cross of the legion of honour. He always endeavoured to impress the minds of the army, that all its members were known to him; by which policy the devotion of the troops was enthusiastically excited. To accomplish this purpose, he, as Bourrienne tells us in his *Memoirs*, resorted to the following piece of charlatanism:—"He would direct one of his aides-de-camp to ascertain from the colonels of regiments whether they had in their corps men who had served in the campaigns of Italy, of Egypt, &c.; and to ascertain their names, where they were born, the particulars of their families, &c.; to learn their numbers in the ranks, and to what companies they belonged. On the day of the review, he, at a single glance, from the card he held inclosed in his hand, could perceive the man who had been described to him. He would go up to him as if he recognised him, address him by his name, and say—"Oh! so you are here! You are a brave fellow. I saw you at Aboukir. How is your old father? What! have you not got the cross? Stay, I will give it you. Then the delighted soldiers would say to each other, 'you see the emperor knows us all: he knows our families: he knows where we have served.'" What a stimulus was this to the soldiers, whom he thus persuaded that they would all, some time or other, become marshals of the empire. "I have seen him, on several occasions," says Assaline, "in the hospital at Jaffa, inspecting the wards, and talking familiarly with the patients attacked by epidemic fever—a conduct that produced the best effect, not only on the spirits of the sick, but of the whole army. This heroic

example of braving the danger of disease, encouraged at the same time the hospital attendants, whom the progress of the epidemic and the fear of contagion had alarmed considerably, to a more zealous and conscientious discharge of their duty." This tribute of applause, due to him for the care and attention he always paid to the sick and wounded soldiers at all periods of his career, whether in Egypt, Italy, or Germany, is confirmed by Baron Larrey, in his work on *Egypte et Syrie*. After the battle of Wagram, while riding over the field to ascertain that the wounded had been carried off, he found a young quarter-master, who was still living, though his head had been shot through; but the heat and the dust had so speedily coagulated the blood, that the air had not been able to affect the brain. Napoleon Buonaparte slipped from his horse; felt the man's pulse; and, with his handkerchief, cleaned out the nostrils, which were stuffed with earth. Then, having put a little brandy to his lips, the soldier opened his eyes, and, at first, seemed quite insensible to the humane action of which he was the object; but soon after opening them again, he lifted them to the emperor, when his eyes were instantly filled with tears, and he would have sobbed, if his strength had allowed him. Another of the means by which he obtained his astonishing influence and ascendancy over the troops, was his participation in their hardships and difficulties—of his thrusting himself forward as the foremost man, when the stoutest heart sunk and quailed under the emergency. His heroic daring at Lodi and Arcola,—his putting himself at the head of the French army in its march across the desert towards Demanhour, after the battle of Alexandria; and at the head of the column, in the march from Madrid, in pursuit of the British army, under Sir John Moore, when the general commanding the column reported that the passes were impracticable, being choked up with snow,—could not fail to excite the admiration and esteem of the French soldiery. Even by the whole body of the national guard of Paris he was regarded with a kind of enthusiasm, though many of them had reason to recollect his deeds in the suppression of their attempt against the conventional troops on "the Day of the Sections."\* Ready, however,

\* The influence of Napoleon Buonaparte's character was not confined to the French army; it extended even to the British sailors on both his voyages to

as he was to play the *bon camarade* with his soldiers, to listen to their complaints, to redress their grievances, and even to receive their suggestions,—to his marshals and generals, and the rest of his subjects, he was distant and haughty—brief and abrupt in his speech, austere and inaccessible in his manners. Thus, while by the freedom and accessibility allowed to the privates and inferior officers, he connected himself intimately and personally with the main body of the army, he countenanced no immediate favourite whose popularity among the troops might interfere with his own. His liberality also tended to attach the army to him. Among other benefits, he had, after his accession to the imperial throne, distributed above 500,000,000 francs in donations among the troops. He adopted the children of the officers and soldiers killed at the battle of Austerlitz; and instituted an asylum at the chateaux of St. Ecouen, near St. Denis, for the reception and education of the daughters of officers killed in the service.

To resume the narrative of the military movements of the French and Austrian armies:—

Even at this period of the drama, the perversity of Austrian tactics, and absence of decision in plan and action, still retained their influence over the Austrian generals. Provera had been long enough in the neighbourhood of Mantua to effect a junction with Wurmser; but their procrastinating habits, and dogmatical adherence to their fatal mode of warfare, prevented them from adopting any measures which might have conduced to their safety and success. Instead of uniting, they let the precious opportunity escape in the employment of flying

kites across the lake, with mutual exhortations to unite. This folly met with it recompense. Their adversary was on the eve of convincing them of their error.

On the 17th, they proceeded to put their concerted measures into execution, by endeavouring to effectuate a junction. Wurmser attacked St. Antoine, and Provera assaulted the citadel of Favorita; but their efforts to effect their junction were rendered nugatory by the French forces, which had, during the preceding night, been stationed (under Victor) between the two positions. The consequence was, Wurmser was driven back into Mantua; and Provera, and his forces, amounting to 5,000 men, were compelled to lay down their arms. The rest of his division (except about 2,000 men), which was between the Adige and the Brenta, voluntarily surrendered. The fugitive army of Alvinzi, after abandoning one position after another, experienced the same fate; and so great was the prevailing terror that had seized the Austrians, that one division, amounting to 6000 men, surrendered to a force less than a twelfth part of their number. Thus the imperial armies were, for the fifth time during Napoleon Buonaparte's first Italian campaign, scattered and almost annihilated, having lost above 30,000 men, of whom 19,000 were prisoners, with sixty pieces of artillery, and twenty-four stand of colours. Their reverses again placed Trent in the hands of the French, and gave them the command of the Italian Tyrol.

Mantua, reduced to the greatest necessity, now capitulated; by which event 500 pieces of brass cannon, an immense quantity of military stores, sixty stand of colours, and 18,000 prisoners, fell into the hands of the French.

#### REDUCTION OF THE PAPAL POWER.

LOMBARDY being now finally reduced under the power of the French, Napoleon Buonaparte proceeded to the suppression of the hostile demonstrations which the pope had laughing with them at his mistakes. By the time he had been three or four days on board, he became what they called "a prime favourite" with the whole crew; and though he supported his consequence and dignity, he did it in such a way as was rather pleasing from its condescension than unpleasant from its haughtiness. So much had he wound himself into the good graces of the men, that when the voyage ended, the sailors requested their captain to wait on the emperor, with expressions of regret, that they were so soon to lose him, and with sincere good wishes for "all sorts of good luck."

indicated, as well as to compel him to fulfil the conditions of the treaty of Bologna, which he had objected to do, on the ground that "all negotiation was incompatible with the catholic religion." For this purpose, the French general assumed the command of the army under Victor, at Bologna, and, on the 31st of February, 1797, reached Castel Bolognese, on the Senio; on which river the papal forces, consisting chiefly of peasantry and monks, under Cardinal Busca, were encamped, to dispute the passage. The French vanguard, having forded the river in the night, a little higher up than the bridge, appeared in the rear of the papal forces; and the main body, at the same time, forced the passage of the bridge. The papal troops—among whose ranks monks were running about with crucifixes in their hands, exhorting the soldiers to fight bravely for their country and their faith—finding themselves between two fires, fled, after a trifling resistance, panic-struck. Fuenza, and the strong seaport town of Ancona, were next occupied by the French, with very little opposition. On the 10th of February, Colli and his army laid down their arms, and surrendered the celebrated seat of superstition, Loretto.

The French army had now advanced to Tollentino, which is within three days' march of Rome, when the pope supplicated for mercy, and entered into preliminaries of peace; these were ratified, February 13th, by the treaty of Tollentino, by virtue of which he ceded the territory of Avignon, and the legations of Ferrara, Bologna, and Romagna; agreed that the port of Ancona

while in his march through Romagna, catching a view in the distance of a high bare rock, lighted by the sunshine, Napoleon demanded its name. He was answered, "San Marino." He halted, and gazing on the rude site, where for 1,300 years liberty had found refuge among barren rocks, he, who warred upon all the despotism of Europe, resolved to respect a republic whose example, bright but un-influential through successive ages, appeared little more than a beautiful abstraction. As a compliment to the intellect of the inhabitants, and an acknowledgment of his sense of their spirit and virtue in the preservation of their freedom, he sent to them, in the name of the French republic, a deputation, headed by Monge, of the national institute, and of the commission of the arts and sciences in Italy, offering the citizens an extension of territory, with the gift of four pieces of field artillery, and 1,000 quintals of corn for their supply until the harvest; at the same time addressing them in the following grateful and animating strain:—"Liberty, which, in the glorious days of Athens and Thebes, transformed the Greeks into a nation of heroes,—which in the ages of the republic made the Romans perform prodigies,—which during the brief interval of her reign in a

should remain in the possession of the French till a general peace; consented to pay an additional contribution, amounting to 36,000,000 francs, and to fulfil all the conditions of the treaty of Bologna respecting the works of art.

Napoleon Buonaparte, leaving Victor to attend to the fulfilment of the treaty, proceeded to Lombardy. He there superintended the repair of the fortifications of Mantua; formed an alliance with the small republic of San Marino, which consisted of a single mountain and a town extending over an area of twenty-seven miles;\* and organised the various Italian states which he had conquered, incorporating Bologna, Ferrara, Reggio, and Modena, under the title of the Cispadane Republic, and entitling Lombardy, the Transpadane Republic. Among other public works, he traced the plan, and commenced a canal on the Mincio, and superintended the erection of a monument to the memory of Virgil: and having ascertained that the government of Venice, though professing "a perfect and an impartial neutrality" towards the belligerent powers, was levying forces, and forming military magazines, he required the doge to form an alliance offensive and defensive with France; but the doge evading compliance, Napoleon Buonaparte, in an interview with the Venetian envoy, Pessaro, concluded their discussions with this haughty and intimidating declaration:—"Be neuter; but see that your neutrality be indeed sincere and perfect. If any insurrection occur in my rear, to cut off my communications in

few towns of Italy, revived the arts and sciences, and shed a lustre over Florence, was almost entirely banished from Europe;—liberty existed only at San Marino; where, citizens, by the wisdom of your government, and particularly by your virtues, you have preserved that inestimable treasure through numerous revolutions, and have defended the sacred deposit during a long succession of years. I rejoice at the opportunity that circumstances have presented me of expressing the veneration with which the people of San Marino inspire all friends of liberty.—**NAPOLÉON BUONAPARTE.**" The little state accepted the corn, as a token of the friendly feeling exhibited towards them, but refused the cannon and the proffered extension of territory; resolved to keep within their narrow boundaries, whose limitation had been, in part, the cause of their protracted freedom. The cannon were refused, on the ground that they had no need of them, being always at peace with their neighbours. San Marino is situated in the papal province of Urbino, and about ten miles from the coast of the Adriatic. The origin of this petty republican state is lost in the obscurity of the dark ages, and the antiquity of its independence of all foreign dominion is equally unknown.

the event of my marching on Germany—if any movement whatever betray the disposition of your senate to aid the enemies of France, be sure that vengeance will follow—from that hour the independence of Venice has ceased to be.”

Thus terminated the third Italian campaign of republican France, and the first Italian campaign of Napoleon—one unequalled in the annals of history for the brilliancy of its achievements, the rapidity of its execution, and its decisive results: the genius of its leader and the military qualifications of its soldiery shone conspicuously. No conqueror had ever appeared on the theatre of warfare of less tarnished and sullied conduct, than Buonaparte was up to this period: fortunate would it have been for his fame and character, had his earthly career ceased with its termination. To implicate him with the atrocities of the savage Lannes, and the exactions and peculations which took place in Italy, is unjust: the one was perpetrated before he had a knowledge of the atrocity; the other he put into execution in obedience to the orders of the Directory. To condemn him for compliance with those orders, is about as rational, as to blame a faithful servant for fulfilling the commands of his master. His clemency to the unfortunate and misguided peasants who were taken in arms under Busca, and his humane and generous treatment of the emigrant French priests, who had taken refuge in Rome, and whom the Roman pontiff had basely offered to sacrifice to the vengeance of the French soldiery and government, will ever remain memorials of the nobleness of his disposition when unwarped by ambition, and uninflated by the impulses of arbitrary power.

The results of this campaign were great

\* Among the various captures of different kinds made by the French, were two of a very singular nature: the first at Ancona; the second at Loretto. At the former place the priests had an extraordinary antique image of the Virgin Mary, said to be of celestial origin, the corporeal construction of which had been made on principles so sympathetic with worldly affairs, that while the soldiers helped themselves to whatever ornaments and relics pleased their fancy, she was actually shedding a constant current of tears, for the disasters of the country. The French, however, being more hard-hearted or less reverentially credulous than the poor Italians (whose charity it had been originally designed to stimulate), took down the weeping Virgin, and sent her to headquarters; where, on examining the sources of her sensibility, no fountain of tears was discovered, but a fine circlet of glass beads, which passing from her eyes, and escaping into the folds of her robes,

and glorious to France. No nation had ever acquired so great an extent of territory, so large a number of the trophies of war,\*—had its exchequer so replenished, its museums so enriched, its military fame so exalted, and its armies so maintained and remunerated, in so brief a period of time. The whole of the north of Italy, with the exception of the territories of Venice, was now in the power of the French, and was confirmed to them by the treaty of *Campo Formio*. The French army of Italy had, in the course of a few months, descended from the mountain ridges of their own frontier, had burst the barrier of the Alps, conquered Piedmont and Lombardy, and humbled the whole of the Italian States. The conqueror, besides clothing, feeding, and abundantly paying his troops by means of forced requisitions, had remitted 50,000,000 francs to the French treasury, and had sent all the valuable paintings and works of art he could lay his hands on, to adorn the French capital. He even compelled the old pope to pay 15,000,000 francs in cash, 6,000,000 in provisions, horses, &c., and to give up a number of paintings, ancient statues, and vases, and 500 MSS., to be selected from the Vatican library by French connoisseurs. While the conditions of peace were arranging, the Austrian ambassador, with a view to conciliate the friendship of France, said—“The French republic shall be acknowledged.” “Expunge that passage,” said Napoleon; “the existence of the French republic is as clear as the sun at noon-day.”

On the conclusion of his first Italian campaign, Napoleon Buonaparte returned to Paris, where he was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of respect and admiration. A *fête* was celebrated for the

was made to revolve with a flowing effect by means of clock-work in the concealed shrine, in a manner similar to that which is observable in toys or mantel-piece ornaments, in the form of fountains issuing from the mouths of lions, &c. At Loretto was the Santa Casa, or Holy House, authenticated in the Roman calendar as having been the original residence of the Virgin Mary, when she received the visit of the angel Gabriel, and which, on the conquest of Syria by the Saracens, was transported from Nazareth to Loretto through the air by angels. The wooden image in it representing the Virgin, and styled by the priesthood, “Our Lady of Loretto,” was also held sacred. There was also obtained from this “holy place” a bed-gown, of dark-coloured camlet, which was warranted to be the identical one worn by the Blessed Virgin at the birth of the Saviour of the world. These “sacred” curiosities were all transported to Paris.

purpose of his presentation to the Directory, in the great court of the Luxembourg, when he delivered the following address:—

“Citizen Directors,—The French people, in order to be free, had to combat with kings: to obtain a constitution founded on reason, they had to vanquish the prejudices of eighteen centuries. Religion, feudality, and royalty, have successively governed Europe; but the peace which you have concluded, dates the era of representative governments. You have organised the great nation whose vast territory is circumscribed only by the limits of nature herself. You have done more: the two most beautiful parts of Europe, formerly so celebrated for the arts, the sciences, and the great men cradled in them, behold, with glad expectation, the genius of liberty rising from the tombs of their ancestors. Such are the pedestals on which destiny is about to place two powerful nations. I have the honour to lay before you the treaty signed at Campo Formio, and ratified by his majesty the emperor. When the happiness of the French people shall be established on the best organic laws, the whole of Europe will then become free.”

During the delivery of this admirable address, Bourrienne says, the simplicity and modesty of demeanour of the speaker were as remarkable as the calmness and dignity of the sentiments it contains.

While the army of Italy was fulfilling so gloriously the task assigned it in the general plan of the campaign, the armies of Germany, though the armistice entered into in the winter of the past year expired on the 30th of May, were unable to put themselves in motion. The difficulty of organising their magazines, and of obtaining horses, on account of the impoverished state of the French exchequer\* had detained them in inaction. The detaching of 30,000 of the best troops of the Rhine, under Wurmser, to the assistance of Beaulieu, in Italy, had placed Austria in the same condition. The positions of the hostile armies were:—Moreau, with 70,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, was posted on the Upper Rhine; the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, under Jourdan, amounting to 68,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry, were on the Lower Rhine, from the environs of Mayence to Düsseldorf;

\* The minister of finance estimated the arrears in his department at 1,500,000,000 francs, or above £80,000,000 sterling, so badly had the taxes been paid of late years.

the Archduke Charles, who had succeeded Clairfait in the command of the Austrian army, had 71,000 infantry and 21,000 cavalry, on the right bank of the last-mentioned river; and about 4,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, under the command of Wurmser, on the right bank of the Upper Rhine.

The armistice having expired, hostilities commenced by a general reconnoissance by the French on the allied advanced posts. The French plan of operations was to move forward the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, by Düsseldorf, to the right bank of the Rhine, in order, by threatening the communication of the Archduke with Germany, to induce him to recross the river, and thus facilitate the passage of the Upper Rhine by Moreau.

In the prosecution of this design, Kleber, with 25,000 men, crossed on May 25th that river at Düsseldorf, and drove back the Austrians, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, to Altenkirchen. In this operation, the Austrians had lost 1,500 men and twelve pieces of artillery. As soon as Kleber reached the height of Neuwied, Jourdan passed the river at that point, and forming a junction with Kleber, their united force amounted to 45,000 men, with the intention of covering the investment of Ehrenbreitzen.

The archduke, who was near Mayence at the time, desirous of succouring his menaced points, on the 10th of June passed the river with 45,000 infantry and 18,000 cavalry. On the 15th, he attacked at Wetzlar, and defeated Jourdan's extreme left, formed by Lefebvre's division. Jourdan, after provoking a deviation of the Austrian forces from the Upper to the Lower Rhine, retired to Neuwied, and recrossed the Rhine, at the same time sending orders to Kleber to retire to Düsseldorf and regain the left bank of the river; but the archduke, closely pursuing Kleber, a furious encounter ensued at Ukerath, which terminated to the disadvantage of the French.

Meanwhile Moreau had commenced offensive operations, to delude the Austrian forces which the archduke had left between Mayence and Mannheim, under General Latour, to watch the motions of the French. After making a variety of movements, indicating an attack of several of their posts, Moreau drew off his army unperceived, and reached Strasburg unobserved by the Austrians. On the 14th of June, Dessaix sur

prised the Kehl fortress on the right bank of the river. On the 28th of June, Moreau was at the foot of the Black Mountains. On that day he attacked the Swabian contingent of 10,000 men and Condé's corps, at Renchen, a village situated in the defile through those mountains, and defeated them with the loss of 800. On the 3rd of July he reached Radstadt, and immediately attacked Latour, posted at Ettlingen, who was routed with the loss of 1,000 prisoners. He halted on the field of battle until the 9th: on that day, the Archduke Charles reached that place with 25,000 men, to the aid of his lieutenant. On the 9th of July the hostile armies engaged. The battle was fought with great fury on both sides. The village of Malsch was taken and retaken several times, and the French were repulsed in four successive charges; but succeeding in a fifth, the archduke retired in the evening to Pforzheim, having sustained a loss of 1,500 prisoners, and a large number of slain. On the 14th, he broke up from Pforzheim, and retreated to Stutgard and the right bank of the Neckar, to be closer to the army of the Lower Rhine, under Wartensleben. By this victory, the French acquired a decided superiority on the Rhine, and were in possession of an extent of country fifty leagues in breadth, from Stutgard to the Lake of Constance. No sooner had Jourdan received information of the passage of the Rhine at Kehl, and the movement of the archduke to the assistance of the army of the Upper Rhine, than he directed Kleber to recross the river at Düsseldorf, while he effected its passage to Neuwied, near Coblenz. Uniting their forces, they advanced against Wartensleben, who was at the head of 25,000 infantry and 11,000 cavalry. In the action which ensued, the Austrians lost about 2,000 men. Frankfort-on-the-Maine, Wurzburg, and the capital of Franconia, fell into the hands of the republicans, on which cities Jourdan levied heavy contributions. He then renewed his march up the banks of the Maine, towards Bohemia, in order to co-operate with Moreau in his advance into the empire.

Immediately after his victory at Ettlingen, Moreau took possession of Friburg and Stutgard, when the respective dominions of the Duke of Wurtemberg and the Margravine of Baden, falling into the possession of the French, these princes were obliged to sue for peace. On the 25th of July, he came up with the archduke's army on the right

bank of the Neckar; and on the following morning attacked it. After an obstinate engagement, both parties remained on the field of battle; but in the course of the following day, the imperialists retreated through the Alb mountains to the Danube, where they prepared to resume the offensive. Moreau followed the retreating imperialists, and collected his columns at Neresheim. On the 11th of August, the archduke advanced in order of battle to this town, and, by a rapid movement, forced back and turned the right of Moreau; and pressing forward with his left wing, was in the rear of the republican army. So great was the consternation of the French, that all the parks of ammunition retreated from the field of battle. But the French centre, under St. Cyr, vigorously repulsed all the attacks of the enemy. In this undecisive state of the action, the firing ceased on both sides, with a loss of 3,000 men to each party. On the following day the archduke recrossed the Danube. An event was now on the eve of taking place which determined the issue of the campaign.

Jourdan on his march to effect a junction with Moreau, had encountered Wartensleben's retiring forces in several bloody actions, but without any decisive success: and was within a day's march of Ratisbon. No time was now to be lost for the relief of Wartensleben. Leaving 35,000 men under Latour, to make head against Moreau, the archduke hastened towards the Danube, which he crossed on the 17th of August, at Ingolstadt; and on the 20th, effecting a junction with Wartensleben, by which their united force amounted to 63,000 men, on the 22nd he attacked the French division under General Bernadotte, and forcing him to fall back to Nuremberg, the left wing and rear of Jourdan's army at Amberg were thus exposed. On the 24th, a general attack was made on the republicans. The French assailed at once in flank and rear, fell back to the plateau in rear of their position, and in the course of the night retreated, their rear-guard, under General Ney, repulsing the attacks of the enemy. From the commencement of their retreat, till their arrival at Wurzburg, they were engaged in a series of encounters and skirmishes; but their firmness and discipline saved them from destruction. On the 3rd was fought the battle of Wurzburg, in which victory declared for the imperialists; but the republicans had so ably contested the

action, that only a few prisoners and seven pieces of artillery remained in the hands of the victors. After the battle, Jourdan determined to retire behind the Lahn, to rally round his standard the force under Moreau, blockading Mayence, and the reinforcements expected from the north. During his retreat, in which he was much harassed by the peasants, who were exasperated at the enormous contributions which had been levied on them, several obstinate contests took place with the enemy, but in general in favour of the French. On the 9th, they reached the Lahn, but the archduke advancing against them, a battle took place on the 16th, in which the republicans being defeated at all points, they retreated under cover of the night, and on the 20th, recrossed the Rhine at Bonn and Neuwied, in a shattered and disorganised state, having lost above 20,000 men since they had crossed that river. Soon after these reverses, Jourdan being seriously indisposed, was succeeded in the command of the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, by General Bournonville, who at the time of his appointment commanded the army of the north.

While the army of the Sambre and the Meuse was sustaining these reverses, Moreau was contending successfully with Latour, who commanded the Austrian forces opposed to him. On the very day of the battle of Amberg, he forced the fords of the Lech, and attacked Latour at Friedberg. The Austrian general, having sustained a loss of 1,700 men and fourteen cannon in this engagement, retired behind the Isar; Moreau, however, deeming it not possible to maintain his position in the heart of Germany, after the discomfiture of Jourdan, and the attempt of the Austrians on the *tête-du-pont*, at Kehl, which commanded his communication with France, determined to retrograde on the Rhine. He accordingly broke up his encampment before Ingolstadt on the 10th of September, and retired leisurely towards Neuburg, overcoming every obstacle in his way, and defeating every corps of the enemy which attempted to oppose his march. Augsburg and Munich, the capitals of Bavaria, were taken by him, and the elector compelled to sue for peace. It was not, however, without difficulty that he accomplished his object. On reaching the Lech, Latour disputed his passage; but, being totally defeated, Moreau crossed that river, and advanced through Ulm, in Swabia, towards the Black Forest, on the confines of

Switzerland, and which was in the possession of the enemy. But he was so closely pressed by Latour, that he was obliged to make a stand at Steinhausen, near that forest, and deliver battle. The contest took place on the last day of September, and was fought with the greatest fury on both sides. The Austrians were defeated, and a considerable number of them, and several pieces of cannon, were taken. The corps of emigrants, under Condé, suffered greatly in this action, as they had also done in that of the 12th of the month. Latour still incessantly harassed the retreat; and as the French army was about to enter the defiles of the forest, Moreau saw the necessity of discouraging their attacks. Turning, therefore, on the 2nd of October fiercely on his pursuers, a select body attacking the right wing of the Austrian army posted between Biberach and the Danube, and routing it, the Austrian right and centre advanced vigorously on the centre of the republican army. The battle was fiercely contested for six hours, but at length terminated in favour of the republicans. Dessaix had broke the enemy's right, while Moreau had turned their left. Five thousand prisoners, eighteen pieces of cannon, and several standards were the fruits of the victory.

Moreau now, October the 12th, boldly entered the defile of the forest called the *Valley of Hell*, a name given it from the frightful appearance of the rocks and mountains which overhang its sides, and, in many places, are scarcely thirty feet apart, in hopes of being able to debouche by Freiburg before the archduke should be able to arrive to interrupt his progress. The valley extended several leagues; and at the opening which led out of it, a formidable body of Austrians were posted, while every inlet on each side was filled with troops, awaiting the moment of assailing the flanks of the French in their passage through it. St. Cyr speedily dissipated the troops which invested the pine-clad mountains of the Valley of Hell; and Dessaix and Ferino so ably protected the movements on the right and left, that no effectual resistance could be made to the passage of the French army: it not only passed the defiles without confusion or loss, but when it debouched into the valley of the Rhine, the strong body of the enemy, posted at the outlet to dispute the passage, retreated, and the republican army reached Freiburg next day.

The archduke had been no less active than the French general. Instructing Latour to join him in the valley of the Kruzig, with their united forces he advanced against Moreau, who was posted at Freiburg. On the 17th of October, he attacked the republican advanced posts at Emmendingen. The contest was maintained with great obstinacy by both sides; but the republican army was at length defeated, with the loss of 2,000 men. Again, on the 23rd, the imperialists attacked the republicans posted on the strong ground of Schliengen, near Freiburg, whence, after three days' contest, Moreau retreated in the night to Huningen, with the intention of repassing the Rhine.

In order to gain time to defile over the bridge of Huningen, Moreau took post in the strong position of Schliengen. On the 30th of November, the Austrians attacked the fortifications which covered the head of the bridge on their side. The attack was made in the middle of the night, and the French were driven from their works. Recovering, however, from their disorder, they fell upon their assailants, retook their works, and compelled them to retreat with the utmost speed. So rancorous was the feeling on both sides, that no prisoners were made. The loss on each side amounted to 2,000 men. During the night, and the following day, the republicans commenced the passage of the Rhine, without molestation from the enemy.

On Moreau taking his position at Schliengen, Dessaix had passed the Rhine, to occupy the fortress of Kehl, with a force of 30,000 men. As soon as Moreau had, with

the main body of his army, crossed that river, Latour, with 40,000 men, invested on the 9th of November the fortress, while the remainder of the imperialists were cantoned, as a covering force, in the valley of the Rhine. On the 21st of November the trenches were opened. Soon afterwards the besieged made a grand sortie, with the intention of destroying the enemy's works, and gaining their park of artillery, but they were repulsed with severe loss. On the night of the 1st of January of the following year, the first line of entrenchments round the republican camp was carried; and, a few days afterwards, the second line was stormed, after a bloody resistance. Kehl, being then enveloped on every side, and being a mere heap of ruins and rubbish, capitulated on the 9th of the same month, after a glorious defence of eight weeks. Huningen, being reduced to a heap of ruins, capitulated on the 1st of February. Thus terminated the third German campaign; and both sides agreed, by armistice, to retire into winter cantonments.

The only advantage gained by the French at sea, in the course of this year, was at Newfoundland, where Admiral Richery, after his escape from his long thralldom at Cadiz, had, with his seven sail of the line and three frigates, plundered and set fire, in the month of August, to the huts of the poor fishermen, and destroyed their vessels and fishing-stages in the bays of Bulls and Castles, and in the islands of St. Pierre and Miguelon. In November, he reached L'Orient, having captured or destroyed above 100 British merchant vessels.

#### OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH FORCES IN 1796.

THE operations of the naval and military forces of Great Britain, during this year, in the East and West Indies, were attended with the most decisive success. General Nichols, who, during the whole course of the year 1795, had met with the most obstinate resistance in Grenada, in March of the present year obtained a complete victory over the insurgents, who submissively acknowledged allegiance to the British government. In May following, the loss incurred, on the reduction of this island, was—nine privates killed, and sixty officers and privates wounded. In that month, St. Lucie was reduced by Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercromby,

when the garrison, consisting of 2,000 men, marched out of the fort, and laid down their arms; the total loss sustained by the British, in the reduction of this island, was—fifty-six officers and privates killed, 378 wounded, and 122 missing. In June, St. Vincent, after an obstinate resistance by the enemy, who were composed chiefly of people of colour and Charibs, capitulated to General Abercromby. The loss of the British had been, thirty-eight officers and privates killed, and 145 wounded. In May, Essequibo and Demerara (two Dutch colonial islands in the West Indies) had been taken possession of by General White. On the 5th of February

an expedition, composed of the *Heroine* frigate and three sixteen-gun sloops, with five armed ships belonging to the East India Company, and a body of troops under Colonel Stuart, sailed from the Cape of Good Hope to Ceylon; and, on the 15th, after slight opposition, Colombo surrendered. On the 16th of the same month, Amboyna, the capital of the Molucca colonies, and the principal settlement of the Dutch in that quarter, surrendered to the squadron under Admiral Rainer; and, on the 8th of March, Banda, or Banda Neira (the chief of the Banda or Nutmeg Islands) surrendered to the same expedition. In those places, immense quantities of pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, cloves, mace, military and naval stores, and specie, fell into the hands of the captors. So valuable had been the amount of property taken, that five captains of the navy, present at the surrender of Amboyna and Banda, received £15,000 sterling each as their share of prize.

The cruel Victor Hugues sent an expedition, consisting of the *Decius*, of twenty-eight guns, and the brig *Le Vaillant*, of four guns, with 300 troops on board, with orders to destroy the little defenceless colony of Anguilla. Captain Barton, of the *Lapwing*, of twenty-eight guns, receiving intimation of his infamous design, taking on himself the responsibility of disobedience to the order of service he had received, sailed to the relief of the poor Anguillans, who were now suffering all the miseries of plunder, conflagration, and massacre. He immediately attacked both of the French vessels; and, after a severe action, compelled the *Decius* to surrender, and he burnt the brig, which had run on shore. The contest had been so severe, that out of 300 people on board the *Decius*, 120 were killed and wounded.

The colony of St. Domingo, the most valuable of any to France, and the source of its former commercial prosperity, was in a state of confusion which baffled all efforts made to restore it to order. The blacks and the mulattoes had now, in consequence of French instigation throughout the West Indian colonies to the participation of equal rights, become its rulers. The estates of the ancient proprietors were in the hands of their former slaves. They were armed, and soon took forcible possession of a large portion of the southern districts, where they declared themselves a free and independent people. The French commissioners being unable to reduce them, the planters and

original proprietors called on the English to protect them, they having previously transferred their allegiance from France to Great Britain. In consequence of this arrangement, many of the principal places of the island were put into the hands of the English.

On the 18th of March of this year, a detachment of British and colonial troops, under the command of Major-general Forbes, from the garrison of Port-au-Prince, proceeded on board a squadron of three line-of-battle ships and two frigates, and the same number of sloops, against the town and fort of Léogane. On the 21st they were landed; but the town and fort being much stronger, and the enemy more numerous than had been expected, they re-embarked in the course of the following day and night, and proceeded against the fort of Bombarde, about fifteen miles distant. After a slight attack, the garrison, consisting of 300 whites, capitulated. The loss of the assailants was eight officers and privates killed, eighteen wounded, and four missing. But the strength of the English was never sufficiently great to effect any important progress in the reduction of that valuable island. Continual diseases, of the most deadly kind, had swept away the reinforcements sent from England almost as soon as they arrived. From this circumstance, and the arrival in May of a French squadron, having on board 1,200 troops, under the command of General Rochambeau, with 20,000 muskets, 400,000 lbs. weight of gunpowder, and twelve pieces of artillery, British influence speedily declined in the island.

The rapid and extraordinary successes of Napoleon Buonaparte in Italy had tended much to reduce British influence along the northern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The kings of Sardinia and of the Two Sicilies had been compelled to make peace with the French republic, and the territories ceded by the first-mentioned had been named by the conquerors the department of the Maritime Alps, and annexed to France. The French now thought, that their long cherished wish of the sole dominion of the Mediterranean was about being realised, with the assistance of Spain as their ally. They therefore determined to recover the possession of Corsica. The disaffection of the Corsicans to the British government also encouraged them to the undertaking. Leghorn, after its possession by the French, became the chief seat of preparation for the attempt.

The British government being acquainted with this state of matters, and in daily expectation of a rupture with Spain, had sent out orders for the evacuation of the island, and the removal of the troops and stores to Porto-Ferraio, in the island of Elba, of which island Nelson had taken possession at the time Leghorn was seized by the French. In the meantime, a committee of thirty of the partisans of France had assumed the government of Bastia, had sequestered all British property, and were in expectation of the arrival of the French expedition to their assistance, to resist the embarkation of the British troops and property. In the port lay the two line-of-battle ships, *Captain* and *Egmont*, and some other vessels for the embarkation of the British troops, under the direction of Commodore Nelson. The commander, on ascertaining the design of the committee, took immediate measures for frustrating their project. He sent word, by Captain Sutton, to the committee, that if the slightest opposition was made, he would batter the town down. A privateer, moored across the mole, pointing her guns at the bearer of the message, and muskets being levelled at him from the shore, he pulled out his watch, and gave them a quarter of an hour to consider their answer, at the expiration of which the ships would open their fire. The embarkation of the troops and stores was allowed to go on uninterrupted. Just as the embarkation was being completed, the Spanish fleet, consisting of nineteen sail of the line and ten frigates and corvettes, under Admiral Langara, appeared in sight, having under its protection the French and Corsicans who had been embarked at Leghorn for the reduction of Corsica. The French landed at Cape Corso, and marched into the citadel of Bastia, only an hour after the English had spiked the last gun and evacuated it.

The Dutch or Batavian republic, desirous of recovering re-possession of the Cape of Good Hope, fitted out, in the Texel, three ships of the line, three frigates, and other vessels, under Rear-admiral Lucas, with a force of 2,000 soldiers on board; and taking advantage of the temporary absence of the British blockading squadron, put to sea, in expectation of being joined by a French squadron, for which the Dutch had paid over the expenses to the French government. On the 3rd of August, the Dutch fleet appeared off Saldanha Bay, when intelligence being conveyed of its arrival to

Admiral Elphinston, who, lying with the British squadron—two seventy-fours, five sixty-fours, a fifty-gun ship, two frigates, and four sloops—put to sea. A storm occurring, compelled the English fleet to re-enter Simon's Bay, where it remained weather-bound till the 15th, on which day it again put to sea, and steering towards Saldanha Bay, discovered the Dutch squadron lying there at anchor. The British ships forming in line, anchored within gun-shot of the Dutch, to whose commanding officer the British admiral sent a requisition of surrender. On the 17th, a capitulation was agreed to, and Admiral Lucas surrendered his squadron of nine ships to the British admiral.

The French government had, for the last two years, been contemplating the dispatch of an expedition to the Indian seas, for the purpose of harassing our commerce there. In March of this year, Rear-admiral Sercey put to sea with four frigates and two corvettes, having 800 troops on board, and two companies of artillery, under General Magallon. On the 18th of June, the squadron cast anchor in the waters of the Isle of France, when the commissioners, Baco and Bumel, who were sent out in the expedition to give freedom to the slaves in compliance with the decree of September, 1795, went on shore; but as soon as their mission was known, it was so unfavourably received by the colonists, that the governor-general, Malartic, was obliged to send them back to France. On the 20th, Sercey steered towards the coast of Coromandel. On the 14th of August, he made the south-east point of Ceylon, where he made a few prizes; then, standing along the Coromandel coast, between Pondicherry and Madras, he obtained a few more prizes. On the 7th, while cruising off the north coast of Sumatra, he descried two large ships to the leeward, which were the two British seventy-four-gun ships, the *Arrogant* and *Victorious*, Captains Lucas and Clark. Sercey having reconnoitred his enemy, tacked and stood away, as if desirous of seeking a less troublesome opponent. On the 9th, the hostile ships were again in sight of each other, when Sercey, seeing no chance of escape, signalled his six frigates and the *Triton* Indiaman to put about and form line of battle. After a severe contest during four hours, the French squadron hauled off, under a crowd of sail. The British ships were too disabled to pursue. The loss on board the *Arrogant* and *Vic-*

torious was—twenty-four killed and eighty-four wounded; that on board the French squadron was—forty-two killed and 104 wounded.

In this year occurred the formidable Irish rebellion. The discontented part of the Irish population, desirous of forming an Hibernian republic, in imitation of that of France, had entered into a conspiracy for shaking off their allegiance. Above 200,000 men in different parts of the country were enrolled for the purpose. A secret correspondence was kept up between the heads of the malcontents and the French government, and plans laid for a general insurrection. The French engaged to furnish an armament to assist the insurgents, which they chiefly equipped with the money advanced by the Dutch for the fleet which was to accompany their squadron to the Cape of Good Hope for the recovery of that settlement.

The armament designed for this expedition had been in preparation at Brest during the whole summer. It consisted of twenty-five ships of the line, fifteen frigates, besides ships and transports, and 25,000 men on board. The fleet was under the command of Vice-admiral Morard de Galles; the land forces under General Hoche, who had much signalised himself in the war with the Vendean royalists. The fleet left Brest harbour on the 17th of December, and rounding the Saintes, stood away to the southward. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable* frigate, who had been watching the enemy's motions, frequently within half gun-shot of their leading ships, went in quest of Admiral Colpoys. But stress of weather had driven the English admiral off his station.\* The day after the departure of the fleet, it was dispersed by a violent storm, and many of the ships damaged. On the 24th, Rear-admiral Bouvet, the second in command, anchored in Bantry Bay, on the coast of Ireland, with seven ships of the line and ten other vessels, having about 6,000 men on board. Bouvet endeavoured to land the troops, but the tremendous swell of the sea prevented this, and the crew of a boat, who were sent to reconnoitre, were made prisoners. The coast was also lined with bodies of militia and other forces ready to oppose a landing. After remaining seven days in

this bay, and the weather continuing very tempestuous, Bouvet determined to return to Brest; and on the military officers objecting to his return, he pointed out the impolicy of staying longer, as General Hoche, who alone was in possession of instructions for conducting the expedition, had probably been taken, or returned to France. He therefore put his determination into execution, and arrived at Brest on the last day of December. Rear-admirals Nielly and Richery's squadrons kept beating about the Irish coast, in hopes of being joined by the other portions of the fleet, until they were scattered by another terrible gale. Among the ships which last arrived in the French harbour was the *Fraternité* frigate, with Morard de Galles and Hoche on board. Only one seventy-four, the *Droits de l'Homme*, Captain la Grasse, remained at sea.

The fate of the *Droits de l'Homme*, a French seventy-four, may be here related. She was encountered by Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Indefatigable*, of forty-four guns, and Captain Robert Carthew Reynolds, in the *Amazon*, of thirty-six. The strife between them was most desperate. The French two-decker had no poop, and through her defective construction, and the tempestuous sea passing over her, she was forced to close her lower ports, and could make little use of her first-deck guns. It was on the evening of the 13th of January, that the *Indefatigable*, which first came up with the enemy, brought the *Droits de l'Homme* to close action. She sustained the unequal contest alone for at least an hour, when, having unavoidably shot a little ahead, Captain Reynolds, in the *Amazon*, came up and opened a well-directed fire, but she, too, shot ahead, as her consort had done. The *Droits de l'Homme* kept up a murderous cannonade, and was sometimes enabled to use her guns on both sides at the same time. She carried 1,050 land troops, and these, from her lofty decks, and from her tops, poured a shower of musket-balls upon the frigates. Eventually the *Indefatigable* placed herself on one quarter, the *Amazon* on the other, and both, while an awful tempest was raging, kept up a destructive fire during five hours. It was dusk when the *Indefatigable* commenced her attack: the contest was continued in the darkness of night, and no one knew

\* On information of the French design, the channel fleet had been divided into three squadrons: one under Colpoys, to cruise off Brest, with a fixed rendezvous eight leagues to the west of Ushant; the

other, under Rear-admiral Sir Roger Curtis, to cruise well to the westward; and the third to remain at Spithead, under Lord Bridport, ready to be dispatched wherever intelligence might render expedient.

with certainty what part of the coast they were near; though all were aware that a lee-shore and perilous rocks were not far distant. The *Indefatigable* and *Amazon* at length found it necessary to sheer off, to secure their masts and loose rigging. They were, in fact, in a very dangerous condition, as the sea was running so high that the sailors on the main-decks of the frigates were standing up to their waists in water. The *Indefatigable* had four, the *Amazon* three feet of water in the hold. Their masts were so damaged that hardly one of them could be said to have remained standing, and the crew, diminished in numbers, were completely exhausted.\* If such the distressed state of the English frigates, still more deplorable was that of the French man-of-war. On their renewing the action her fore-mast was shot away, her main and mizen-masts were shaken, her rigging and sails destroyed, and her decks strewn with the dying and the dead. At half-past four in the morning the moon came through the clouds, and Lieutenant G. Bell, who was looking out of the *Indefatigable's* fore-castle, perceived land. This had scarcely been reported to Pellew, when breakers were seen ahead. The crew then hauled the tacks on board, and the ship immediately sailed to the southward, but still uncertain where they were, and supposing the land they had seen to be the Isle of Ushant. Had the supposition been right, they would have sailed in comparative safety; but they had not long shaped their course in this belief, when breakers were seen upon their other bow. Then the ship wore to the northward, and when daylight came land was found close ahead, and they discovered that they had been all night in Audierne Bay, half a degree to the south of Ushant. The people of the *Indefatigable*, looking in-shore, saw the *Droits de l'Homme* lying broadside uppermost, with a tremendous surf breaking over her, and their own consort, the *Amazon*, distant about two miles from the Frenchman, in the same condition. Pellew passed within a mile of the French ship, but could render her crew no assistance, as attempting

it he must weather the Penmarcks or drive on shore, and the state of the *Indefatigable* was then such that it seemed almost impossible to save her from the breakers. Favoured by the gale, he passed half-a-mile to windward of the dreaded rocks, and escaped the danger. The *Amazon* had sailed to the northward on the first alarm being given of "breakers ahead!" and had struck the ground almost at the same moment as the *Droits de l'Homme*, but preserving better order than was maintained on board the French ship, the officers and crew, with the exception of six men who stole away the cutter, all, by means of a raft, got safely on shore by nine o'clock in the morning. They were immediately made prisoners of war, and treated with great kindness by the people of Brittany. The *Droits de l'Homme* had got aground much further on the beach, and the shrieks of the despairing crowd on board are described to have been most heart-rending. There were nearly 1,800 men in the ship when the battle commenced; of those that still survived, many were suffering from severe wounds, and frantic from pain. The country people assembled on the shore and marked their distress, but could afford no relief. Rafts were prepared, and boats got in readiness; it was found impracticable to use them, and the day closed without affording the sufferers any consoling hope. On the following day, at low water, an English captain and eight English sailors, prisoners on board the *Droits de l'Homme*, ventured into a small boat, and succeeded in reaching the shore. Some of the Frenchmen attempted to follow the example which had thus been set, but all were lost. Another dreadful night succeeded, in which all the horrors of cold, hunger, and maddening thirst, were to be endured. Larger rafts were constructed on the third day, and the largest ship-boat was prepared for the reception of the women and the wounded. Anguish, and the view of instant death, could not listen to the suggestions of gallantry or pity, and regardless of the claims of the softer sex, and the hopeless condition of their maimed com-

\* James, in his *Naval History* says, "So terrible was the motion of the two frigates, that some of the *Indefatigable's* guns broke their breechings four times; some drew their ring-bolts from her sides; and many of the guns, owing to the water beating into them, were obliged to be drawn immediately after loading. All the *Indefatigable's* masts were wounded; her main topmast was completely unrigged, and was saved only by the astonishing cool-

ness and alacrity of the men. The *Amazon* had her mizen topmast, gaff, spanker-boom, and main top-sail-yard completely shot away, her fore and main-mast cut through by shots, and all her sails and rigging more or less injured; and she had expended, during the action, every inch of her spare canvas. The crews of both frigates, whose exertions, between the chase and the battle, had lasted nearly ten hours were almost worn out with fatigue."

rades, the active and stronger soldiers and sailors sprang into the boat. One hundred and twenty crowded into the small bark, which was almost immediately swamped. The fourth dismal night drew near. Nine hundred men had already perished, and the dreadful condition of the survivors was such, that they regarded the fate of those who had perished as enviable. Burning thirst drove them to swallow salt water, which increased their sufferings, and the billows beating against the ship caused her timbers to fail. When the next day opened on the sufferers, the pangs of hunger were so great, that they proposed to cast lots which should die, that his companions might feed on the corpse. Before they had time to carry this design into execution, the weather cleared up, and a French ship of the line, with a brig and a cutter entered the bay, and anchored near the wreck. They sent boats and rafts to the assistance of those who survived. From weakness, or some other cause, only 150 successfully availed themselves of the proffered relief. More than 200 perished in seeking to gain the rafts. Three hundred and eighty helpless creatures were left on board, to suffer through another night, during which more than half of them died. In a word, only between three and four hundred were saved out of eighteen hundred, which had been embarked in the *Droits de l'Homme*. Among those who were saved were Jean Raimond Lacrosse, formerly a baron, and General Humbert. It ought to be mentioned that the English prisoners, in consideration of the hardships they had endured, and of the manner in which they had exerted themselves to save the unfortunates on board the lost man-of-war, were sent home in a cartel, without any stipulation for an exchange.\*

In the course of the year 1796 there had been numerous encounters between single ships and small squadrons. Among the former, those fought by Captain Trollope, in the *Glatton*, and by Captain Bowen, in the *Terpsichore*, were the most distinguished. The gallantry displayed by the officers and

men of these ships entitle them to more than a passing notice.

The *Glatton* was one of the East-Indiamen purchased into the service a few years previous, and on Captain Trollope's appointment, he had her fitted wholly with carronades, a kind of ordnance which had recently been introduced into the service.† The *Glatton* mounted on her first deck twenty-eight sixty-eight pounders; and on her second deck, twenty-eight thirty-two pounders: her complement of men and boys was 324; her broadside-weight of metal, 1,500 lbs. Captain Trollope left Yarmouth-roads on the 14th of June; with orders to join Captain Savage's squadron cruising off the Dutch coast. Previous to this he had been cruising in the North Sea for various months, but had met with no enemy on whom he could try the effect of his powerful broadside. On the 15th, the *Glatton* having made the land, descried a squadron of five men-of-war and a cutter. From the direction in which the ships lay, Captain Trollope at first thought that they belonged to the fleet he had instructions to join; but the distance he was from them prevented his signalling. A breeze having sprang up in the course of the afternoon, the *Glatton* neared the strange ships, when they were discovered to belong to the enemy. Nothing daunted by the fearful odds opposed to him, Captain Trollope kept on his course, determined to join action with the squadron as speedily as possible. As the *Glatton* bore towards the strangers, they weighed and dropped out in a line. The *Glatton* selected the largest of the French ships as her principal opponent, supposing, from her size, that she carried the flag of the commodore, and also, being the third ship from the van, she was rather distant from her second ahead, and thus afforded an opportunity to Captain Trollope to lay his ship alongside. About ten o'clock at night, the *Glatton* was close upon her antagonist's larboard-quarter, and creeping up abreast of her, when another of the frigates tacked, and came close upon the larboard side of the English ship. The

ron Company, which are situated on the banks of the river Carron in Scotland, a few miles from where it joins the Firth of Forth. Carronades were first used by privateers, fitted out during the American war, and they were shortly after introduced by the Board of Admiralty in the navy. M. Lescaillier, in his *Vocabulaire des Termes de Marine*, describes it thus:—"The carronade is a species of gun, stout and short, carrying, in proportion to its weight and length, balls of an enormous size."

\* Vide Gaspey's *England, passim*.

† The carronade is a piece of carriage ordnance which came into use about the year 1780. It was shorter than the navy four-pounder, and lighter than the navy twelve-pounder, yet it equalled in its cylinder the eight-inch howitzer. From its great destructive power it was termed the *smasher*. It was invented by General Melville, a man of considerable scientific attainments, and obtained its name from being cast at the iron-works of the Car-

three ships were within twenty yards of each other, and they opened their fire almost simultaneously. The *Glatton* poured her heavy broadsides into both ships with such tremendous effect, that, in about twenty minutes' time, the damaged state of the hulls of the two ships, and the frightful carnage which had taken place among the men, caused them to sheer off out of range of shot. During the time the *Glatton* was discharging her heavy broadsides into the commodore's ship and his second ahead, the two frigates which were lying astern kept up a raking fire, which considerably damaged the rigging and masts of the *Glatton*; but, from the range being too high, did but little injury to the hull or the crew. Immediately on the two disabled ships dropping astern, the two rear-most of the French frigates bore down upon the right side of their antagonist, while the leading frigate on an opposite tack came down on the other side. The *Glatton* was now exposed to the fire of the three frigates; but she replied so effectually, and with such tremendous effect did the shot from her long carronades plough up the decks of the three French vessels, that in less than half-an-hour they also dropped out of range of her shot, having been considerably damaged in their hulls, and sustained a heavy loss in killed and wounded.

On her antagonist dropping out of gunshot, the *Glatton* attempted to wear, in order to pursue the enemy; but it was found that her masts and rigging were so crippled, that this was impossible. The crew were therefore set to repair the damage they had sustained, and all exertion was made that they might be able to renew the action in the morning. The principal part of the enemy's shot had passed between the tops and gun-wale, very few of her shots having struck the hull. None of the men were killed, and but two wounded. During the night, the French ship and brig, which had been lying to leeward, fired into the *Glatton*, and did some slight damage to her newly-spliced ropes and spars. Captain Trollope was in hopes all the night, that when morning dawned he should be able to see some of the ships of Captain Savage's squadron, which would have enabled him to have made a prize of one or more of the French ships. In this, however, he was disappointed, as although he was on the very spot where his orders directed him to join the squadron, not one of Savage's ships was

visible. In his present state, Captain Trollope did not deem it prudent a second time to become the assailant: he did not, however, make any attempt to escape from his antagonists of the day before. The *Glatton* bore up under easy sail just beyond the range of shot, and then hove-to; the French ships doing the same, but showing no desire to renew the contest. After remaining in this position, looking at each other for about an hour, the French ships weighed and sailed away, the *Glatton* bearing off towards the northward. Captain Trollope felt disinclined to quit the coast, still thinking that, some friendly sail coming up, he might be able to strike another blow. In this expectation he was disappointed; and next day he saw the French squadron nearing the port of Flushing, and a breeze setting in on shore, he returned to Yarmouth-roads, where he anchored on the 21st of June.

The prompt decision and gallant conduct of Captain Trollope, and the able manner in which he was seconded by his officers and crew, are deserving of the greatest praise. Opposed to a force of seven ships, two of which were each larger than his own by 300 or 400 tons, it would by most commanders have been considered but prudent to keep at as respectable a distance as possible; but the captain of the *Glatton* was one of the Nelson school of seamen; and feeling that in a good ship British sailors are invincible, he boldly became the assailant. For his brave conduct Captain Trollope received from his majesty the order of knighthood, and the merchants of London presented him with an elegant piece of plate.

The *Terpsichore*, a thirty-two gun frigate, Captain Richard Bowen, had been cruising for some time in the Mediterranean; and having had great sickness on board, left thirty of her men in hospital at Gibraltar, while she had more than that number sick on board. On the 13th June she was off the port of Carthage. There was but little wind at the time, when about day-break she observed a strange frigate to windward, and apparently bearing towards her. From the absence of her men in hospital, and so many on the sick-list, the *Terpsichore* was not anxious for an encounter with an enemy apparently much superior to herself. Besides, the Spanish fleet was known to be in this quarter, and a small Spanish vessel was at the moment seen making for Carthage, the port to which the fleet belonged.

However, the idea of getting away as fast as he could, never presented itself to Captain Bowen; so he steadily pursued his course, without taking any notice of the stranger. At about half-past nine the enemy's vessel had got within hail of the *Terpsichore*, when she was discovered to be the Spanish frigate *Mahonesa*. The Spaniard having made a movement, which Captain Bowen considered was done to place herself to advantage, he fired into her. This was immediately returned by a broadside from the *Mahonesa*, and the action then proceeded with spirit on both sides. In about an hour the firing on board the Spanish frigate began to slacken, and in about an hour and-a-half, she showed symptoms of a wish to make off. The guns of the Spaniard had been well worked, and the consequence was that the *Terpsichore* had had her masts and bowsprit wounded, as well as her rigging and sails cut up. Notwithstanding her crippled condition, however, she prevented her antagonist from getting away; and in about another twenty minutes the *Mahonesa*, whose booms had fallen over, and was altogether in a defenceless state, hauled down her colours. The *Terpsichore*, deducting those who were sick, had but 152 men, while the *Mahonesa* had 275: the English ship carried thirty-two guns, the Spanish, thirty-four: the English vessel's broadside, in weight of metal, was 174 lbs.; while her opponent's was 182: the tonnage was—*Terpsichore*, 682; *Mahonesa*, 921.

Notwithstanding the crippled state of the *Terpsichore*, she managed to take her prize to Lisbon; she had, however, received such rough usage at the hands of her captors, that she was not considered worthy the expense of a thorough repair.

The *Terpsichore* put into Gibraltar to refit, where she lay until the beginning of December. On the 12th of that month she was again at sea, on the look-out for an opponent. Early in the morning of that day she was lying-to, several leagues to the westward of Cadiz; while there, Captain Bowen descried an enemy's frigate at about four miles distant: the preceding night having been stormy, the frigate was also lying-to. Chase was immediately given. At nine, P.M. of the 13th, the *Vestale* hauled up her courses and hove-to. At ten, P.M., ranged alongside of her opponent within ten yards, and opened her fire. A furious action ensued, which lasted till forty minutes past eleven, P.M., when the *Vestale* struck her

colours. Out of her complement of 166 men and boys, the *Terpsichore's* loss was four killed and seventeen wounded, among the last of whom was her second and only lieutenant on board. The *Vestale*, out of a complement of 270, lost in killed, her captain, two officers, and twenty-seven seamen; and in wounded, thirty-seven officers and seamen.

The *Terpsichore*, however, was not fated ultimately to retain her well-earned prize. In the crippled state of his ship, Captain Bowen was only able to spare his master, a midshipman, and seven seamen, to go on board and take possession of the *Vestale*. After the battle, the *Vestale's* crew having got drunk and incapable of assisting in the management of the ship, she was drifting ashore, there being no anchor on board clear to let go. She was, however, brought up for that night in three fathoms' water. On the next day the *Terpsichore* stood in to secure her prize, and after much labour, owing to the roughness of the sea, a cable was got on board the *Vestale*; but while making sail together, the stream-cable got foul of a rock, and the *Terpsichore* was obliged to detach herself from her prize. An anchor having been let go, the *Terpsichore* stood off for the night. The next morning a Swedish vessel having hove in sight, Captain Bowen gave chase, and on returning to where he had left his prize, he had the mortification to see her being towed within the shoals straight to Cadiz. The French crew having recovered from their state of intoxication, took the charge from the master, and some Spanish boats coming alongside, she was towed beyond the reach of her captors. Captain Bowen did not on this occasion receive the honour of knighthood, but the merchants of London presented him with a piece of plate.

A gallant affair was performed on the 18th of March of this year by Sir Sydney Smith. He having, in the *Diamond* frigate, attacked a French corvette, *Etourche*, four brigs, two sloops, and two armed luggers, they took refuge in the port of Herqui, near Cape Fréhel, on the coast of France. Having sounded the entrance to the port, and found water enough for his frigate, he determined to enter for the purpose of carrying off or destroying the ships. The harbour was defended by two batteries, erected on a promontory which commanded the entrance. A piece of ordnance, mounted on another eminence, was brought to bear

on the *Diamond*, as she boldly steered into the port. The frigate soon silenced this with her guns. As she rounded the point at the entrance, and steered into the port, the *Diamond* suffered considerably from the galling fire of the batteries. Sir Sydney immediately determined to storm them, and Lieutenants Pine and Carter were sent with a detachment to effect this object. The troops on shore formed on the beach to prevent a landing, and checked by their fire the approach of the boats. Lieutenant Pine, however, ran his boat to a point immediately below the guns of the battery, landed his men, and scaled the rocky height on which the guns were placed before the military could regain their position at the fort. They soon spiked the guns, and returned to their boats. There was only one man injured in this assault, Lieutenant Carter, who afterwards died of his wounds. Having now effectually silenced the batteries, the *Diamond*, with her consorts, a fourteen-gun brig, named the *Liberty*, and the *Autocrat* (a hired lugger), proceeded at once to attack the French ships. The *Liberty* attacked the corvette, and in spite of a well-sustained fire from the French ships and the troops on shore, in a very short time the corvette, the four brigs, and one of the two luggers, were set fire to and effectually destroyed. The loss in the performance of this service was two killed and five wounded. But in another enterprise, Sir Sydney Smith was less fortunate. On the 17th of April, being at anchor in the outer road of Havre, he discovered a large lugger privateer at anchor in the inner road ready for sea. He resolved to cut her out. Accordingly, manning the boats of his squadron, he proceeded with them on the night of the 18th. He succeeded in taking possession of her; but the flood-tide setting in, and the wind being unfavourable, the prize and boats were obliged to come to anchor. Sir Sydney returned to the *Diamond*; but on the approach of daylight, observing his prize drifting up the Seine, and nearly abreast of Harfleur, and several vessels coming out of Havre to attempt her recapture, he returned to the lugger, determined to defend her till the north-east tide made, or a propitious breeze sprang up. By the time he reached his prize, she was attacked by a large armed lugger and a variety of small craft filled with troops. After a gallant resistance, Sir Sydney was compelled to surrender, with a loss of four of his party killed, and seven

wounded. On the 22nd, Sir Sydney Smith and John Westley Wright, a midshipman, were sent to Paris, and confined as prisoners of state, in separate cells of the Temple, from which they effected their escape two years after, and arrived in London in the month of September, 1798.

Sir John Jervis deputed Nelson to superintend the evacuation of Elba; the English here sailed on the 14th of December from Gibraltar, in the *Minerve*, a frigate of thirty-eight guns, commanded by Captain Cockburn. The *Blanche* sailed in company with the *Minerve*. On the night of the 19th, they fell in with two Spanish frigates, the largest of which, the *Santa Sabina*, an eighteen-pounder frigate of forty guns, was brought to action by the *Minerve*: after a resistance of two hours the Spanish ship struck her colours. The *Blanche* during this time kept up a running fight with the other, the *Ceres*; but the *Sabina* had scarcely been taken in tow before the *Minerve* was attacked by the *La Perla*, of thirty-four guns, which was the advanced frigate of the Spanish fleet, by which, as the day dawned, the *Minerve* perceived she was surrounded. With masts badly wounded, and rigging cut to pieces, every stitch of canvas was crowded in the *Minerve*. Two sail of the line and two frigates immediately chased her, but after having been four hours nearly within gunshot, she was, by the freshening of the breeze, and the strenuous union of coolness and seamanship, clear of danger before sunset, having in one night captured one frigate, beat another in the presence of the Spanish fleet, and out-sailed every ship which pursued her. The loss of the *Minerve* was seven killed and forty-four wounded. The *Ceres* escaped from the *Blanche*. Captain Cockburn being obliged to cast off his prize, in which he lost twenty-two men, among whom was Lieutenant Hardy, subsequently Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy.

Before closing the record of the events of this year, it becomes necessary to mention that the British government, in the month of October, sent an envoy to France for the purpose of effecting a general peace. The English minister was the more disposed to this course from the attitude which affairs had assumed on the continent. The disastrous condition in which the allies of England had been placed by the successes of Napoleon and the other republican generals, and the declaration of war against Britain

by Spain, had rendered her situation anything but cheering. There was also a powerful and influential party in England who had always been opposed to the war, and the minister, Pitt, was anxious to disarm his adversaries of one of their principal weapons, by proving that he was prepared to make peace, if it could be concluded on terms in accordance with the national honour. About the middle of October, Lord Malmesbury was dispatched to Paris to open negotiations, and he arrived there on the 22nd. He was received with rejoicings by the Parisians, who seemed desirous of repose. The terms which he offered to the Directory were—the recognition by England of the

republic, and the willingness of Britain to hand over to France and Holland all the colonies which she had conquered since the commencement of the war. The French were to restore the Low Countries to the emperor, Holland to the Stadtholder, and give up all their conquests in Italy, but to retain Namur, Nice, and Savoy. As was to be expected, the Directory refused to make peace on these terms; and after negotiations had gone on for about two months, they were suddenly broken off, and Lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit Paris within four-and-twenty hours. Thus ended every prospect of a peaceable settlement of the questions in dispute between England and France.

#### THE FRENCH LAND ON THE WELSH COAST.

IN the course of the preceding year, the arms of the republic had been gloriously triumphant in Italy; and though the army of theambre and the Meuse, under Jourdan, had been defeated in several engagements by the Austrians, and that of the Rhine and Moselle, under Moreau, to prevent the hazard of being cut off or captured, had been compelled to retrograde, the honour of the republican arms was unimpaired; and both armies were in safety within the French frontier.

The policy of France was not less successful than its arms. After detaching Prussia and Spain from the European confederacy, it had formed a close alliance with those powers. Availing themselves of these advantages, the republican rulers determined to make use of the maritime force of Spain and the Batavian republic, to enable them to crush the maritime power and accomplish the downfall of England, and as the initiative to that measure, to make an attempt on Ireland. On the return of their shattered fleet to Brest, a proclamation was published, wherein the troops who had been embarked for the discomfited expedition to Ireland, were told that another expedition was in preparation. As a preparatory step, a corps of about 1,500 felons and old troops, with arms and ammunition, but no artillery, were embarked in three frigates, which sailing from Brest about the 20th of February, anchored in the harbour of Ilfracombe, in the north of Devonshire, where they scuttled several merchantmen; but hearing that the North Devon

regiment of volunteers were on the march against them, they stood over to the headland off St. David's, in Pembrokeshire, and came to an anchorage in a bay near Fishguard. On the 23rd, they had effected the landing of their whole force, and immediately marched forward. The whole country was in instant alarm. In the course of the day more than 3,000 men, of whom 700 were militia, were collected under Lord Cawdor, who marched directly against the enemy, in front of whom they were before the setting in of night. To present as formidable an appearance as possible to the enemy, 2,000 Welsh women had been drawn up on the summit of the boundary of the adjoining hills, accoutred in their red whittle cloaks and round beaver hats, armed with clubs, spades, toasting-forks, and the like species of unwarlike implements, for the purpose of inducing the enemy to consider them troops; and those Amazonian dames were with difficulty restrained from attacking the invaders. The French commander, alarmed at the formidable array presented to his vision, sent a letter intimating his desire to enter into a negotiation for a surrender. Lord Cawdor required their immediate unconditional submission. With that requisition they complied, and laid down their arms on the following day. The vessels from which they had disembarked, set sail immediately after the disembarkation had been effected.\*

\* It was by many supposed that this force was sent with the intention that it should be captured, as it consisted of the rascals of Paris—pests to society, of whom it was advantageous to France to get rid

## THE MUTINY OF THE BRITISH FLEETS.

IN the early part of the year 1797, while the finances were seriously embarrassed by the money-panic, occasioned by the suspension of cash payments by the Bank of England, a spirit of insubordination broke out among the sailors in the navy into so mutinous a state, as seemed at the time to have brought the country to the verge of destruction.

The seamen of the British navy having for some time been discontented with the smallness of their pay and pensions, the unequal distribution of prize-money, and the reduced weight and measure at which their provisions were served out by the pursers, several letters enclosing petitions from the battle-ships of the line at Portsmouth, were sent in the course of February and March of this year, to Lord Howe. But as they were anonymous and appeared to have been written by only one person, Lord Howe merely directed the commanding-officer at that port, Lord Hugh Seymour, to ascertain whether discontent did really exist in the fleet. The reply was so favourable that no further notice was taken of the affair.

On the return of the channel fleet to port, on March 31st, of this year, the neglect of the petitions occasioned a correspondence by letter to be kept up, and passed from ship to ship, through the whole fleet, till it became unanimously agreed, that no ship should lift anchor till the demands stated were complied with. In this state matters remained till the 16th of April—being the day before the seamen had determined to take the command of the ships from their officers—when orders were sent to Portsmouth for Lord Bridport to sail with the channel fleet; but when, on the following day, the signal to prepare was made, not a ship obeyed. Instead of weighing anchor, the sailors mounted the rigging of his flagship, the *Queen Charlotte*, and gave three cheers, which were returned by every ship in the fleet; and the red flag of mutiny was immediately hoisted by all the ships at Spithead. On the following day, the respective ships appointed two of their number to act as delegates; and on the 17th, every man in the fleet was sworn to support the cause in which he had embarked, and yard-ropes were reeved at the main and fore-yard-arms of each ship to punish the refractory. Two petitions were forwarded, one to the Ad-

miralty, and one to the House of Commons, declaring their grievances, and praying relief. A deputation of the Admiralty board went to Portsmouth to accommodate the matter; and on their return to London, the Admiralty committee, on the 20th of April, acceded to the increase of the wages and the pension, to the demand of the full weight and measure of provisions, and the promise of pardon. But the seamen refused to accept these concessions, unless ratified by royal proclamation and act of parliament, with the assurance that the government would faithfully keep its promise, and grant an unlimited amnesty. On those documents being forwarded to Portsmouth the fleet returned to its duty; and on the 23rd, Lord Bridport rehoisted his flag on board the *Royal George*. The fleet then dropped down to St. Helen's, for the purpose of resuming the blockade of Brest harbour; but a foul wind delaying its departure till the morning of the 7th of May, the crews of all the ships, in consequence of a deliberation arising from the silence of the proclamation as to their demands, refused obedience to the signal to weigh anchor unless the enemy's fleet should put to sea, in which case they declared themselves ready to go and fight them, and return into port and renew their complaints. The mutineers immediately summoned a convention of delegates on board the *London*, vice-admiral Colpoys' flagship. They accordingly put out their boats, collected the deputies from the different ships, and rowed in return to that ship. On Colpoys' refusing to admit them, and his crew insisting that they should come on board, a seaman began to unleash one of the foremost of the guns, and to point it aft towards the quarter-deck, where the officers and men of the ship were collected armed, when one of the lieutenants, by order of the vice-admiral, fired and shot him dead. The men rushed to arms, and the boats' crews forcing their way on board, the officers and marines fired on them, when five men were mortally, and three others badly wounded. The marines throwing down their arms, the crew of the *London* rushed up the hatchways, and furiously attacked the officers. They were proceeding to hang the first-lieutenant at the yard-arm, but were diverted from their pur-

pose by the intercession of the chaplain and the surgeon of the ship. The vice-admiral, the captain, and all the officers, were then ordered to their respective cabins. The rest of the fleet adopted the same course. In this state of mutinous ferment the channel fleet continued till the 14th of May, when Lord Howe arrived at Portsmouth, bringing with him an act of parliament which had been passed on the 9th, in compliance with the wishes of the seamen, and a proclamation with an unlimited amnesty. In a few days the fleet put to sea to resume the blockade of Brest harbour. While at St. Helen's, it is said, one of the ships' companies talked openly of carrying her to France, but that when the circumstance came to the knowledge of the delegates, they threatened immediate destruction to that ship if such language continued to be held; and in order to prevent the crew from holding any communication from the shore (whence the suggestion was supposed to have been derived), guard-boats were stationed to row round the disaffected ship night and day. During the whole of their proceedings, the conduct of the mutineers had been orderly, systematic, and determined; they took possession of all the magazines, loaded the guns, confined every officer to his respective ship, and kept watch as regularly as if they had been at sea. Intoxication or misconduct was severely punished, and no spirituous liquors were allowed to be brought on board any of the mutinous ships. The severest discipline was maintained; the most respectful attention was paid to their officers; and the admiral was allowed to retain the command of the fleet, the only restriction put on him was that of not putting to sea.

No sooner had the mutiny at Portsmouth been suppressed, than one broke out on the 22nd of May, on board the ships lying at the Nore; and towards the end of the month, the whole of the north fleet from the blockading station off the Texel, except Lord Duncan's flag-ship and the *Adamant*, joined the mutineers. In imitation of the channel fleet, two delegates were chosen from each ship, and Richard Parker, a native of Scotland, a seaman on board the *Sandwich*, was elected their president, under the title of "The President of the Floating Republic." The mutineers moored the fleet in order of battle across the Thames, and detained every merchant-vessel bound up and down the river. Besides the increase of pay and

provisions which had been demanded by the channel fleet, the Nore mutineers insisted on a more equal division of prize-money, more regular and frequent payment of wages, and certain privileges of permission to go on shore when in port. The conduct of the government, on this occasion, was worthy of all praise. The revolt of the fleet was formally communicated to the houses of parliament on the 1st of June, and was immediately taken into consideration. The opposition seemed at first disposed to back the mutineers; but a bill was speedily passed, by a large majority, through both houses, for the suppression of the mutiny. This bill declared the punishment of death for any person to hold communication with the mutineers after the revolt had been declared by proclamation; and all persons who might endeavour to seduce soldiers or sailors from their allegiance were liable to the same punishment. It was urged by some that these enactments were too severe; but Mr. Pitt replied, "that the tender feelings of those brave but misguided men were the sole avenues which remained open for recalling them to their duty, and that a separation from their wives, their children, and their country, would probably induce the return to duty which could alone obtain a revival of those affections." The officers of the admiralty repaired to Sheerness, and received deputations from the mutineers; their demands, however, were so unreasonable, that no accommodation could be come to. Meanwhile a number of the men returned to a sense of their duty, and were anxious to desert from the mutineers. This feeling became stronger when it was known that their conduct was reprobated by the whole of the sailors on board the channel fleet. On the 9th of June two ships slipped their cables and abandoned the insurgents at the Nore, amidst a heavy fire from the whole line; and on the 13th and the next day, several others followed their example. By the 15th, the red, or bloody flag, had disappeared from every mast-head, and on that morning, the crew of the *Sandwich* carried the ship under the guns of the fort of Sheerness, and delivered up Parker to a guard of soldiers. On the 30th, after a solemn trial, he was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Sandwich*—a fate which several other leaders of the revolt shortly after met.

Though deserted, Lord Duncan continued the blockade of the Texel with the admiral's flag-ship and six frigates. Though left

with so trifling a force, he undismayed kept his station, and prevented the Dutch admiral from availing himself of his enfeebled condition by stationing one of his frigates in the offing, and frequently making signals as if to the remainder of the fleet, thus leading the Dutch to believe that he was still surrounded by his ships. To encourage his crew, he called them on deck, and addressed them in so touching a manner, that they one and all declared their resolution to abide by him in life or death.\* He kept his station till rejoined by the mutinous ships. But the spirit of mutiny and insubordination was not confined to the home ports. Early in July, a mutiny broke out on board the *St. George*, one of the ships of the fleet off Cadiz. It was quelled, however, by the spirited conduct of Captain Peard, her commander, his lieutenant, Hartley, and Captain Hinde, who commanded a party of the 25th foot, then on board. Three men, who had been tried and sentenced to suffer death for mutinous conduct in other ships of the fleet, had been sent on board the *St. George* to be executed. The crew, headed by two of the men, came aft on the quarter-deck to present a letter to the captain, desiring him to intercede with the Earl of St. Vincent in behalf of the condemned. The captain promised that the letter should be sent, but expressed his disapprobation of the men coming aft in a body. Being

secretly informed by one of the crew that the men had come to a resolution that the prisoners should not be executed on board the *St. George*, and would assemble the next morning to put their resolution into force, Captain Peard immediately informed the crew that a warrant for the execution to be carried into force next morning had been sent to him. Information being now given to the captain that the crew intended to deprive him of the command of the ship, he immediately seized the ringleaders, and sent them in irons on board the flag-ship, the *Ville de Paris*, where a court-martial was at once assembled, when they were tried, and sentence of death passed on them. Orders were at the same time issued, that every ship of the fleet should by half-past seven o'clock next morning, send two boats, with an officer in each, alongside the *St. George*, to attend the punishment of the mutineers. The sentence was carried into execution, and no more mutinous conduct appeared in the fleet.

The mutiny which broke out on board the fleet at the Cape of Good Hope, was suppressed by the declaration of the governor, Lord Macartney, that if the red flag was not struck before the expiration of two hours, he would sink, with red-hot shot, every ship of the fleet which was at anchor under the guns of the Amsterdam battery.

\* The following is the touching and manly address of Admiral Duncan:—"My lads,—I once more call you together, with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleets; I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of the enemy, is a disgrace which, I believe, never before happened to a British admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is, that I have been supported by the officers, seamen, and marines of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself, much good may result from your example, by bringing those deluded people to a sense of their duty, which they owe not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us from our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity; and that can only be done by unanimity and obedience. This ship's company, and others, who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful nation. They

will also have from their inward feelings a comfort which will be lasting, and not like the floating and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has been often my pride with you to look into the Texel, and see a foe which dreaded coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed!—my feelings cannot easily be expressed. Our cup has overflowed, and made us wanton. The allwise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him, then, let us trust, where our only security is to be found. I find there are many good men among us: for my own part, I have had full confidence in all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world. But this can only be effected by a strict adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us all in the right way of thinking.—God bless you all!"—*Anr. Reg.* 1797, 214

BATTLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND SPANISH FLEETS OFF CAPE ST. VINCENT,  
FEBRUARY 14TH.

THE British minister having informed the parliament in both houses that a termination had been put to any hopes which might have been entertained of effecting a peace, he was supported by large majorities to make every exertion to carry on the war with vigour; and the supplies, although unprecedentedly large, were readily voted. The sums required for the expenses of the war, in this year, amounted to £42,800,000. The land forces for the year were 195,000 men; 61,000 being in Great Britain, and the remainder stationed in the colonies. The naval force in commission was 124 ships of the line, eighteen of fifty guns, 180 frigates, and 184 sloops.

The naval force which France was now enabled, by her alliance with Spain and Holland, to bring to bear against Britain, was very considerable. She had arranged with Spain and the Batavian republic a union of the fleets of the three powers, for a simultaneous and combined effort to enable them effectually to destroy the British channel fleet, and make a successful impression on that part of the empire which was most vulnerable, and, if possible, carry out the grand object of Truguet—the invasion of England. Brest was appointed as the place of rendezvous for the allied fleets.

The Spanish fleet was to proceed from Cadiz, and having raised the blockade of Brest and the other French harbours, the combined fleets of both powers were then to unite with the Dutch fleet from the Texel, in the English channel. The Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven ships of the line—six of 112 guns, one of 136, two of 84, and seventeen of 74, besides twelve frigates and a brig.

The Mediterranean fleet, under Sir John Jervis, had been actively employed during the winter, and had met with various casualties. The instructions to the admiral were, “to guard against the junction of the French and Spanish fleets; to protect the territories of our Portuguese ally; to provide against any attack on Gibraltar; and to counteract any design of invading England or Ireland.” As has been already related, the island of Corsica had been evacuated by the English, the performance of this delicate service having been intrusted to Nelson. Having left some of the most active frigates

to watch Leghorn and Genoa, and to keep open a communication with the Austrian army of Wurmser, Jervis appointed a rich convoy from Smyrna to rendezvous at St. Fiorenzo, and, directing each of his line-of-battle ships to take one of them in tow, he thus proceeded with his slender force, and reached Gibraltar with his convoy in safety. Losses at sea had reduced the number of the Mediterranean fleet, and a detachment of six ships of the line, under Admiral Mann, having been sent in pursuit of the French squadron, under Richery, had further weakened it; so that when Jervis put into Lisbon to repair, he could collect no more than nine sail-of-the-line. Having learned the designs of the hostile fleets, the English admiral resolved to proceed off Cape St. Vincent, where he arrived on the 6th of February, and was there joined by Admiral Parker with five fresh ships from England. On the 11th he was further reinforced by the arrival of Nelson in the *Minerve* frigate; he having been chased two days before by a portion of the Spanish fleet off Carthage, brought certain news of their advance. Nelson removed his broad pendant to his own ship the *Captain*, and Sir Gilbert Elliott, the late governor of Corsica, who had accompanied Nelson from thence, on his way to England, requested that the frigate which conveyed him and his suite should be detained, that he might be gratified with a sight of the expected engagement.

On the evening of the 13th, the advance ships of the enemy were clearly descried by the frigates on the look-out, and early in the morning of the 14th of February, the British fleet being on the starboard-tack, discovered the Spanish fleet, extending from south-west to south of the Cape. The morning was foggy, and a clear view of the enemy could not be obtained until near eleven o'clock in the forenoon, when the Spanish fleet was seen to consist of twenty-five ships of the line; Admiral Jervis, perceiving that the Spanish ships were much scattered, determined to pass between them, and immediately signals were made to break through the opening in the enemy's line, and cut off a portion of the Spanish fleet. For this purpose, Captain Troubridge, in the *Culloden*, followed by the *Blenheim*, *Prince*

*George, Orion, and Irresistible*, as they passed, shot through the eighteenth and nineteenth ships of the enemy's line, where there was a gap, poured double-shotted broadsides into the hostile ships, and having thus separated the sternmost and leewardmost from the main body, tacked, and prevented their again forming in line.

The Spanish admiral now endeavoured to regain the neutralized part of his fleet; but Nelson, who was then a commodore, and commanded the sternmost ship (the *Captain*) in the British line, observing the van of the enemy keeping off the wind, with the evident design of forming a junction with the separated ships, ran the *Captain* into the very middle of the hostile squadron, to assist the *Culloden*, at that time closely engaged. His example was followed by Collingwood, in the *Excellent*. These, with Troubridge's companion ships, turned the Spaniards, who again hauled before the wind, on the 'ar-board-tack.

In effecting this movement, the British squadron exhibited the most gallant conduct. Nelson having wore his ship, bore down on the enemy, and ran her between a Spanish four-decker, the *Santissima Trinidad* (reported to be the largest ship in the world, and carrying 136 guns) on the one side, and the *San Josef*, a three-decker of 112 guns, on the other. The *Santissima Trinidad* bore the flag of Admiral Cordova. Nelson having got alongside his powerful antagonists, poured his heavy broadsides into them with great rapidity and tremendous effect, and maintained this unequal contest with the utmost spirit for a considerable time. Collingwood, in the *Excellent*, seeing his friend Nelson so severely pressed, hastened on to his assistance. Previous to this, the *Excellent* had engaged the *Salvador del Mundo*, of 112 guns. The *Salvador* was a very fine three-decker; and Collingwood's ship carried only seventy-four guns; but, after experiencing a quarter of an hour of the *Excellent's* cannonading, the Spaniard struck her colours. When the fight commenced, the two vessels were not more than fifty yards apart. Collingwood, having seen the colours of the Spanish ship hauled down, passed on, not feeling disposed to lose time in taking

possession of his prize. The *Salvador* again hoisted her colours, and commenced firing, but she was ultimately taken possession of by another ship of the British fleet. The *Excellent* pressing onwards to relieve Nelson, came alongside the *San Ysidro*, a seventy-four; in a short time this vessel, also feeling the effect of her double-shotted guns, struck her colours, and was taken possession of by the *Lively* frigate Collingwood, not yet contented with his share of the gallant exploits of this memorable day, still kept pressing onwards to where Nelson was engaged with his colossal opponents. He had now got the *San Nicolas* and *San Josef* on the one side, and the *Trinidad* on the other. Collingwood laid his ship alongside the *San Nicolas*—which was the outside ship of the Spaniards—and plied her so effectively, that the shot from the *Excellent* passed right through the two Spanish ships, and struck the *Captain* on the other side. Having silenced the fire of the *San Nicolas*, and thus relieved Nelson of one adversary, the *Excellent* passed on and engaged the *Santissima Trinidad*.\*

The *San Josef* and *San Nicolas* now ran foul of each other, and Nelson, passing under their lee, with his fore-topmast eaving over the side of the *Captain*, put his helm down, and his ship having no head-ail, quickly flew up in the wind, and fell, as her gallant commander intended, on board the *San Nicolas*. Nelson rushed in, sword in hand, followed by his officers and boarders; and having carried her, proceeded to the *San Josef*, which he took in the same gallant manner. This heroic action is best portrayed in his own graphic language:—"The soldiers of the 69th (doing duty as marines), with an alacrity which will ever do them credit, and Lieutenant Pearson, of the same regiment, were almost the foremost on this service. The first man who jumped into the enemy's mizen-chains was Captain Berry, my late first lieutenant; he was supported from our sprit-yard, which was hooked on the mizen-rigging. A soldier of the 69th regiment having broken the upper-quarter gallery window, I jumped in myself, and was followed by others as fast as possible. I found the cabin-doors fastened, and lost. We shall meet at Lagos; but I could not come near you without assuring you how sensible I am of your assistance, in nearly a critical situation." The answer of Collingwood was characteristic. He replied—"It added very much to the satisfaction which I felt in thumping the Spaniards, that I released you a little."

\* The great assistance rendered by Collingwood to Nelson in this battle, the latter promptly and warmly acknowledged in a letter the following day. Writing to Collingwood, he says, "A friend in need is a friend in deed" was never more truly verified than by your most noble and gallant conduct yesterday, in sparing the *Captain* from further

Some Spanish officers fired their pistols; but having broken open the doors, the soldiers fired, and the Spanish brigadier (commodore, with a distinguishing pendant) fell as he was retreating to the quarter-deck. I rushed onwards immediately for the quarter-deck, where I found Captain Berry in possession of the poop, and the Spanish ensign hauling down. I passed with my people and Lieutenant Pearson along the larboard gangway to the fore-castle, where I met two or three Spanish officers, prisoners to my seamen: they delivered me their swords. A fire of pistols or muskets opening from the admiral's stern-galley of the *San Josef*, I instructed the soldiers to fire into her stern; and calling to Captain Miller, ordered him to send more men into the *San Nicolas*, and directed my people to board the first-rate, which was done in an instant, Captain Berry assisting me into the main-chains. At this moment a Spanish officer looked over the quarter-deck rail, and said they surrendered. From this most welcome intelligence it was not long before I was on the quarter-deck, when the Spanish captain, with a bow, presented me his sword, and said the admiral was dying of his wounds. I asked him, on his honour, if the ship was surrendered. He declared she was; on which I gave him my hand, and desired him to call on his officers and ship's company, and tell them of it, which he did; and on the quarter-deck of a Spanish first-rate, extravagant as the story may seem, did I receive the swords of the vanquished Spaniards, which, as I received, I gave to William Fearney, one of my barge-men, who put them with the greatest sang froid under his arm. I was surrounded by Captain Berry, Lieutenant Pearson (of the 69th), John Sykes, John Thompson, Francis Cook (all old *Agamemnon*s), and several other brave men—sailors and soldiers." Thus fell these two ships, their captor, the *Captain*, lying alongside them a complete wreck.

Lieutenant-colonel Drinkwater, who accompanied Sir Gilbert Elliott in the *Lively* frigate, was also a spectator of this battle, and published a very lively and interesting account of it, from which we extract the following:—

"When Sir John Jervis, on the 14th of February, had accomplished his bold intention of breaking the enemy's line, the Spanish admiral, who had been separated to windward with his main body, consisting

of eighteen ships of the line, from nine ships that were cut off to leeward, appeared to make a movement as if with a view to join the latter. This design was completely frustrated by the timely opposition of Commodore Nelson, whose station in the rear of the British line afforded him an opportunity of observing this manœuvre. His ship, the *Captain*, had no sooner passed the rear of the enemy's ships that were to windward, than he ordered her to wear, and stood on the other tack towards the enemy. In executing this bold and decisive manœuvre, the commodore reached the sixth ship from the enemy's rear, which bore the Spanish admiral's flag, the *Santissima Trinidad*, of 136 guns, a ship of four decks, reported to be the largest in the world. Notwithstanding the inequality of the force, the commodore instantly engaged this colossal opponent, and for a considerable time had to contend not only with her, but with her seconds, ahead and astern, each of three decks. While he maintained this unequal combat, which was viewed with admiration, mixed with anxiety, his friends were flying to his support. The enemy's attention was soon directed to the *Culloden*, Captain Troubridge; and in a short time after to the *Blenheim*, of ninety guns, Captain Frederick, who fortunately came to his assistance. The intrepid conduct of the commodore staggered the Spanish admiral, who already appeared to waver in pursuing his intention of joining the ships cut off by the British fleet; when the *Culloden*'s timely arrival, and Captain Troubridge's spirited support of the commodore, together with the approach of the *Blenheim*, followed by Rear-admiral Parker, with the *Prince George*, *Orion*, *Irresistible*, and *Diadem*, not far distant, determined the Spanish admiral to change his design altogether, and to throw out the signal for the ships' main body to haul their wind, and to make sail on the larboard tack. Not a moment was lost in improving the advantage now apparent in favour of the British squadron. As the ships of Rear-admiral Parker's division approached the enemy's ships, in support of the *Captain*, Commodore Nelson's ship, and her gallant seconds, the *Blenheim* and *Culloden*, the cannonade became more animated and impressive. In this manner did Commodore Nelson engage a Spanish three-decker until he had nearly expended all the ammunition in his ship, which had suffered the loss of her fore-topmast, and

received such considerable damage in her sails and rigging, that she was almost rendered *hors du combat*. At this critical period, the Spanish three-decker having lost her mizen-mast, fell on board a Spanish two-decker of eighty-four guns, that was her second: this latter ship consequently now became the commodore's opponent, and a most vigorous fire was kept up for some time by both ships within pistol-shot. It was now that the commodore's ship lost many men, and that the damages already sustained through the long and arduous conflict which she had kept up, appeared to render a continuance of the contest, in the usual way, precarious or perhaps impossible. At this critical moment, the commodore, from a sudden impulse, instantly resolved on a bold and decisive measure; and determined, whatever might be the event, to attempt his opponent sword in hand. The boarders were summoned, and orders given to lay his ship on board the enemy. 'Fortune favours the brave!' nor on this occasion was she unmindful of her favourite. Ralph Willet Miller, the commodore's captain, so judiciously directed the course of the ship, that he laid her aboard the starboard-quarter of the Spanish eighty-four, her spritsail-yard passing over the enemy's poop, and hooking in her mizen shrouds; when the word to board being given, the officers and seamen destined for this perilous duty, headed by Lieutenant Berry, together with the detachment of the 69th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Pearson, then doing duty as marines on board the *Captain*, passed with rapidity on board the enemy's ship; and in a short time the *San Nicolas* was in possession of her intrepid assailants. The commodore's ardour would not permit him to remain an inactive spectator of this scene. He was aware the attempt was hazardous, and he thought his presence might animate his brave companions, and contribute to the success of this bold enterprise; he, therefore, as if by magic impulse, accompanied the party in this attack; passing from the fore-chains of his own ship into the enemy's quarter-gallery, and thence through the cabin to the quarter-deck, where he arrived in time to receive the sword of the dying commander, who had been mortally wounded by the boarders. He had not long been employed in taking the necessary measures to secure this hard-earned conquest, when he found himself engaged in a more arduous

task. The stern of the three-decker, his former opponent, was placed directly amidships of the weather beam of the prize, *San Nicolas*; and from her poop and galleries the enemy sorely annoyed with musketry the British, who had boarded the *San Nicolas*. The commodore was not long in resolving on the conduct to be adopted on this momentous occasion. The two alternatives that presented themselves to his unshaken mind, were, to quit the prize, or instantly board the three-decker: confident of the bravery of his seamen, he determined on the latter. Directing, therefore, an additional number of men to be sent from the *Captain* on board the *San Nicolas*, the undaunted commodore, whom no danger ever appalled, headed himself the assailants in this new attack, exclaiming—'WESTMINSTER ABBEY! or GLORIOUS VICTORY!' Success, in a few minutes, and with little loss, crowned the enterprise. Such indeed was the panic occasioned by his preceding conduct, that the British no sooner appeared on the quarter-deck of their new opponent, than the commander advanced, and sking for the British commanding officer, dropped on one knee, and presented his sword, apologising at the same time for the Spanish admiral's not appearing, as he was dangerously wounded. For a moment, Commodore Nelson could scarcely persuade himself of this second instance of good fortune: he therefore ordered the Spanish commandant, who had the rank of a brigadier, to assemble the officers on the quarter-deck, and direct means to be taken in tantly for communicating to the crew the surrender of the ship. All the officers immediately appeared, and the commodore had the sender of the *San Josef* duly confirmed by each of them delivering his sword."

While Nelson had been thus engaged making what he called a "glorious St. Valentine's-day," other ships of Jervis's squadron had been nobly doing 'their duty.' The *Salvador del Mundo*, not having been taken possession of, had again hoisted her colours, when the *Victory* bore down upon her lee-quarter, and threw a most destructive fire into her. The *Barfleur* also came up, and brought her guns to bear on the Spaniard. Having lost her fore and main-mast, and being seriously damaged in her hull, she again hauled down her flag, and was taken possession of by the *Diadem*.

The battle had now lasted for a considerable time, when Cellingwood got his ship

under the lee of the *Santissima Trinidad*, with whom he was engaged for upwards of an hour; at the same time, the *Blenheim*, *Orion*, and *Irresistible*, were also engaged with this leviathan ship, until, having lost her fore and mizen masts, and having had her sails cut to pieces, and her rigging and hull severely damaged, she at last struck her colours. At this time, thirteen vessels of the enemy's fleet bore down to save their admiral's ship from being made a prize. Darkness setting in, and the day being won, Jervis made signal to his fleet to bring-to on the starboard tack, leaving the Spanish admiral's ship surrounded by his own fleet.

At the close of the battle, the *San Josef* and *Salvador*, each of 112 guns, and the *San Nicolas* and *San Ysidro* remained in the hands of the victors.

The loss, on the part of the British, was seventy-four men killed and twenty-two wounded; of the killed and wounded one-fourth had formed part of the crew of Nelson's ship, the *Captain*. The loss on the part of the enemy must have been great; that on board of the captured ships amounting to 599 men. The prisoners were 3,000.

The English fleet consisted of fifteen ships of the line—namely, the *Victory*, 100 guns; *Britannia*, 100; *Barfleur* and *Prince George*, each 98; *Blenheim* and *Namur*, each 90; *Captain*, *Goliath*, *Excellent*, *Orion*, *Colossus*, *Egmont*, *Culloden*, and *Irresistible*, each 74; *Diadem*, 64.

The Spanish fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line—namely, *Santissima Trinidad*, 130 guns; *Mexicana*, *Principe de Asturias*, *Conception*, *Conde de Regla*, *Salvador del Mundo*, and *San Josef*, each 112; *San Nicolas*, 84; *Oriente*, *Glorioso*, *Atlante*, *Conquistador*, *Soberano*, *Firme*, *Pelayo*, *San Genaro*, *San Juan*, *Nepomuceno*, *San Francisco de Paula*, *San Ysidro*, *San Antonio*, *San Pablo*, *San Firmin*, *Neptuna*, *Bahama*, *San Domingo*, *Terrible*, and *Il Defenso*, each 74 guns.

During the night both fleets lay-to repairing their damages, and day-break on the 15th showed them on opposite tacks, each formed

in line of battle ahead. On the 16th the British fleet proceeded with the prizes to Lagos Bay. On their way thither, the Spanish admiral formed his line, as if with the intention of renewing the action; but on the British admiral's making the signal, and preparing for battle, the Spanish fleet stood away and soon disappeared.

In commemoration of the battle of St. Vincent, and as an acknowledgment of the services of the officers of the fleet, Sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage, under the title of Earl of St. Vincent, with a pension of £3,000 a-year; Vice-admirals Thompson, Parker, and Captain Calder, were created baronets; and Nelson was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, and made knight of the Bath, with a pension of £1,000 a-year. Each one of the six admirals and captains received an emblematical gold medal. The freedom of the city of London was presented to Sir Horatio Nelson in a gold box; also that of Norwich, Bath, and Bristol.

As will be seen above, due honour was done to the victors in this battle; but considerable dissatisfaction was exhibited among the officers of the fleet when it was known that but one of them was named in the admiral's account of the battle, viz., Captain Calder, of the *Victory*, who was sent home with the despatch. It is but just to add, that when Sir John Jervis received Nelson in the *Victory* after the action, he clasped him in his arms, all dirty and begrimed with smoke as he was, and with part of his hat shot away. When Nelson handed him the sword of the Spanish admiral, which he had obtained when he boarded the *San Josef*, Sir John Jervis returned it to him, saying that he was best entitled to wear it after he had so nobly won it, and that he could not sufficiently thank him for his gallant efforts during the battle.\*

\* As everything connected with Lord Nelson is fraught with interest to his countrymen, we may mention, that he presented this sword to the city of Norwich, he being a native of that county. The corporation were highly gratified with the gift, and have preserved it in the council-chamber of the hall in the market-place.

## THE BOMBARDMENT OF CADIZ—ATTACK ON SANTA CRUZ.

THE vanquished fleet withdrew to Cadiz, whither it was, on the 31st of March, followed by the victors, who blockaded it in so closely, that not a single ship dared to venture out beyond the reach of its numerous powerful batteries. While this vigorous blockade continued, fresh preparations were made by the Spanish government to fulfil their engagement of effecting a junction with the French fleet. By the end of June, twenty-eight vessels were ready manned for sea. To provoke the Spanish admiral to attempt putting to sea, Sir John Jervis (now Earl of St. Vincent) determined to bombard the town of Cadiz. On the night of the 3rd of July, everything being in readiness, the *Thunder* bomb-vessel, covered by launches and barges of the fleet, under the orders of Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, who commanded the advanced or in-shore squadron, took her station within 2,500 yards of the walls of the town, and threw some shells into it, but the condition of its chief mortar-piece being found injured by former services, an attempt was made to capture her by a number of Spanish gun-boats and launches. Nelson, with his similar description of force, immediately closed with them. The conflict was obstinate, and both sides behaved with great valour. Don Miguel Tyrason, in his barge, with a crew of twenty-six men, attempted to capture Nelson's comparatively smaller boat, with only fifteen hands besides himself. A hand-to-hand contest ensued, in which the respective commanders took a conspicuous personal part. Eighteen of Tyrason's crew having been killed, and himself and all the remainder wounded, he surrendered. At length the Spaniards were driven to the walls of Cadiz, leaving two mortar-boats and the commandant's launch, with several prisoners, in the hands of the victors. Nelson always regarded this service as the greatest trial of his personal courage that he had ever encountered. In one of his letters at this time, he says:—"In an attack of the Spanish gun-boats I was boarded in my barge, with its common crew of ten men, coxswain, Captain Fremantle, and myself, by the commander of the gun-boats. The Spanish barge rowed twenty-six oars, besides officers—thirty in the whole; this was a service hand-to-hand, with swords, in which my coxswain, John Sykes, twice saved my life. Eighteen of

the Spaniards being killed, and several wounded, we succeeded in taking their commander." Nelson's despatch to the Earl of St. Vincent, describing this engagement, will be read with interest:—

"The Spaniards having sent out a great number of mortar gun-boats and armed launches, I directed a vigorous attack to be made on them, which was done with such gallantry, that they were drove and pursued close to the walls of Cadiz, and must have suffered considerable loss; and I have the pleasure to inform you that two mortar boats and an armed launch remained in our possession. I feel myself particularly indebted for the successful termination of this contest, to the gallantry of Captains Fremantle and Miller, the former of whom accompanied me in my barge; and to my coxswain, John Sykes, who, in defending my person, is most severely wounded; as was Captain Fremantle slightly in the attack. And my praises are generally due to every officer and man, some of whom I saw behave in the most noble manner, and I regret it is not in my power to particularize them. I must also beg to be permitted to express my admiration of Don Miguel Tyrason, the commander of the gun-boats. In his barge, he laid my boat alongside, and his resistance was such as did honour to a brave officer; eighteen of the twenty-six men being killed, and himself and all the rest wounded."

On the night of the 5th, a second bombardment took place with the bomb-vessels, the *Thunder*, *Terror*, and *Stromboli*, covered by the *Theseus* seventy-four, and the frigates *Terpsichore* and *Emerald*. Advancing with the bomb-vessels as near to the shore as was practicable, Nelson threw into the town, and among the shipping in the harbour, so large a number of shells, as to compel ten sail of the line to warp, with much precipitation, out of shell-range. The British and Spanish gun-boats again encountered each other. The British loss was one seaman killed and one captain of marines; two lieutenants, two midshipmen, and eleven seamen and marines wounded. We cannot refrain from giving the following characteristic passage from Nelson's despatch to Lord St. Vincent on this occasion:—"News from Cadiz, by a market-boat, that our ships did much damage; the town was on fire in three places; a shell that fell in a convent destroyed several priests (that no harm, they will never be missed); that plunder and robbery was going on—a glorious scene of confusion."

Nelson meditated a third bombardment on the 8th; at the rumoured arrival in Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, of a richly-freighted Manilla ship, and the town being represented vulnerable, Earl St. Vincent dispatched a squadron, consisting of four ships of the line, three frigates, and a cutter, under the command of Nelson, to attempt their capture. The squadron parted company with the fleet off Cadiz, and reached Teneriffe on the 19th. On the night of the 20th, Nelson made an attempt to land the men, but tempestuous weather prevented their disembarkation. Early on the 22nd, the squadron bore up to Santa Cruz, but having been observed by the inhabitants, they stood off, and did not attempt to land. On a consultation of the principal officers, it was determined that the attack should be made that night. About nine in the evening the men were landed at the east end of the town; but finding it impossible to advance, they again re-embarked without the loss of a single man. Nelson being unwilling to give up the enterprise without striking a blow, determined to make another attempt on the evening of the 24th. As it was intended to attempt a surprise, at eleven o'clock, about 1,000 seamen and marines, and a detachment of artillery, embarked on board the boats of the squadron and the *Fox* cutter: they proceeded without being discovered till they were within less than gun-shot of the mole. Their approach being perceived, a tremendous fire was opened on them from all the batteries on the platform in front of the town. On account of the darkness of the night, only five boats could find the mole. The *Fox* cutter being struck by a shot between wind and water, immediately sank, with about 100 of the assailants on board. A grape-shot striking Nelson on the elbow just as he was stepping out of his boat, he was so disabled, that he was carried back to his ship. In spite, however, of all opposition, the assailants landed, and stormed and carried the mole-head. Having spiked the guns, they were about to advance, when they were mowed down in scores by a heavy fire from the citadel and houses near the mole. In the meantime, Captain Trou-

\* A strong trait in Nelson's character was his kindly consideration of others. At the time of this attack, Mr. Nisbet, son of his lady by a former husband, was serving on board the *Theseus*. Knowing the desperate nature of the service in which he was about to be engaged, he resolved that this young man should not accompany him. When all was pre-

pared, Nisbet appeared before him ready equipped. Nelson strongly urged him to remain on board, saying—"Should we both fall, Josiah, what will become of your poor mother? the care of the *Theseus* falls to you." Nisbet replied—"Sir, the ship must take care of herself. I will go with you to-night, if I never go again."

bridge and his party, having missed the mole, landed under a battery close to the southward of the citadel, making their way through a raging surf, which stove all their boats, and wetted the ammunition in the men's pouches. Having effected a landing they pushed on to the great square, the appointed rendezvous for all the storming parties, but not meeting with their comrades, they determined to proceed to the attack of the citadel. At daylight they had collected the surviving seamen and marines, to the number of about 340; when Troubridge, being informed by the prisoners taken, that 8,000 Spaniards, aided by 100 French, were advancing upon him, and seeing all the streets commanded by field pieces, he sent a flag of truce to the governor Don Juan Antonio Gutierrez, proposing to be allowed to re-embark without molestation. On the governor's reply, that he required the assailants to surrender prisoners of war, Captain Head, the bearer of the proposal, told him that if the terms were not complied with, the town would be immediately fired. The truce was forthwith concluded, and Troubridge and his men marched to the mole, where they embarked on board boats furnished by the Spaniards.

"In this attack Nelson received the wound which deprived him of his right arm, and it is remarkable that in his official despatch he does not make mention of the loss he had personally sustained. It was a grape-shot through the elbow, as he was drawing out his sword, and stepping out of the boat. His step-son, Josiah Nisbet,\* was with him, and nobly and affectionately tended him, laid him in the bottom of the boat, bound up the shattered limb, in which he was assisted by Lovel, one of the admiral's barge-men, who tore his shirt into shreds, and made of it a sling for the wounded arm. The boat was then got afloat (for it had grounded from the falling of the tide), and Josiah Nisbet took one of the oars. The voice of his step-son giving orders roused Nelson, whose faintness was subsiding, and he desired to be lifted up, to look a little about him. The scene of destruction and the tempestuous sea (it is said) were sublimely dreadful, a painful uncertainty pre-

pared, Nisbet appeared before him ready equipped. Nelson strongly urged him to remain on board, saying—"Should we both fall, Josiah, what will become of your poor mother? the care of the *Theseus* falls to you." Nisbet replied—"Sir, the ship must take care of herself. I will go with you to-night, if I never go again."

vailed respecting the fate of his brave companions; when, on a sudden, a general shriek from the crew of the *Fox*, which had sunk from a shot she had received under water, made the admiral forget his own weak and painful state. Many were rescued from a watery grave by Nelson himself, whose humane exertions on this occasion added considerably to the agony and danger of his wound. Ninety-seven men, including Lieutenant Gibson, were lost, and eighty-three were saved. The first ship which the boat could reach happened to be the *Sea-horse*; but nothing could induce the admiral to go on board, though he was assured that it might be at the risk of his life, if they attempted to row to another ship: 'Then I will die,' he exclaimed, 'for I would rather suffer death than alarm Mrs. Fremantle by her seeing me in this state, and when I can give her no tidings whatever of her husband.' They accordingly proceeded without further delay for the *Theseus*; when, notwithstanding the increased pain and weakness which he experienced, he peremptorily refused all assistance in getting on board: 'Let me alone, I have yet my legs left, and one arm. Tell the surgeon to make haste and get his instruments. I know I must lose my right arm, so the sooner it's off the better.'\* In this disastrous affair, the loss of the English, in killed and wounded, amounted to 270 men.

It has been truly remarked that the loss sustained in this attack did not fall far short, in number, "and much exceeded, in officers of rank and value, the loss by which the victory off Cape St. Vincent had been obtained." There was one captain, four sea-lieutenants, and two lieutenants of marines killed; Rear-admiral Nelson lost his arm; Captains Fremantle and Thompson, and one midshipman were wounded. Captain Richard Bowen, who fell fighting, after having carried the mole, was much regretted in

\* Pettigrew's *Life of Nelson*.

† Captain Richard Bowen was a native of Devonshire, and was born in 1761. He joined the merchant service at the early age of thirteen years. At Jamaica, in 1778, he volunteered into the navy, and made a friend of Admiral Caldwell, who then commanded at that station. Bowen afterwards joined Captain Jervis (Earl St. Vincent.) He also served in the West Indies, under Sir Richard Hughes, and obtained the approbation of all who knew him. In 1790, Sir John Jervis appointed him as his flag-lieutenant on board the *Prince*. In 1791, he sailed for New South Wales, and was absent for two years, performing such services as procured him the thanks of the navy board and the secretary of state for the

the service; and the rear-admiral, in his despatch, but expressed the universal opinion of the fleet, when he stated—"than whom a more enterprising, able, and gallant officer does not grace his majesty's service." Both Earl St. Vincent and Nelson importuned Earl Spencer to erect a monument to this noble young man.†

At an earlier period of this year, rear-admiral Nelson had submitted to Earl St. Vincent a plan which he then had in his mind for the taking of Teneriffe; but nothing definite was at that time determined on. When, however, the intelligence reached the admiral, in July, that the Spanish ship, *Principe D'Asturias*, richly laden from Manilla, was at Santa Cruz, the suggestion of Nelson was then determined to be acted on, and he received instructions to carry the plan into effect. In justice to Nelson, it is only right that the original document which was handed to Lord St Vincent should be laid before the reader, as the departure from the plan, as laid down by him, has been held by many to account for its unsuccessful issue. The want of assistance from a land-force certainly altered the circumstances very materially. The document is as follows:—

"My dear Sir,—Troubridge talked to me last night about the viceroy at Teneriffe. Since I first believed it possible that his excellency might have gone there, I have endeavoured to make myself master of the situation, and means of approach by sea and land. I shall begin by sea. The Spanish ships generally moor with two cables to the sea, and four cables from their stern to the shore; therefore, although we might get to be masters of them, should the wind not come off the shore, it does not appear certain we should succeed so completely as we might wish. As to any opposition, except from natural impediments, I should not think it would avail. I do not reckon

colonies. He again joined Sir John Jervis, and took share in the attack on Martinique, he commanding the gun-boats on this occasion. In 1794, he was made a commander, and was appointed to the *Zebra*, afterwards to the *Veteran*, and then to the *Terpsichore*. His exploits in the latter frigate we have already had occasion to record. He was with Sir Horatio Nelson in the bombardment of Cadiz; and from thence accompanied him to the unfortunate attack on Santa Cruz. He effected a landing at the mole, stormed the battery, spiked the guns, and in his progress to the town received several wounds which proved mortal. The body of the gallant commander was committed to the deep on the 27th of July.

myself equal to Blake; but if I recollect right, he was more obliged to the wind coming off the land, than to any exertions of his own: fortune favoured the gallant attempt, and may do so again. But it becomes my duty to state all the difficulties, as you have done me the honour to desire me to enter on the subject. The approach by sea to the anchoring place is under very high land, passing three valleys; therefore the wind is either in from the sea, or equally, with calms from the mountains. Sometimes in night a ship may get in with the land-wind and moderate weather. So much for the sea attack, which if you approve, I am ready and willing to risk it, or to carry into execution. But now comes my plan, which would not fail of success, would immortalise the undertakers, ruin Spain, and has every prospect of raising our country to a higher pitch of wealth than she ever yet attained: but here soldiers must be consulted; and I know from experience, excepting General O'Hara, they have not the same boldness in undertaking a political measure that we have: we look to the benefit of our country, and risk our own fame every day to serve her: a soldier obeys his orders, and no more. By saying soldiers should be consulted, you will guess I mean the army of 3,700 men from Elba, with cannon, mortars, and every implement now embarked; they would do the business in three days, probably much less. I will undertake, with a very small squadron, to do the naval part. The shore, although not very easy of access, yet is so steep that the transports may run in and land the army in one day. The water is conveyed to the town in wooden troughs: this supply cut off, would probably induce a very speedy surrender: good terms for the town, private property secured to the islanders, and only the delivery of public stores and foreign merchandise demanded, with threats of utter destruction if one gun is fired. In short, the business could not miscarry. Now it comes for me to discover what might induce General De Burgh to act in this business. All the risk and responsibility must rest with you. A fair representation should also be made by you of the great national advantages that would arise to our country, and of the ruin that our success would occasion

to Spain. Your opinion besides should be stated, of the superior advantages a fort night thus employed would be of to the army, to what they could do in Portugal and that of the six or seven millions sterling, the army should have one-half. If this sum were thrown into circulation in England, what might not be done? It would ensure an honourable peace, with innumerable other blessings. It has long occupied my thoughts. Should General De Burgh not choose to act, after having all these blessings for our country stated to him, which are almost put into our hands, we must look to General O'Hara. The royals, about 600, are in the fleet, with artillery sufficient for the purpose. You have the power of stopping the store-ships; 1,000 men would still insure the business, for Teneriffe never was besieged, therefore the hills that cover the town are not fortified to resist any attempt of taking them by storm; the rest must follow—a fleet of ships, and money to reward the victors. But I know with you, and I can lay my hand on my heart, and say the same,—It is the honour and prosperity of our country that we wish to extend.

“I am, &c.,

“HORATIO NELSON.”

In consequence of the loss of his arm, Nelson was obliged to return to England, where honours were heaped upon him.

In October of this year it was proposed to give a pension of £1,000 per annum to Nelson; and as it is usual on such occasions to present a memorial, detailing the grounds on which the pension is granted, he drew up one in which he set forth the services he had performed during the war. It stated that he had been engaged in four battles with the fleets of the enemy, and in three actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbour, in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns; he had served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the sieges of Bastia and Calvi; he had assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers; had taken or destroyed fifty sail of merchant vessels; and been engaged against the enemy upwards of 120 times; in which service he had lost his right eye and right arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his bod

## BATTLE OF CAMPERDOWN.

THOUGH the plan of operations for the descent on Ireland, formed by France, Spain, and Holland, had been disconcerted by the naval victory off Cape St. Vincent, the fleet of the Batavian republic still remained to second the designs of the French. The naval preparations in Holland had been extraordinary: they surpassed anything of the kind that had been attempted by the united provinces for above a century. Though not so numerous as the Spanish fleet lately defeated, the Dutch ships were incomparably better manned; and no doubt was entertained that the contest between the Dutch and English fleets would be extremely obstinate. The remembrance of the many hard-fought battles between those states in former days, revived the ancient spirit of the sea-faring natives of the united provinces. During the course of the summer of this year, the Dutch armament, consisting of four ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-eight guns, seven of sixty-four guns, and four of fifty; and three frigates of forty, forty-four, and thirty-two guns—all completely manned and provided with every requisite—was ready for sea.

As soon as the equipment of this fleet had been effected, the Batavian government, urged by importunities of the French Directory, gave orders for its immediately putting to sea. The intention was, that it should proceed directly to Brest, and join the French fleet assembled there for a second invasion of Ireland. In watching the motions of this fleet, Admiral Duncan had closely guarded the mouth of the Texel; but the blockading fleet, having much suffered from tempestuous weather, had been obliged, on the 3rd of October, to return to Yarmouth Roads to refit and revictual; a small squadron of frigates in observation being left off the Dutch coast, under the orders of Captain Trollope.

On the 10th, the Dutch fleet quitted the Texel. Immediately that Captain Trollope received information, he communicated the fact to the commander-in-chief. On the 9th, Admiral Duncan was informed of the movements of the Dutch fleet: he immediately set sail, and on the 11th he arrived on his old cruising-ground, with sixteen sail of the line and frigates—namely, seven seventy-four's, seven sixty-four's, two fifty's, two frigates of forty and twenty-eight guns,

one sloop, four cutters, and one lugger. The *Russel* frigate, Captain Trollope's ship, was observed to leeward, with the signal flying for an enemy's fleet. Duncan instantly bore up, and saw the object which he had been anxiously watching for two years. When the captains of the fleet came on board the admiral's ship for their final instructions—"There, gen lemen," said Duncan, as he pointed towards the Dutch fleet, "you see a very severe winter before you, and I hope you will keep up a good fire!" which humorous laconism occasioned much merriment among the officers, who assured him they would punctually follow his advice. The British admiral formed his fleet so as to prevent the enemy from regaining the Texel. The hostile fleet no sooner observed their opponents, than they kept constantly edging away for their own shore, until their progress was arrested, in nine fathoms' water, off the heights or sandhills between Camperdown and Egmont, about three leagues from the land. At about half-past eleven, the British admiral made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and get between the Dutch fleet and the shore. The movement was immediately executed in two lines of attack; the *Monarch*, which carried the flag of Vice-admiral Onslow, bearing down on the enemy's rear, followed by the whole division. In less than an hour the hostile line was broken, and the *Monarch*, passing under the Dutch vice-admiral's stern, immediately lay alongside of him, and engaged him at three yards' distance. In the mean time Duncan, at the head of the second line, had attacked the van of the Dutch fleet, and having pierced its centre, laid himself beside De Winter's flag-ship. At the same time the battle became general, each ship engaging its enemy yard-arm to yard-arm, and between the Dutch ships and the lee-shore. For two hours and-a-half the battle lasted between the two British flag-ships; nor did it terminate till the Dutch ship had lost all her masts, and half her crew were either killed or wounded. The contest between the two vice-admirals had been equally obstinate, and every ship in the British fleet had been engaged in a furious combat with an antagonist, often yard-arm to yard-arm. While the battle thus raged in the centre and rear of the Dutch fleet, three ships, which were in the van, made off under a

crowd of sail, and escaped into the Texel, their captains having held a cautious distance during the action. The contest between the two admirals had been unusually severe. The *Vryheid* did not strike until she had lost upwards of 250 of her men, and De Winter was the only one on the quarter-deck of his ship who was not either killed or wounded.\*

About four, P.M., the victory was decided in favour of the British, and eight ships of the line, two of 56-guns, and two frigates were the reward of the victors. At this time the British fleet was in nine-fathom water, and only five miles from the enemy's coast. The carnage on board each fleet had been great. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 825; on board of the ships of the admiral and vice-admiral, the loss had been very severe. The Dutch loss, according to their returns, had been 1,160. The prisoners on board the captured vessels were 6,000. When the battle was over, the ships of the English fleet were found to have suffered considerably from the shot of their opponents. Unlike the French and Spaniards, the Dutch had aimed at the hulls of the vessels, and while the spars, rigging, and sails were comparatively uninjured, the hulls of some of the ships were completely riddled, so that it was necessary to keep the pumps constantly going. One ship, the *Ardent*, had received no less than ninety-eight round shot in her hull.

Admiral Story having collected the scattered remains of the Dutch fleet, sought refuge in the Texel; and Duncan returned with his prizes to the Yarmouth Roads. Tempestuous weather having succeeded the battle, two of the prizes taking advantage of the circumstance, escaped into the Texel, the English who had been put on board being too few to preserve their command against the Dutch officers and crews. The *Delft*, a 56-gun ship, went down astern of the vessel which had her in tow. Eight line-of-battle ships, and two of 56-guns, were brought into Yarmouth Roads amid the cheers of the delighted spectators; but the prizes were in so shattered a state that they were utterly useless, except to be exhibited as trophies.

The news of this great and important

\* Alis n relates, that De Winter and Admiral Duncan din d together in the afternoon of the day the battle was fought. In the course of the evening they played a rub ber of whist together, when Dun-

battle caused great joy and exultation in Britain. Bonfires blazed, and the bells rung out a merry peal, from the metropolis of the empire to the most remote village. The public spirit and patriotic pride of the nation were revived, and confidence was fully restored in that popular arm of the service—the navy—seeing that this great victory was effected by the very men who, in the beginning of the year, had exhibited such a stubborn spirit of mutiny. When Admiral Duncan returned home he was created Baron Duncan of Lundie, in the county of Perth, and Viscount Duncan of Camperdown, from the place on the coast of Holland off which he gained his victory; Vice-admiral Onslow was created a baronet; and Captains Trollope and Fairfax were knighted. A general illumination took place throughout the kingdom: the king went in state to St. Paul's, on occasion of a general thanksgiving for the many signal and important victories obtained by his majesty's navy during the war. The procession was attended by three wagons bearing flags that had been taken from the French, Spaniards, and Dutch, and these were severally borne to the altar by a flag-officer who had been present when they were taken. The royal family were present at this service, and seats were reserved for the flag-officers who had commanded, or who had been present in a general action in which any ships of the enemy had been captured. Amongst those present was Sir Horatio Nelson, who had been detained from joining his ship in consequence of the suffering caused by the amputation of his arm. Nelson was attended by Captains Berry and Noble.

In February of this year, the expedition under Admiral Harvey and General Abercromby took possession of the Spanish island of Trinidad, where the Spanish squadron, consisting of four ships of the line and a gun-frigate, taking fire, were consumed. In the following April, the same expedition made an attack on Porto Rico; but the approaches to the fort were so strongly fortified, that it was found impossible to make any impression on them with the inconsiderable artillery of the assailants; the attempt was therefore desisted from, and the troops re-embarked without molestation.

can having won the game, De Winter, with the greatest good-humour, remarked, that it was very hard to be twice beaten in one day by the same opponent.

The Caribs of the West India Islands were not finally subdued till 1797, at which time they capitulated, and rations were allowed them to subsist on till they were conveyed to the island of Ruatan, in the Bay of Honduras. At the same time, the Maroons of Jamaica were sent to an islet in the neighbourhood of St. John's, Newfoundland, and lands granted them to subsist on. The commissioners sent to execute the decree for the proclamation of equality and equal rights among the colonists in the isles of Bourbon and France having been expelled by the inhabitants, made heavy complaints on their return to France; but the French government, warned by the fate of their

West Indian colonies, readily listened to the remonstrances of their East Indian colonial subjects; and from that time no more rebellions of the slave population occurred.

Early in July of this year the English government made another attempt at pacification, and Lord Malmesbury was sent to Lisle for the purpose of opening negotiations; but the French Directory refusing to listen to any proposal, unless the British government surrendered all the conquests which it had made during the war, accompanied with an intimation that if this demand was not acceded to, the British plenipotentiary must quit Lisle within twenty-four hours, Lord Malmesbury returned home.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE REPUBLICAN ARMIES IN GERMANY.

HAVING conquered Italy, Napoleon hastened to carry the war into the heart of Germany. Being recruited with 20,000 men from the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, he advanced, with an army of 50,000 men, to the frontier of Carinthia, where the main army of Austria was preparing to open a sixth campaign, under the Archduke Charles of Austria; the other army was under Alvinzi, on the Tyrclese frontier;—the fatal double plan of operation still being the military creed of the empire.

Napoleon Buonaparte's plan was to enter Germany by the Carinthian road, and crossing Carniola and Styria, reach the Simmering, and thence march on Vienna; while, should he be turned in this attempt, Jcubert was ordered to the Austrian frontiers, and by penetrating through the higher ridges of the Alps which commanded them, force the passes of the Italian Tyrol; and Victor was to advance to the Adige to check the Venetian levies, and secure the communications of the main army. On the 9th of March, Napoleon Buonaparte's headquarters were advanced from Verona to Bassano, where he addressed the army in the following order of the day:—"Soldiers! the fall of Mantua, and the campaign just terminated, have given you eternal claims to the gratitude of your country. You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles and seventeen combats. You have taken 100,000 prisoners, 500 field-artillery, 2,000 of heavy calibre, and five pontoon trains. The contributions levied in the countries which you have conquered, have fed, clothed, and paid

the army; and you have sent 30,000,000 francs to the public treasury. You have enriched the National Museum with 300 master-pieces of the arts, the produce of thirty centuries. You have conquered the finest countries in Europe. The Transpadane and Cispadane republics owe to you their freedom. The French flag waves, for the first time, on the shores of the Adriatic, opposite to Macedon, and within twenty four hours' sail of the country of Alexander. \* \* \* \* Still higher destinies await you; I know you will prove yourselves worthy of them. Of all who were leagued to stifle the French republic in its birth, the Austrian emperor alone remains before you. To obtain peace, we must seek it in the heart of his hereditary states."

On the 10th of March all the columns of Napoleon's troops were in motion; and on the 16th the hostile armies confronted each other; the French drawn up on the right bank of the Tagliamento, the Austrians on the left, in front of the rugged mountains of Carinthia, which guard the passage in that quarter from Italy to Germany. The Austrian cavalry was marshalled in two lines, ready to fall on the enemy the instant he crossed the river, while its vast array of guns was ready to scatter destruction among the advancing columns. To attempt the passage in the presence of so formidable an army would be rash: Napoleon Buonaparte, therefore, had recourse to a stratagem. After a slight cannonade, the French soldiers piled their arms, and formed their bivouacs. The archduke, knowing that the French had



NAPOLÉON BEFORE DRESDEN, 1813.



THE DEFENCE OF PARIS IN 1814.



marched all night, supposed, from these motions, that their general had deferred the attack till the morrow, and in like manner withdrew to his camp. About two hours afterwards, the French, resuming their arms, rushed towards the river, and plunging into the water, gained the opposite shore before the Austrian line of battle could be formed. Soon the firing became general along the lines of the hostile armies. After about three hours' contest, every effort to dislodge the French having failed, and the archduke's flank having been turned, he ordered a retreat, leaving six cannon and some prisoners in the hands of the enemy. The French rapidly pursued him. On the 19th they stormed Gradisca, where they captured 3,000 prisoners; and in the course of a few days they were masters of Trieste, Fiume, and every stronghold in Carinthia. On the 24th, Napoleon Buonaparte had entered Klagenfurt, its capital. In the course of this campaign of twenty days, the Austrians had contended with the French in ten battles, in the course of which the greater part of two divisions had laid down their arms; besides which, thirty-five cannon, ten standards, and 400 artillery and baggage-wagons had been the prize of the French.

During these operations in Carinthia, Joubert had gained decisive advantages in the Italian Tyrol. On the 20th of March, he had defeated the imperial generals, Kerpen and Laudon, at Cembra and Neumarekt, with the loss of 3,500 prisoners, and several pieces of cannon. On the 28th he struck into the Pusterthal road, and in a few days joined Napoleon Buonaparte, with 12,000 men, at Klagenfurt.

Thus, in a campaign of twenty days, the archduke had been driven over the Julian Alps, and the French were masters of the provinces of Carniola, Carinthia, Trieste, Fiume, and the Italian Tyrol,—Trieste and Fiume being the two only ports in the Austrian dominions. Only sixty leagues now intervened between Vienna and the French army, flushed with victory. Towards the capital Archduke Charles was advancing by forced marches,—a resolution he adopted in consequence of the Venetians having declared war, and that their army had passed the frontier.

The news of the disasters to which the Austrian army had been subject, and of the storming of the passes of the Julian Alps, caused the greatest consternation. But not-

withstanding his success, Napoleon Buonaparte's situation was not without difficulty. On the 31st of March he received a despatch from the Directory, announcing that he must not depend on the expected co-operation of the armies of the Rhine, under Moreau and Hoche, as they had not boats to cross that river. Thus deprived of the co-operation on which he had relied on crossing the Alps, he deemed it advisable to endeavour to conclude a peace with the emperor. Accordingly, a few hours after the receipt of the Directory's despatch, he addressed the following letter to the archduke:—"General-in-chief!—A brave soldier, while he makes war, wishes for peace. The present war has lasted six years. Have we not slain enough of our fellow-creatures, and inflicted a sufficiency of woes on suffering humanity? Humanity has great claims on us; it demands repose. Europe has laid down the arms she took up against the French republic. Your nation alone perseveres; and blood is to flow in greater profusion than ever. Sinister omens attend the opening of this campaign. Whatever may be its issue, many thousands of men must be sacrificed on each side; and after all the mischief, we must come to an accommodation; for everything must have a termination—even the vindictive passions. The Directory has already evinced to the imperial government its anxious wish to put an end to hostilities: the court of London alone broke off the negotiation. But you, general, whose birth places you so near the throne, and above the petty passions which too often govern ministers and governments—are you disposed to merit the title of a benefactor of humanity, and the saviour of Germany? Do not imagine, general, that I deny the possibility of saving Germany by force of arms; but even in that event, Germany will not be the less ravaged. As for myself, should the overture I am making be the means of saving the life of a single man, I shall feel prouder of the civic crown, which I shall be conscious of having deserved, than the melancholy glory the most distinguished military success can confer." To this skilful diplomatic document, the archduke made the following reply:—"Unquestionably, general, in making war, obediently to the call of honour and duty, I desire as much as you the attainment of peace, for the sake of humanity; but in the duty which is assigned to me, there is no power either to scrutinize the causes, or

terminate the duration of the war; and as I am not invested with any powers in that respect, you will easily conceive that I can enter into no negotiation without express authority from the imperial government."

To give weight to his overture, Napoleon Buonaparte determined to push forward to Vienna. On the 1st of April, the Austrian rear-guard in advance of Triesack, was driven back to Neumarkt, where the archduke had taken a position to defend the gorge of the defile of that name. At three o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the French commenced the attack at all points, when, after a slight resistance, the archduke, on the approach of night, fell back to Hundsmarck, with the loss of 1,500 men. On the 6th of April, Napoleon Buonaparte's headquarters were at the village of Leoben. Vienna was in the greatest terror. On the 7th, Generals Bellegarde and Meerfeld pre-

\* It is impossible to pass this infamous act of perfidy and spoliation, on the part of Austria and Napoleon, without marking it as one meriting the most signal reprobation. There is not, perhaps, in the page of history a more disgusting record than that which details the conduct of Austria in her connivance at the dismemberment and appropriation of the territory of Poland, and the seizure of the inoffensive and defenceless state of Venice, after she had caused the latter to incur the displeasure of revolutionary France by her fidelity towards herself. Napoleon, in his perfidious conduct towards the Venetian republic, seems even to have gone beyond his instructions from the revolutionary government. In a despatch from the Directory, Venice is thus referred to:—"Venice should be treated as a neutral, but not a friendly power; it has done nothing to merit the latter character." Napoleon, however, took umbrage at every act which the Venetians performed, and endeavoured to make every event an excuse for levying money upon the effete and spiritless republic. Writing to the Directory on the 7th of June, 1796, he says:—"If your object is to extract five or six millions out of Venice, I have secured for you a pretence for a rupture. You may demand it as an indemnity for the combat of Borghetto, which I was obliged to sustain to take Peschiera. *If you have more decided views, we must take care not to let that subject of discord drop.* Tell me what you wish, and be assured I will seize the most fitting opportunity of carrying it into execution, according to circumstances." Thus wrote Napoleon, in 1796; and true to his plan, we find him, in 1797, taking care that "subjects of discord" were not allowed to drop, but others were anxiously looked for; and if not conveniently to be obtained at the moment, were made for the purpose. The nearness of the Venetian territory to the newly-made republics of Italy, afforded a good opportunity of sowing the seeds of revolutionary principles among the Venetians. The better to effect this object, Buonaparte appointed Landrieux, chief of the staff to the cavalry, to enter into correspondence with the disaffected, and *secretly* promise them the aid of France. At the same time Napoleon *openly* gave orders, that no assistance was

sent themselves at the outposts; and when admitted to Napoleon Buonaparte's presence, they produced a letter from the emperor, desiring an armistice for five days, till preliminaries for a definitive peace were arranged. The result was the provisional treaty of Leoben, signed April 18th. The conditions on which this peace was granted were,—the cession of Austrian Flanders to the republic, and the extension of its frontier to the Rhine; the cession of Savoy, and the extension of its territory to the summit of the Piedmontese Alps: as a suitable indemnity, the emperor was to receive the whole of the continental states of Venice.\*

No sooner was this negotiation concluded, than Napoleon prepared to inflict vengeance on the Venetians for what he characterised their breach of neutrality, and the massacre of the French at Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Venice. On the 10th of April he had

to be given to the discontented. Landrieux performed his part so well, that he not only (according to a secret despatch of Napoleon) "instigated the revolt in Bergamo and Brescia, and was paid for it; but at the same time he revealed the plot to the Venetian government, and was paid for that also by them." The consequence of these secret conspiracies was, that on the morning of the 12th of March a revolt broke out at Bergamo, in which the insurgents boldly proclaimed that they had the sympathy and aid of France, and proceeded to establish a provisional government. Brescia and Crema followed the example. The French pretended to be unable to prevent these outbreaks, but covertly did all in their power to fan the flame of insurrection. A deputation was sent from Venice to Napoleon, but no assistance could be obtained from him; and it was abundantly evident on which side his sympathies lay. The Venetian government then made up their minds to take decisive measures; and in their efforts to disarm the rebels, and put down the various attempts at insurrection, unjustifiable excesses were perpetrated by the loyalists and rabble of Venice. It was in reference to these murders and excesses that Napoleon fulminated his manifesto against the ancient republic of the Adriatic. It must be borne in mind, however, that he had agreed to hand over to Austria, by the treaty of Leoben, the whole of the continental territory of Venice before these outbreaks had occurred; and he was only too glad of the opportunity thus afforded him of satisfying Austria, by giving her a pretext for at once confiscating the territory he had previously promised to hand over to her. The massacre at Verona occurred on the 17th of April; that at Lido on the 23rd; while the treaty of Leoben, in which the Venetian territories were transferred to Austria, was agreed to on the 9th, and finally signed on the 18th. It is rather an anachronism, then, to say that the treaty of the 9th was caused by the acts of the 17th and 23rd. Napoleon, in his *Memoirs*, has endeavoured to make it appear that the transfer of the Venetian possessions to Austria was in punishment of their breach of neutrality. We leave the above dates to speak for themselves.

dispatched Junot with a menacing letter to the senate. To appease the wrath of Buonaparte, a deputation of two senators was dispatched to his head-quarters at Gratz, to offer any reparation he might demand. A like deputation was dispatched to the Directory. Both deputations had with them large sums of money to corrupt the sources of influence both at Gratz and Paris. A purse of 7,000,000 francs was offered to Napoleon Buonaparte for his private use. But all the offers were rejected with scorn and contempt. "The Lion of St. Mark"—the ancient emblem of Venetian sovereignty—"must lick the dust," was the reply.

On the 3rd of May he issued from Palma Nuova his declaration of war against Venice, and the French minister to that state was recalled at the same time. Venice became panic-struck, and immediately universal confusion prevailed. The republican troops from Germany, by forced marches, were soon on the confines of the Lagoon, within sight of the tower of St. Mark. During the contests between the government and the revolutionary party, the French troops, on the 16th of May, were conducted by Venetian boats to the Place of St. Mark. The oligarchy ceased to rule, and a democratical government was formed, provisionally, on the model of that of France. Thus Venice, after 1,300 years of independence, disappeared from the scroll of nations. The treasures of Venice were immediately seized by the French generals; and by the treaty of Milan, a contribution of 3,000,000 francs in gold, as many more in naval stores, the surrender of three ships of the line and two frigates, with the Lion of St. Mark, twenty of the best pictures, 500 manuscripts, and the Corinthian bronze horses, commemorating the capture of Constantinople by the Venetian crusaders, were exacted as the fruits of French republican fraternisation. The Venetian senate sealed their degradation by seizing the French emigrant, the Count D'Entraigue, who had been living in that city as agent of the exiled house of Bourbon, and surrendered him and all his papers to Napoleon Buonaparte.

While these memorable events were in operation on the borders of Austria, the armies of the Rhine were carrying on their campaigns in a no less brilliant manner; but on account of the dilapidated state of the public revenues, occasioned by the fear-

ful depreciation of the paper system, the government had not been able to furnish their generals with the equipage necessary for crossing that river. Moreau, to provide his army with the necessary equipments, had pledged his private fortune.

Having made the requisite preparations, he, after an obstinate contest, effected in the night of the 19th of April the passage at Diersheim. Towards noon of the following day the French were attacked by the Austrians under Latour, who was in command of 34,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, on the Upper Rhine, but the attack was gallantly repulsed by Dessaix. On the following day the attack was renewed, but at length the Austrians were compelled to retreat. Moreau immediately advanced to Kehl, of which he obtained possession. In these contests, the loss of the Austrians had been 3,000 in prisoners, 2,000 in killed and wounded, twenty pieces of cannon, all their camp equipage, and military chest. The intelligence of the armistice of Leoben stopped the conqueror in his career of success, and terminated the campaign in this quarter.

Hoche, who commanded the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, amounting to 70,000 men, had crossed the Lower Rhine at Düsseldorf on the 18th, and made an impetuous attack on the Austrians, amounting to 30,000 men, under General Kray. The imperialists, being strongly entrenched, made a vigorous resistance; but after a long and bloody contest, the French, supported by a formidable artillery, successively stormed all the redoubts, and drove back the Austrians with the loss of 4,000 prisoners, twenty-seven pieces of cannon, sixty caissons, and most of their baggage. The imperial army under Werneck, who had effected a junction with Kray, dislodged from every post where it attempted to make a stand, crossed the Lahn, and pushed towards Frankfort. Thither he was immediately followed by Hoche, where the advanced guard, under Lefebvre, was at the gates of that city, when hostilities were suspended by the intelligence of the preliminaries of Leoben.

Genoa, which had maintained its constitution given to it in the sixteenth century by Andrea Doria, had, in an early part of the French revolutionary war, purchased its neutrality by a treaty concluded with the French Directory, guaranteeing the payment of 2,000,000 francs, and a loan to the same

amount. Excited by the establishment of republics, on a democratic basis, on both sides of the Po, the disaffected part of its population, under the secret influence of the French, was desirous of a similar form of government. Accordingly, an insurrection broke out on the 22nd of May, when the slaughter of several French families took place. Napoleon Buonaparte immediately dispatched his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to demand reparation. On the 6th of June, a democratical constitution was established, under the name of the Ligurian Republic, when Genoa became a mere outwork of the French republic.

While Napoleon Buonaparte was engaged in his concoction of the Ligurian republic, he wrote the following letter (which no less deserves record than his military achievements) to the Archbishop of Genoa, who had addressed a pastoral letter to the people of his diocese, recommending them to abstain from all violence towards the French; and of which he sent Napoleon Buonaparte a copy:—"In reading your pastoral letter, reverend citizen, I thought I recognised one of the apostles. Thus it was that St. Paul wrote. How truly respectable is religion, when enforced by such supporters as you. You are a true apostle; for you preach the gospel, and compel your enemies to esteem you. How happens it that the priests of your diocese are actuated by so different a spirit? Christ sought only to act by conviction, and submitted to death rather than use violence to propagate his doctrine. Only wicked priests can preach the effusion of blood. I hope shortly to be at Genoa, when I shall esteem it a peculiar happiness to converse with a person of your character. Such prelates as Fenelon was, and as the bishops of Milan, Ravenna, and Genoa are at present, confer the highest lustre on religion. They not only preach, but practise it. A good and a virtuous bishop is the best present that heaven can make to a city, and to a whole country."

Meanwhile, Napoleon Buonaparte had established himself in his princely residence at Montebello, near Milan, where he held his court in regal splendour, received the ambassadors of the Emperor of Germany, the pope, Genoa, Venice, Naples, Piedmont, and the Swiss republic; negotiated with Austria; and overawed their "five majesties of the Luxembourg," as the directors now began to be called. The French army went into cantonments in the territory of Venice.

The settlement of the terms of pacification would, no doubt, have taken place shortly after the fall of Venice, but the Austrian cabinet supposed that the government of France was approaching a crisis, from the defection of Pichegru and the intrigues of the royalists at Paris; but when that expectation disappeared by the arrest and exile of Pichegru, in consequence of the evidence of the documents which had been found in D'Entraigue's possession when he was delivered over by the Venetian senate to Napoleon Buonaparte, the treaty of Campo-Formio was signed on the 17th of October. By this treaty, the emperor ceded to France Austrian Flanders, and guaranteed the boundary of the Rhine, and that the territory of the republic should be extended to the summit of the Maritime Alps. In addition, he surrendered Mantua, on the frontiers of the imperial states in Italy, and Mayence, the bulwark of the empire on the Rhine. As an indemnification, Venice and all her Italian provinces were handed over by Buonaparte to Austria, except the Ionian Isles and Dalmatia, of which the French kept the sovereignty. By virtue of the same treaty, Napoleon Buonaparte added, in the plenitude of his power, the Italian territory of the Valtelline (which for ages had been subject to the Swiss) to the Cisalpine republic. Various minor arrangements remaining to be considered besides those which had been provided for by the treaty of Campo-Formio, a congress of all the German powers was summoned to meet for the purpose at Rastadt, whither Napoleon Buonaparte received orders from the Directory to appear, to perfect his work, in the character of ambassador of France.

Thus terminated the Italian campaigns of Napoleon. He was now twenty-eight years of age. His future career seems well portrayed by the writer of a letter preserved by De Bourrienne:—"In that thoughtful head and soaring mind, there are bold conceptions which will hereafter influence the destinies of Europe." About this time, full of his design of destroying England—(or, as he expressed himself in a letter to the Directory, dated 18th of October in this year, "It is indispensable for our government to destroy England: that done, Europe is at our feet")—he published an address to the sailors of the squadron of Admiral Brueys, which, while foreshadowing the expedition to Egypt, seems to intimate

his hopes on the British possessions in India:—"Sailors! without you we should be unable to make known the French name beyond a small corner of Europe. With you, we will traverse the seas, and bear the standard of the republic into countries the most remote."

The Directory presented the army of Italy with a magnificent flag, having inscribed on one side the words, "A grateful country to the army of Italy;" on the other, the record of that army's achievements in the campaign just ended; viz.—"One hundred and fifty thousand prisoners, one hundred and seventy standards, five hundred and fifty cannon, six hundred field-pieces, five bridge equipages, nine 64-gun ships, twelve 32-gun frigates, twelve corvettes, and eighteen galleys: armistices with Sardinia, Naples, the pope, and the Duke of Parma: convention at Montebello with the Ligurian republic: treaty of Campo-Formio: liberty conferred on Bologna and fifteen other states; and also on Conyra, Ithaca, and the Ægean Isles: sent to Paris the master-pieces of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Correggio, Albano, the Carracci, Raphael, and Leonardo da Vinci." The flag was placed in the hall of the Directory, as a memorial of national heroism. The document, however, omitted to state, that 400,000,000 francs had been levied on the unfortunate countries in the course of the two years which the war had lasted.

Napoleon Buonaparte's stay at Rastadt was but short. The minute matters of diplomacy, which were the subject of discussion, were not to his taste. "As he was not a man," his secretary, Bourrienne, observes, "to spin out years in manufacturing German treaties, he quitted the congress, leaving the discussion and settlement of minor arrangements to other hands, and set out for Paris, where his return was anxiously desired." Among the troops who had returned from their fields of glory, songs were sung extolling their general as a god; and their common cry was, that "it was time to turn out the lawyers, and make the little corporal king." He reached Paris in the beginning of December. As related in a previous part of this work, a grand fête was celebrated on the occasion of his being presented to the Directory. In the month of October, this body had announced to the French people their intention to carry the war with the English into England itself; the immediate organisation of

a great invading army; and their design to place it under the command of citizen General Napoleon Buonaparte.

The deportment of Napoleon Buonaparte, on his return to the French capital, covered with so great glory as he was, bespoke consummate prudence and discretion, and a well-regulated mind. He received the public congratulations with an air of dignified sensibility. So far from courting the public eye, he lived in a house of ordinary appearance, in an obscure quarter of the city. He spent his time among the most distinguished literary persons of the day and the members of the National Institute. To the intimation that he had been chosen a member of that body, his reply was, in a letter to Canens:—"Citizen President,—The votes of those distinguished men who compose the National Institute do me honour. I am very sensible, that before I am their equal, I must be a long time their scholar. If I knew of any more expressive mode of expressing my esteem for them, I would adopt it. True conquests, which alone are followed by no regrets, are the conquests made over ignorance. The pursuit that is of all the most honourable, as well as the most useful to nations, is to contribute to the extension of human knowledge."

As soon as Napoleon Buonaparte had received his appointment of commander-in-chief of "the army of England," he proceeded to the coasts, visiting Boulogne, Calais, Dunkirk, Ostend, Walcheren, and other points opposite to the English coasts; at the same time interrogating the sailors, fishermen, and smugglers in these localities, as to the nature of the channel and the coasts and harbours of England. At length, having organised all the information he could obtain he perceived that, ere the attempt could be made with hopes of success, preparations were indispensable, which France was not in a condition to execute. Having determined in his own mind the impracticability of the attempt, he returned to Paris, and resigned his command, telling the Directory "the attempt would be too desperate a hazard."

Before closing the record of this year's events, we may here mention, that Sir Sidney Smith contrived, in the month of September, to effect his escape from the Temple in France, where he had been confined. Sir Sidney was received with acclamations by his countrymen, who looked upon his escape as a miracle. George III. con-

ferred the most marked attention on him when he presented himself at court, and

\* The circumstances of Sir Sidney Smith's detention and escape from prison, are so interesting and remarkable, that no apology is necessary for laying them before the reader. When Sir Sidney was taken prisoner off Havre de Grace, there was then with him, and taken prisoner at the same time, a French emigrant, M. de Tr——, and who, it had been agreed, was to pass as Sir Sidney's servant, in the hope that he might save his life in that disguise. His secretary was also made prisoner at the same time. The Frenchman took the name of "John." The three prisoners were removed to Paris and confined in the Abbaye, and were treated with great severity. To effect their escape was the subject on which they employed all their thoughts. The window of their prison was towards the street, and they observed that a lady from an upper window on the opposite side frequently looked over to that part of the prison where they were confined. It occurred to Sir Sidney, that in some way or other, his fair neighbour might be made instrumental in bringing about what he so much desired—his escape from prison. In order to attract her attention, whenever he observed her at the window, he played plaintive airs upon his flute; and one morning, seeing that she was looking attentively at him with a glass, he tore a leaf out of an old book which was lying in his room, and with some soot from the chimney, he marked upon it the letter A. This he held up to the window, when the lady nodded in token that she understood what it meant. Sir Sidney then touched the top of the first bar of the grating of the window of his cell, and again held up the letter A; he then touched the second, and held up the letter B; when the lady by her manner showed that she quite comprehended his intention, in this novel manner, to construct an alphabet by touching the bars, the first representing the letter A, the second B, and so on. Sir Sidney spent several days in informing his unknown friend his name and quality, and implored her to get some royalist of sufficient address to assist in procuring his escape. He also by this means enabled her to draw confidential and accredited bills for considerable sums of money, to aid the promotion of the scheme. Sir Sidney was removed to the Temple, and here his lady friend contrived to correspond with him. Several plans were proposed for his escape, but none were determined on, as they could not be arranged to embrace the liberation of his two friends, whom he determined not to leave behind him. "John's" wife, Madame de Tr——, at length came to Paris, and arranged with a royalist in France to assist in delivering them from prison. The following was the plan determined on:—A house was taken adjoining the prison, and a hole was to be excavated twelve feet long from the cellar, and thus a communication would be made with the Temple, through which they could pass. The friends of Sir Sidney had proceeded in their process of excavation for several days, and the communication was almost complete, when, on the very day on which they expected to make their escape, a stone fell from the wall and rolled to the foot of the sentinel who was on duty. This having attracted his attention, an alarm was given, and the whole was discovered. The parties concerned in the attempt, however, all got safely off; the members of the Central Bureau, when they arrived,

honoured him with an immediate private interview at Buckingham-palace.\*

finding only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood, hay, &c., and the hats adorned with tricoloured cockades, which the prisoners intended to wear. This first attempt, although so well planned, having failed, Sir Sidney Smith turned his mind to new schemes for their deliverance. He was, however, now very closely watched. The keeper and Sir Sidney were on terms of intimacy, but he never relaxed in carefully watching his prisoner. An exchange of prisoners between the two countries having taken place, Sir Sidney contrived to get M. de Tr——, who still passed for his servant, included in the cartel. He shortly after arrived safely in London. On the 4th of September, the keeper who had charge of Sir Sidney was displaced, and a man of the name of Lasnes, of great strictness and rigour, was placed over him. A new plan of escape was at this time suggested, and approved of. The mode pursued, was to have forged orders drawn up for his removal to another prison. An order was then drawn, an exact *fac-simile* of those in use, and by means of a bribe the real stamp of the minister was obtained. Two friends of Sir Sidney's boldly presented themselves at the prison with this forged order, and demanded the prisoners to be handed over to them. One of the parties was dressed as an adjutant, the other as an officer. The keeper carefully examined the order, and having satisfied himself of the genuineness of the minister's signature, he sent for the prisoners, and informed them of the order of the Directory. Sir Sidney Smith pretended to be very much concerned at the change; but the pretended adjutant addressed him, and in the most serious manner assured him, that "the government were very far from intending to aggravate his misfortunes, and that he should be very comfortable at the place to which they were about to conduct him." Sir Sidney then proceeded to pack up his clothes. On his return, and stating that he was ready to go, the registrar of the prison observed, that at least six men from the guard must accompany him. This was an honour he had not reckoned on; but his friends with great *sang froid* acquiesced in the propriety of the registrar's precaution. After a few minutes, however, the *adjutant* remarked, that on *reflection* he would dispense with the guard if Sir Sidney gave his word of honour that he would not attempt to escape. Addressing Sir Sidney Smith, he said, "Commodore, you are an officer; I am an officer also. Your parole will be enough; give me that, and I have no need of an escort." "Sir," replied Sir Sidney, "if that is sufficient, I swear upon the faith of an officer, to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me." The keeper of the prison now asked for a discharge, and one of Sir Sidney's friends signed the book, "*L'Oger, Adju-tant-general.*" They then passed out of the prison and entered a hackney-coach, and drove towards the faubourg St. Germain. Before they had proceeded far, however, the carriage broke down, and they were obliged, with their portmanteaus in their hands, to make the best of their way to the rendezvous, where they all safely arrived. They then started off immediately for Rouen, which in a few days they quitted in an open boat, and were soon afterwards discovered by an English cruising frigate which picked them up; and they shortly after arrived in London.

## CAMPAIGNS OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE IN 1798.

THE French revolutionary government having succeeded in their designs against Flanders, Holland, and a large portion of Italy, determined to turn their arms against Switzerland. To give colour to their designs, they alleged that the Swiss had given encouragement to the French emigrants; and (according to their uniform system, when they wished to possess themselves of a country) they offered fraternal support to that part of the population which was discontented with the existing order of things. Besides this design, the accumulated treasure of three centuries in Berne (which report had greatly magnified, but which really amounted to 20,000,000 francs) was an irresistible bait to the cupidity of the Directory.

The part of Switzerland where the French began their military operations was the country of the Vaud, or Valtelline, bordering on that part of France formerly called Franche-Comte. A large division of the French forces, under General Menard, had marched thither towards the close of December, 1797. This country had become the receptacle of all the malcontents in the thirteen cantons, and who had sent a deputation to Paris to claim the assistance of the French republic in furthering their designs. Sanctioned by the French Directory, the insurgents constituted the Pays-de-Vaud the "Leman Republic," which was solemnly recognised by the French Directory. General Menard advanced to Ferney, near Geneva; and General Mounier, the commander of the French army in the Cisalpine republic, advanced to the frontiers of the Italian bailiwicks, to support the expected insurrection on the southern side of the Alps.

As soon as the diet of Berne was apprised of the movements of Menard, they dispatched Colonel Weiss with a force to take possession of Lausanne. Menard summoned Weiss to evacuate the Pays-de-Vaud; and two soldiers of the flag of truce having been by accident killed, Menard issued a declaration of war. Meanwhile the democratic party had revolutionised all the plain or northern part of Switzerland: Zurich, Bâle, and Argovie had hoisted the tricoloured flag.

In this critical emergency the diet of Berne published, on the last day of January, a decla-

ration, in which they bound themselves by solemn oath to defend their country to the last extremity. The precedent was immediately followed by the cantons of Fribourg, Uri, Lucerne, Soleure, and Schaffhausen. The intrepid Steiger, throwing up his civil functions, repaired to the army commanded by General d'Erlach. The patriotic example of this venerable man had so powerful an influence on the youth of all the respectable families of the canton of Berne, that they followed him, with the determination not to survive the subjugation of their country. A like spirit animated all classes. D'Erlach found his forces so considerable, that he solicited permission to attack the enemy without delay. Timidity, however, presiding over the Swiss councils, they preferred treaty and concession to the exhibition of national courage and patriotism. A negotiation was accordingly opened, and General Brune, who had succeeded Menard, agreed to an armistice till the 2nd of March, in order to gain time for the arrival of the reinforcements, to enable him to carry his designs into execution.

During the night preceding the expiration of the armistice, Brune assailed by surprise the Swiss army, which amounted to 21,000 men. The Swiss defended themselves with great bravery: a battalion was cut to pieces at the advanced posts; but an officer, high in command, abandoned his charge and fled. This sudden desertion spread universal discouragement and confusion. Fribourg and Soleure fell into the hands of the French. During their retreat, the Swiss fought desperately on the 3rd and 4th of March. The rapid advance of the French soon brought on a decisive battle. By day-break of the 5th, the enemy, making a general attack on the left division of the Swiss army, was driven back with the loss of 2,000 men and eighteen pieces of artillery, though the Swiss army consisted of but 8,000 men, while the French were 15,000. But while fortune smiled on the arms of freedom, a fatal disaster occurred on the right. D'Erlach, after having five times renewed the contest, was overpowered by his antagonist. In this battle, which was fought under the walls of Berne, and which decided the fate of Switzerland, the illustrious Steiger fell. The whole body of the young men who had followed him to the camp when he renounced

his place in the senate, shared his fate: they would not accept of quarter, but fought till the last man was slain. Numbers of them were youths of fifteen. The remains of the vanquished army, enraged at their defeat, and imputing treasonable practices to their commanders, massacred the brave d'Erlach and some of his principal officers. The reduction of the city of Berne took place the same evening; the tree of liberty was planted, and a democratic constitution promulgated. The fall of Berne was followed by that of the other cantons, which had effected a closer union with it than that which formed the Helvetic confederacy. Revolutionary principles, at the same time, spread over the whole of the level parts of Switzerland: but the deluded republicans soon tasted of the fruits of their folly. The democratic allies of the Swiss now framed a new constitution for the confederacy, which was erected into a republic, one and indivisible.

But while the large and populous cantons were assenting to the mandates of the French, and had fallen a prey to their fraternising allies, the small cantons and mountain districts of Schwytz, Uri, Appenzell, Unterwalden, Glaris, and St. Gall remained unintimidated, and rejected the new constitution. They formed a confederacy to resist their French aggressors, and determined fearlessly to enter the lists with them. Women even joined the ranks of their husbands. They were headed by Aloys Reding, who was the soul of the confederacy; and the triumphs of Morgarten, Lampen, and Naefels over Austria, and those of Granson, Morat, Nancy, and Vercelli over France and its chivalry flitted before their eyes, and animated them to the contest.

They immediately marched against the enemy. Lucerne capitulated; but when they reached Zurich, they found the French in great force. General Schauenberg surprised the town of Zug, and captured 3,000 of its peasant defenders. But Schwytz was still unsubdued. Its little army of 3,000 men took post at Morgarten. At day-break of the 2nd of May, they were attacked by the French, when, after a furious conflict, which lasted the whole day, the patriots remained masters of the field of battle. Fresh reinforcements reaching the enemy during the night, another furious contest took place on the following day, which lasted till darkness prevented its continuation. The patriots now rning

that a body of the French was advancing in their rear on Schwytz, agreed to a convention, and their example was followed by the other small cantons. Thus fell the Helvetic confederacy, which had subsisted some 500 years in the almost uninterrupted enjoyment of domestic peace and liberty. Pillage had attended the steps of the French army in every direction through these peaceful regions. Here enormous contributions were levied for the maintenance of an army of 40,000 men: the spoiliations which Brune and his commissaries inflicted on Berne and Fribourg, were trifling in comparison with those of the commissaries in the total reduction of the confederacy. A fresh contribution of six million francs was levied on Berne, of seven and-a-half on Zurich, Fribourg, and Soleure, and proportional sums on the other cantons. The French commissary-general, on his arrival in Switzerland, seized on all the treasures and stores belonging to the state, and they were confiscated as prize to the French republic. The Directory, by proclamation, informed the Swiss that they were a conquered nation, and must submit to the will of the conqueror.

These harsh measures increased the discontent of the conquered, and when compliance with the oath imposed by the new constitution was required, the shepherds of Unterwalden unanimously refused to take it, and prepared for their defence. Those of Schwytz and Uri followed their example. Against the united forces of these three forest cantons, amounting to 3,000 men, 16,000 French, under Schauenberg, advanced to compel their submission. For several days the Swiss levies kept their adversaries at bay. Their resistance was worthy of their ancestors. Young and old, women and children, threw themselves into the fight; but resistance was vain against the vast superiority of their enemies. The conquerors pursued the fugitives into their houses, and massacred, without mercy, all whom they found there, sparing neither age nor sex; and to consummate their atrocity, they set fire to the habitations and destroyed the very cattle. In the midst of these atrocities, about 200 men of the canton of Schwytz were on the march to join their confederates of Unterwalden: on their arrival late at night, within sight of Stantz, seeing that village and the adjoining ones in flames, they unanimously resolved to revenge the sufferings of their confederates. They in-

stantly rushed on the French, and after slaying three times their own number, perished to the last man. The inhabitants of the Grisons, to save themselves from the calamities which their confederates in the forest cantons were suffering, invoked the aid of Austria, guaranteed by ancient treaties. In the middle of October, 7,000 Austrians entered the Coire, the capital of the Grison country, and occupied positions which were the scenes of sanguinary conflicts in the ensuing campaign. Swabia, which was meditating the formation of a republic, was no less deterred from an attempt of the kind by what had befallen their neighbours the Swiss.

The invasion and subjugation of the Swiss confederacy opened the eyes of the most credulous as to the ultimate designs of republican France in other countries. "It was an act," says Sir James Mackintosh, "in comparison with which all the deeds of rapine and blood perpetrated on the world are innocence itself. The motive was as infamous as the act. An innocent treasure, sustained by the tears of the poor, but which attested the virtue of a long series of magistrates, caught the eye of the spoiler, and became the ruin of a country whose government was the only one which ever accumulated wealth without imposing taxes."

The Directory now prepared to exercise their revolutionising powers in the papal dominions: the treaty of Tolentino was a mere semblance of reconciliation, the Directory being determined on "the conquest of Rome" (letter to Napoleon Buonaparte, 12th February, 1797), prior to the execution of that document. The condition of the pope had been deplorable. His treasury had been exhausted by the payment of the 30,000,000 francs stipulated as the price of peace by the treaty of Tolentino. He was deprived of his best possessions and of his authority over the remaining parts. Revolutionary movements were encouraged by the French in every portion of his dominions; and the setting up of a Roman republic, under the immediate protection of the French, was recommended by the authors of these outbreaks. An event soon occurred which favoured their designs

On the 28th of December, a crowd of demagogical Romans assembled about the Palazzo Corsini, the residence of Joseph Buonaparte, the French ambassador to Rome, exclaiming—"Long live the Roman Republic!" and invoking the aid of the

French to enable them to plant the tri-coloured flag in the capital. The papal government dispatched a regiment of dragoons to disperse the malcontents. On the appearance of the troops in the court-yard, General Duphat, who was attached to the embassy, drew his sword, and ran down stairs, calling on the mob to follow him and drive away those cowardly soldiers of priests. In the combat which ensued, Duphat was shot. As soon as the Directory was apprised of this catastrophe, they sent orders to Berthier to march instantly to Rome and overthrow the papal government. Immediately Berthier ordered Dombrowski, with 6,000 Poles, to advance into the states of the Church, while he himself crossed the Apennines. On the 10th of February he appeared at the head of 18,000 men before the Eternal City. The terrified cardinals signed a capitulation surrendering up the castle of St. Angelo, while the pope was imploring divine aid in the Vatican. On the following day he made his triumphal entrance into Rome; and on the 15th, the democrats of Rome erected the tree of liberty in the Campo-Vaccino, the ancient Fiume, and proclaimed the Roman republic. The pope, who had been confined in the Vatican, under a French guard of 500 men, was now directed to retire into Tuscany. Refusing obedience, he was, on the 20th of February, conducted thither by a regiment of French dragoons, and allowed to take up his residence in a convent of Augustinian monks in Sienna.

On the removal of the pope, the systematic plan of French spoliation and robbery commenced. A contribution was demanded of 4,000,000 livres in specie, 2,000,000 in provisions, and 3,000 horses. All the valuable works of art were collected, and the Vatican and public galleries stripped to their naked walls. The territorial possessions of the church and the monasteries were also confiscated, and heavy contributions and forced loans exacted from the wealthy classes.

Holland and the papal dominions having undergone fusion in the French revolutionary crucible, an attempt was now made to incorporate the newly-created Cisalpine republic with that of France. In March, a treaty had been concluded at Paris, by virtue of which the infant offspring was to receive from the parent republic, a French garrison of 22,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, to be maintained and clothed by the former. As soon as the Frenchmen were comfortably housed, proceedings were adopted for effect-

ing a change in the democratic constitution which had been granted by Napoleon Buonaparte, and as discontent began to manifest itself at the design, on the 6th of December, the legislative assembly was surrounded by French troops, and the refractory members having been expelled, a constitution was established under the dictation of the French ambassador, which placed the Cisalpine republic at the mercy of the Directory of France. The Cisalpine republic was now bound to become a party to all the wars wherein the French republic should engage, and to assist it with all its means and forces when required. The Ligurian republic also experienced similar treatment to that of its neighbour the Cisalpine republic.

During these events, the power and influence of France were heavily felt by the King of Sardinia, whose dominions standing in the midst of the French conquests in Italy, were, though not nominally, more subject to the French than to himself. His territories were traversed in every direction by French troops, without any other formality than notice of the time at which they were to be expected, of their numbers, and the supplies required for them. An event now happened which furnished the Directory with a pretext for putting their designs into execution.

An insurrection having broken out in the neighbourhood of Carrosio, supported by 2,000 troops of the Ligurian republic, and instigated by the councils of the French Directory, the King of Sardinia solicited permission of the Ligurian republic to allow the passage of the Piedmontese troops over their territory, in order to reach the insulated district of Carrosio. On refusal of the permission solicited, the troops effected their passage, and in two engagements defeated the united forces of the insurgents and the Genoese. The French Directory complained of this passage as a breach of the neutrality of the Ligurian republic, with which they were in alliance, and required the immediate cession of the citadel of Turin, as a security of the conciliatory disposition of the King of Sardinia. The cession was made on the 27th of June, and a body of French troops took possession on the 3rd of July. By the cession of this impregnable fortress, the French considered themselves masters of the Sardinian territories in Piedmont. They soon became possessed of the strongest towns and fortresses of

these states; and in a few months the king was obliged to resign his continental dominions, and retire to the island of Sardinia.

While these events were passing in the north of Italy, and that portion of the Italian peninsula was experiencing the consequences of subjection to the French, the Directory and its generals were solicitously preparing the means of extending their conquests to the south. Naples had hitherto been beyond the reach of revolutionary movements; it was now deemed to come within the vortex of French fraternisation. The cause assigned by the French Directory for aggression, was the danger arising from the increase of the Neapolitan army, and the secret negotiation which the court of Ferdinand had entered into with Austria,—measures which that court had been induced to adopt from the fears inspired by the proximity of the French armies, and the propagandism of the revolutionary principles which they disseminated.

At this moment, Europe was filled with the news of the decisive victory of the Nile, in Egypt, over the French fleet. Great were the effects produced by that event. The submissive and adulatory style, which the dread of the French had occasioned, vanished both from speech and writing; and people boldly expressed their real sentiments, and renounced their infatuated belief in French invincibility. The insupportable haughtiness with which the French invariably treated the conquered countries, concurred to increase the odium and abhorrence in which they were held. Among instances of tyrannical pride which the French had established at Rome, General Macdonald issued a proclamation, concluding thus:—"Such is the will of the great nation, and it must be obeyed."

At the time that the French republicans were effecting a fusion of Switzerland and the papal dominions into commonwealths, on the model of their own, they were busily employed in devising a constitution so as to assimilate that of the Batavian republic to the model republic of France. Delacroix, their minister at the Hague, undertook the office. At a public dinner, given by him on the 22nd of January of this year, after the popular toasts, he exclaimed, glass in hand, "Is there no Batavian who will plunge a poniard into the constitution, on the altar of his country?" On the same night the leading deputies were arrested, and the barriers closed. All the public functionaries

were superseded; and numbers were proscribed and banished. A military despotism, in the interest of France, was immediately established. c

The inhabitants of Goza, a small dependent island of Malta, were the first to set the example of insurrection against their oppressors. Napoleon Buonaparte, on his leaving that island in the prosecution of his voyage to Egypt, had left there a garrison of 3,000 men. They made so many requisitions, particularly of the plate belonging to the churches and the hospitals, that a general rising took place on the 26th of August, when the people, whose patience was exhausted by their insolence and extortions, attacked them with so great fury that they were obliged to take refuge in the forts, where the inhabitants kept them closely confined.

The Neapolitan government was the next to display its detestation of French principles and aggression. They solicited Austria to send General Mack to command their army. On the 23d of November the King of Naples put himself at the head of his army, accompanied by General Mack, and marched into the territory of the Roman republic. His sudden and unexpected appearance so disconcerted the French and their partisans that they hastily withdrew from Rome, which was left open and defenceless to the Neapolitan troops. Mack rapidly advanced, and the King of Naples made his triumphal entry into the Eternal City on the 29th.

The Neapolitan general even had the command of a large extent of country. But General Championet, who had succeeded Berthier as commander-in-chief of the French armies in Italy, collecting the various bodies of French forces which were dispersed throughout the Roman territory, marched against the enemy. The first action was at Porto Ferino, where the Neapolitans, amounting to 18,000 men, were defeated by General Rusca, at the head of less than 4,000, with the loss of their baggage, and a large number of slain and wounded. At Monterosi, General Kellerman, with scarcely 2,000 men, encountered 8,000, of whom 2,000 were made prisoners, a large number slain, and all their artillery, equipage, and baggage taken. The remnant of the vanquished retired to Civita Castellana, where it united itself to 10,000 men commanded by Mack, who surrounded himself with strong entrenchments, which attacked and carried by Generals

Macdonald and Mathieu, by whom 5,000 men were made prisoners. Several other engagements followed, in all of which the French were victorious. Thus, in the space of three weeks from his invasion of the Roman territory, Mack was obliged to retreat to Naples, the Neapolitan king having previously fled, in the utmost alarm, from Rome; 18,000 French veterans having driven before them, in the most hurried flight, 40,000 gaily-dressed martinets and their followers.

Championet vigorously pursued the fugitives. The court of Naples was thrown into so great terror, that on the night of the 21st of December, they and the ministers withdrew on board Nelson's fleet, and embarked for Sicily, carrying with them all their valuables, and a million of specie from the public treasury, and leaving the defence of the kingdom and its capital to the inhabitants.

The power and extent of country which the French republic had acquired, in the course of this year, were unprecedented in the annals of nations. It had already established its dominion, by intrigue and conquest, over more than one-half of Europe. From the Texel to the extremity of Italy, a chain of dependent and affiliated republics had been formed under its auspices: in the beginning of the year it had organised the Batavian, the Cisalpine, and the Ligurian; and before its close it had added to the number, the Helvetic, the Roman, and the Parthenopeian; for though the last-mentioned was not constituted until the beginning of 1799, the French agents at Naples had already founded its basis and ensured its establishment. To maintain these conquests, and, by the propagation of revolutionary doctrines and principles, continue to extend their power over the remaining states of Europe not yet subject to their sway, the government of France applied itself with unwearied devotion to furnish the means. For this purpose, the law of conscription was adopted, by which every Frenchman, from twenty to forty-five years of age, was declared amenable to military service. France was ordered immediately to furnish a levy of 200,000 men; the affiliated republics of Switzerland and Holland, 18,000 each, from sixteen to forty-five years of age; and the Cisalpine republic to put its whole contingent at the disposal of France. The means to maintain this large force were commensurate. Besides the vast sums which

had already been levied on the conquered states, as contributions and compensations, in specie, warlike stores, &c., the Cisalpine republic was now assessed with a loan of 24,000,000 francs, and fresh contributions were enforced on the King of Sardinia and the Roman republic of eight and twelve million francs.

#### THE IRISH REBELLION OF 1798.

THE year 1798 opened inauspiciously for England. Ireland was a scene of danger. The excitement produced by French revolutionary principles gave rise to the insurrection of the United Irishmen in the year 1793, the professed objects of which were parliamentary reform and Roman Catholic emancipation; but the real one, the erection of an Hibernian republic, affiliated with the republic of France.

This institution was projected and organised by Wolfe Tone. The plan of union and action was simple and judicious. It formed a concatenation of agents, and a unity of design, which combined order, expedition, and secrecy. For the purpose of effectual concealment, no meeting consisted of more than twelve persons: five of these meetings were represented by five members in a committee vested with the management of all their affairs: from each of these committees, which were styled baronial, a deputy attended in a superior committee, which presided over all those of the barony or district: one or two deputies from each of these superior committees composed one for the whole county, and two or three from every county-committee composed a provincial one. The provincial committees chose, in their turn, five persons to superintend the whole business of the union: they were elected by ballot, and only known to the secretaries of the provincial committees, who were officially the scrutineers. Thus, though their power was great, their agency was invisible, and they were obeyed without being seen or known. Their military confederacy was equally effective. All the Irish malcontents, to the number of 200,000, were enrolled in this confederacy.

To this association the French government had, by secret propagandism, held out hopes of co-operation for the dismemberment of Ireland from England—a plan which France, a century before, had attempted to put into execution, and erect Ireland into a separate state, under the expelled Stuarts. The dreams of liberty and equality with which the French agents filled the ardent

and enthusiastic minds of the Irish, favoured their designs. All the Romish population of Ireland soon became, by the strongest oaths of fidelity and secrecy, leagued together for the establishment of their Hibernian republic. To support the Protestant cause, the members of that creed assumed the name of Orangemen, in remembrance of William III., to whom the protestants of Ireland consider themselves indebted for their deliverance from the oppression of the Romanists.

For the purpose of carrying their designs into execution, the French government had, in the beginning of 1793, dispatched a secret agent to Ireland, to offer to the leaders of the society of United Irishmen the aid of French arms for the revolutionising of Ireland. Again, in 1794, another emissary, of the name of Jackson, an Irishman by birth, and a protestant clergyman by profession, came over from France on the same mission. He communicated his objects to Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, Napper Tandy, Arthur O'Connor, and others of the Irish revolutionists, and repeated the promises of the French to assist "in breaking their chains." Jackson, who had entrusted the secrets of his errand to a person in the confidence of the English ministry, was arrested, and having been tried for high treason, was condemned and executed. Wolfe Tone and Hamilton Rowan escaped to America. In 1796, Tone went to France, where, being introduced to General Clarke (afterwards the notorious Duke de Feltre), to induce him to expedite the promised assistance to the Irish malcontents, he promised him £1,000 a-year for life, and hinted that liberal provision would be made for the French generals who assisted in liberating Ireland; but at the same time, acknowledging his own necessitous condition, the French authorities appointed him a brigadier-general, with a month's pay in advance. The French government, professing a desire of entering into a correspondence with the members of the United Irishmen of the most exalted station, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother to the Duke of Leinster, and Arthur O'Connor,

nephew to Lord Longueville, were appointed to settle the treaty, and for that purpose they went over to France, and arranged the business with General Hoche. This transaction took place about the middle of 1796, and in 1797 the French expedition sailed for Bantry Bay, with the liberating army and Wolfe Tone on board. The fate of this expedition has been already detailed at p. 77 of this work. In the month of February of the present year (1798), a pressing letter was addressed by the Irish executive of the malcontents to the French Directory, stating that already 300,000 United Irishmen were regimented and armed, and urgently soliciting the co-operation of their French friends. Talleyrand assured their agent at Paris that the French expedition would sail in the month of April: but Arthur O'Connor, Quigley (an Irish priest), and Binns, an active member of the London Corresponding Society, were arrested at Margate as they were on the point of embarking for France. A paper being found on Quigley, inviting the French Directory to invade England, he was put on his trial, and being found guilty of high treason, was executed. In consequence of other discoveries, obtained by the information of one Thomas Reynolds, who had originally been a woollen manufacturer, but had joined the society of United Irishmen, and been promoted to the rank of colonel in the insurgent levies, fourteen of the chief delegates were arrested in Dublin; and the retreat of Lord Edward Fitzgerald being discovered, in the attempt to arrest him he was mortally wounded, and died a few days afterwards.\* M'Cann, Byrne, and the two brothers of the name of Sheares, were tried and executed. Arthur O'Connor, Emmet, M'Nevin, and others, were banished. Immediately an insurrection broke out in the counties of Wexford, Tipperary, and Limerick. The insurgents commenced their operations on the 23rd of May—(the day appointed by Lord Edward Fitzgerald for the general rising, when he was to have assumed the duties of commander-in-chief)—by attacking Naas, a town distant fifteen miles from Dublin, but they were forced to retire, with the loss of about two hundred killed and wounded. At the heights of Kilcullen, the farm-house of Rath, Tallaghthill, Carlow, and Kildare, they also sustained a loss of some hundreds at each place. On the 25th, about 15,000, headed by Father John Mur-

phy, marched against Wexford. Part of the garrison marched out to give them battle, but they were surrounded and entirely defeated, Colonel Foote and two soldiers alone escaping. Three days afterwards they marched to Enniscorthy, which they took, but with the loss of 500 men. The town of Wexford, being now no longer tenable, surrendered on the 30th. Having fortified a position at Vinegar Hill, they advanced against New Ross, on the confines of Kilkenny, but they were here defeated by Major-general Johnson, with the loss of above 2,000 men. In revenge, they massacred about 100 protestant prisoners, whom they had taken at Wexford. At Newtownbarry, after having taken and retaken the town, they were put to flight with the loss of 500 men.

Lord Lake, having by this time collected 10,000 men, advanced against the entrenched camp of the insurgents at Vinegar Hill. On the 21st of June he assailed their position, and, though they made a vigorous resistance, it was carried with a severe loss to both sides, and all their cannon and ammunition fell into the hands of the victors. The surrender of Wexford and Enniscorthy immediately followed. Thus the rebellion in the south of Ireland was entirely suppressed, and a general amnesty was proclaimed for all who submitted before a certain day. In this lamentable contest not less than 30,000 persons must have perished on the part of the rebels, and more than half that number on the side of the royalists. The French Directory, by means of their emissaries and spies, made several attempts to rekindle the expiring flame of rebellion. To further their designs, General Humbert was dispatched from Rochfort with 1,150 men, and uniforms and equipments for 3,000 rebel Irishmen. On the 22d of August three French frigates, having eluded the British marine, landed Humbert and his forces at Killala. Having, with the aid of Napper Tandy, who had accompanied him from France, organised a provisional government, and enrolled such of the peasantry of Connaught as could be seduced from their allegiance, he advanced to Castlebar, having previously published the following proclamation:—

“United Irish! The soldiers of the great nation have landed on your shores, amply provided with arms, artillery, and munitions of all kinds, to aid you in breaking your fetters and recovering your liberties. Napper Tandy is at their head: he has sworn to break your fetters, or perish in the at-

\* For a full account of this formidable attempt at rebellion, see Wright's *History of Ireland*, published by the London Printing and Publishing Company.

tempt. To arms! freemen, to arms! the trumpet calls you. Do not let your brethren perish unrevenged: if it be their destiny to fall, may their blood cement the glorious fabric of freedom."

On reaching Castlebar, Humbert attacked Lord Lake, who had under his command a force of 4,000, consisting chiefly of yeomanry and militia, with the loss of six pieces of cannon and 600 prisoners. Advancing to Tuam, Humbert was, on the 8th of September, encountered by the advanced guard of Lord Cornwallis, and being surrounded, was compelled, after a gallant resistance, to lay down his arms. No sooner was Napper Tandy apprised of the fate of Humbert, than, instead of "perishing in his attempt," as the proclamation phrased it, he fled on board the French brig *Anacreon*, and escaped to France.

Within one month after the surrender of Humbert and his "*Armée d'Irlande*," the French Directory, for the purpose of keeping up the ferment in Ireland, dispatched from Brest a strong squadron, consisting of a ship of the line, eight frigates, and a schooner, having on board 3,000 men, under the command of Generals Hardi and Ménage, with a train of artillery, some battering cannon, and a great quantity of military stores; and, on the 11th of October, arrived off Lough Swilly, where they were discovered by Sir John Borlase Warren, who was cruising near that port with a squadron consisting of two ships of the line and three frigates. Immediately the signal was made for a general chase, and for the ships to "form in succession as they came up with the enemy." On the 12th, at about half-past five in the morning, the enemy was seen at a little distance to windward, and the French, perceiving that they could not avoid fighting, formed in order of battle. At twenty minutes past seven the fight began. After a defence of nearly four hours the enemy's line-of-battle ship struck. The frigates made all sail away; but, being pursued, in five hours three were taken. Another was soon after captured; and, on the morning of the 15th, two others were taken. The total loss, on board the British squadron, of killed was thirteen, of wounded seventy-five; that on board the French line-of-battle ship was 270 in killed and wounded, and that on board of two of the captured, thirty-three killed, and fifty-seven wounded. The loss on board the remaining six frigates could not be accurately ascertained. The troops and seamen captured on board the French ships amounted to nearly 4,000 men,

with the commodore of the fleet, and the two generals of the land forces. Among the prisoners taken was Wolfe Tone, who, being tried and condemned, prevented execution by suicide in Dublin gaol. In his autobiography, he styled himself "adjutant-general and chief of brigade in the French and Batavian republics."

Though the French Directory had been foiled in their designs against Ireland, they still cherished the hope of being successful in their contemplated invasion of England; and, for this purpose, an army amounting to 27,000 men, under the name of "the army of England," was dispersed along the shores of France and Holland, from Brest to the Texel, within twenty-four hours' march of their respective ports of embarkation, and it was their intention that Napoleon Buonaparte should take the command of that immense force. The fleets of Cadiz and Toulon were in readiness to unite with that of Brest, and flat-bottomed boats, for the conveyance of the troops, were in daily construction. But England, with an elevated courage, beheld without dismay this formidable host. From Caithness, to Kent and Cornwall, the British people were in arms. In an early part of the year the volunteer system, or general arming of the people, had taken place. In the course of a few weeks 150,000 volunteers were embodied; and, in case of emergency, the government was authorised to call out the levy *en masse* of the population.

The British government, having received intelligence that a large number of the flat-bottomed boats, or transport-schuyts, were being fitted at Flushing preparatory to their being conveyed by the Bruges canal to Dunkirk and Ostend, for the purpose of the threatened invasion, a squadron, consisting of a 44-gun ship, seven frigates, and seventeen sloops, bombs, and gun-vessels, with a body of troops on board, under Major-general Eyre Coote, were dispatched under the orders of Captain Home Popham, to destroy the sluices, gates, and basin of the Bruges canal at Ostend. On the 14th of May the squadron set sail from Margate, and, on the 19th, reached their intended anchorage in front of the town of Ostend. The troops, about 1,140 officers and men, effected their landing, with the necessary tools and gunpowder, in the course of the afternoon of the day of their sailing from Margate. The batteries opened immediately upon the nearest British vessels, and, for upwards of four hours, a mutual cannonade was kept up. The troops

had, in the meantime, blown up the locks and sluice-gates of the canal, and destroyed several boats lying in the basin; but, on returning to the beach to re-embark, being prevented by the violence of the wind and surf, they took up their position on some sand-hills near the beach, and there remained under arms, unmolested during the remainder of the day and the ensuing night; but, by day-break of the 20th, the French, having collected a considerable force, advanced to attack them. After a smart action, in which the British sustained a loss of sixty-five, in killed and wounded, Coote found himself under the necessity of surrendering.

Having abandoned the idea of an invasion of Britain, the French Directory determined to employ the flat-bottomed boats, which they had constructed to aid them in effecting a landing in England, for the purpose of recovering possession of the two small islands of St. Marcouf—each not above 200 yards long, by 120 broad—situated about eight miles off Cape La Hogue, and

which had been taken possession of, in 1795, by Sir Sidney Smith, while cruising on that coast, and were garrisoned with 250 seamen and marines, chiefly invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Price, R.N. On the 6th of May, about sixty boats and gun-brigs, manned with a large body of seamen and soldiers, came out of Havre, and, in the course of the following night, both brigs and gun-boats opened a heavy fire on the little garrison, and continued their attack for about five hours; but the British plied them with their battery guns, loaded with round, grape, and canister shot, so effectually, that they were glad to sheer off, with the loss of seven boats sunk, and one taken by the victors. The loss of the garrison was one killed and four wounded; that of the invaders, according to one French account, was 900 killed and drowned, and 300 wounded; according to another account, the loss had been trifling. Lieutenant Price was promoted to the rank of post-captain for his gallant defence.

#### THE BATTLE OF THE NILE.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, on reporting to the Directory the impracticability of an invasion of England, impressed upon them the importance of crippling the resources of that important power in another quarter. To the East his mind had for some time been directed, as the place where the heaviest and most decided blow might be struck against the power and prosperity of Britain. The objects of Napoleon Buonaparte, in the expedition to Egypt, as stated by himself, were—To establish, on the banks of the Nile, a French colony which could exist without slaves, and supply the place of St. Domingo; to open a vent for French manufactures in Africa, Arabia, and Syria, and obtain for French commerce the productions of these countries; and, most important of all, to set out from Egypt as a vast *place d'armes*, to push forward an army of 60,000 men to the Indus, rouse the Mahrattas to a revolt, and excite against the English the population of those vast countries. Sixty thousand men,—half Europeans, half natives,—transported on 50,000 camels and 10,000 horses, carrying with them provisions for fifty days, water for six, with 150 pieces of cannon, and double ammunition, would,

he said, arrive in India in four months. Thoroughly imbued with the practicability of his project, Napoleon Buonaparte declared, in the inflated language to which he was now becoming accustomed—"The ocean ceased to be an obstacle when vessels were constructed; the desert becomes passable the moment you have camels and dromedaries in abundance." The Directory for some time opposed Napoleon Buonaparte's views, on the grounds that the expedition would withdraw, at the least, 40,000 of the *élite* of the French troops; and that, in the absence of so many of the soldiers of the republic, and one of her best generals, but little reliance was to be placed on the faith of Austria. The objections of the Directory were, however, overcome by Napoleon Buonaparte; and being secretly anxious to get rid of such an able and popular general as he had proved himself, the expedition to Egypt was agreed to, and Napoleon at once proceeded to carry his plans into execution. With the usual energy of his character, he commenced the preparations for this great armament; and Toulon, Genoa, and other ports in the Mediterranean, were fixed upon for the assembly, and

embarkation of the troops. Let us now turn our attention to the measures which Great Britain was taking to counteract the effects of the storm which seemed about to burst over her head.

The Mediterranean fleet, under the command of Earl St. Vincent, still continued its blockade of Cadiz. Nothing of importance had occurred at this station during the winter; the Spaniards keeping themselves safe inside the harbour. On the 29th of April, Sir Horatio Nelson joined the fleet. Having recovered from the wounds he received at Santa Cruz, he had hoisted his flag in the *Vanguard*, and on the 1st of May he sailed for Lisbon with a convoy, his instructions being to join the Mediterranean fleet off Cadiz with as little delay as possible. The British ministry were aware that a vast armament was being collected at Toulon, Marseilles, Genoa, and Civita Vecchia, but had no idea where the blow which these preparations portended, was to be struck. In accordance with his instructions, Earl St. Vincent determined, on Rear-admiral Nelson's arrival off Cadiz, to employ him with a squadron to observe the preparations of the French. Nelson left the fleet on the 2nd of May, and proceeded to Gibraltar, where he was joined by three sail-of-the-line and a few frigates. He left that port on the 9th. On the 17th, having captured a privateer, he obtained information as to the strength of the force collecting at Toulon. There were lying in that port, including the Venetian ships, nineteen sail-of-the-line: fifteen ships were ready for sea; and in these Napoleon Buonaparte, with an army of 40,000 men, was prepared to embark; but for what destina-

\* On this occasion, the perilous nature of Nelson's ship was such, that when the *Alexander* took her in tow, Nelson, conceiving that it was impossible to save the *Vanguard*, and that in his exertions to preserve that ship, Captain Ball might lose his own, he seized the speaking-trumpet, and ordered Ball to throw off the cable, and let him loose. To this Ball replied, that he felt confident he should bring him safe into port; and added, "I therefore must not, and with the help of Almighty God, I will not leave you." When they arrived in the harbour, Nelson embraced Ball, and thanked him as his deliverer; and till the day of his death, Nelson ranked him as one of his best and bravest friends.

† In describing the particulars of this storm, in a letter to Lady Nelson, the hero of the Nile thus writes:—"I ought not," he says, "to call what has happened to the *Vanguard* by the cold name of accident: I believe firmly it was the Almighty's goodness, to check my consummate vanity. I hope it has made me a better officer, as I feel confident it has made me a better man. I kiss with all humility the

tion Nelson was unable to learn. On the morning of the 21st, the little squadron was overtaken by a terrific storm in the gulf of Lyons. The *Vanguard* suffered so severely in this gale, that she had to be taken in tow by the *Alexander*, Captain Ball,\* and proceeded to the island of St. Pietro, where they got into harbour at noon of the 22nd. The *Vanguard* had lost her main and mizen-masts; also her foremast; and her bowsprit was sprung in three places. By great exertions the *Vanguard* was ready for sea on the 27th, and the three ships again steered for Toulon.† The French fleet had now sailed from that port; and Earl St. Vincent had, in compliance with orders from home, on the evening of the 24th, dispatched Captain Troubridge, in the *Culloden*, with the in-shore squadron of the Mediterranean fleet, consisting of nine sail-of-the-line, to strengthen Rear-admiral Nelson's force. On the 5th of June, the *Mutine* brig brought Nelson this welcome intelligence. The *Mutine* also brought him instructions from Earl St. Vincent, that on being joined by the ships named in his orders, he was to take them and their captains under his command, in addition to those already with him, and proceed with them in quest of the armament which had been preparing at Toulon and Genoa. "On falling in with the said armament," his instructions went on to state, "or any part thereof, you are to use your utmost endeavours to take, sink, burn, and destroy it."

Nothing could have been more to Nelson's mind than this service, and he was consequently in the best of spirits, and eager to come up with the French. About sunset of the 8th of June, Troubridge effected a rod. Figure to yourself a vain man, on Sunday evening, at sunset, walking in his cabin, with a squadron about him who looked up to their chief to lead them to glory, and in whom this chief placed the firmest reliance, that the proudest ships, in equal numbers, belonging to France, would have bowed their flags, and with a very rich prize lying by him. Figure to yourself this proud, conceited man, when the sun rose on Monday morning, his ship dismasted, his fleet dispersed, and himself in such distress, that the meanest frigate out of France would have been a very unwelcome guest. But it has pleased Almighty God to bring us into a safe port, where, although we are refused the rights of humanity, yet the *Vanguard* will get to sea again as an English man-of-war."

Writing to Earl St. Vincent, about the same event, on the 31st of May, he says—"My pride was too great for man; but I trust my friends will think that I bore my chastisement like a man. It has pleased God to assist us with his favours, and here I am again off Toulon."

junction with Nelson, who, having previously learned that the French fleet and armament had sailed from Toulon on the 22nd of May, with the wind at north-west, concluded that their course was up the Mediterranean, and accordingly thither, as soon as a provoking calm would allow him to make sail, he directed his pursuit. He first steered to Corsica, and on the 12th arrived off Cape Corse, and in the evening lay-to off the isle of Elba. On June the 15th, he wrote to Earl Spencer from off the island of Ponza:—"The last account I had of the French fleet, was from a Tunisian cruiser, who saw them on the 4th off Trapani, in Sicily, steering to the eastward. If they pass Sicily, I shall believe they are going on their scheme of possessing Alexandria, and getting troops to India—a plan concerted by Tippoo Saib, by no means so difficult as might at first view be imagined; but be they bound to the Antipodes, your rdship may rely on it that I will not lose a moment in bringing them to action, and endeavour to destroy their transports." On the morning of the 17th, the British fleet stood in to the bay of Naples, when the admiral learned that the enemy had been seen steering towards Malta. On reaching the Straits of Messina, he was informed that the French had taken possession of Malta and its dependencies, the two small islands of Goza and Canino. Thither he pressed all sail; but, when about twelve leagues south-east of Cape Passero, in Sicily, he ascertained from the master of a Ragusian brig that the enemy had quitted Malta on the 18th of June, and had directed his course to the north-east. As their point of destination now appeared to be Egypt, he pressed on thither under all the sail which his ships could carry. On the 28th he came within sight of Alexandria, but saw no appearance of the enemy, nor could any intelligence be gained respecting them. His future course depended on conjecture. Imagining that the expedition was bound for the Dardanelles, he first proceeded to Rhodes, then by Candia to Sicily, and, on the 18th of July, entered the bay of Syracuse, where he was obliged to take in a supply of wood and water, and a stock of live cattle; but so eager was he and the whole of the fleet to meet the enemy, that in five days they were ready for sea. Nelson, still impressed with the idea that Egypt was the destination of the French, again steered towards that coast. On the 20th of July he wrote to Lady

Nelson:—"I have not been able to find the French fleet, to my great mortification, or the event I can scarcely doubt. We have been off Malta, to Alexandria in Egypt, Syria, into Asia, and are returned here without success: however, no person will say that it is for want of activity. I yet live in hopes of meeting these fellows; but it would have been my delight to have tried Napoleon Buonaparte on a wind; for he commands the fleet as well as the army. Glory is my object, and that alone."

On the 25th, when in the Gulf of Coron, off the coast of the Morea, he heard that the French fleet had been seen steering in a south-east direction from the island of Candia. In that direction he pressed forward under a crowd of sail, and, about ten o'clock, A. M., of the 1st of August came in sight of the pharos of Alexandria; and soon after, the two ports displayed to the anxious view of the British admiral a forest of masts. On the night of the 22nd of June the hostile fleets had unperceived, and within a few leagues' distance, crossed each other's track off the coast of Candia, the French steering east from Candia, while Nelson stood south-east along the African coast, with the intention of proceeding to Alexandria.

The armament, under Napoleon, had landed at Alexandria on the night of the 1st of July, without encountering any opposition; but the knowledge that Nelson was in their neighbourhood, caused the French general to disembark his troops as rapidly as possible. Admiral Brueys having received orders from Napoleon to remain at the mouth of the Nile, and finding it impossible to get his ships into the harbour of Alexandria, had drawn up his fleet in a strong position, in the bay of Aboukir. When the English squadron bore up, the French fleet was seen lying at anchor in this bay, about twenty miles east-north-east of Alexandria, in the form of a curve, having its convex side towards the sea, and its flanks protected by a gun and mortar battery on Aboukir—or, as it has been subsequently named, Nelson Island—as also by bomb-vessels and gun-boats. The French line-of-battle extended about one mile and-a-half, the ships being placed about 150 yards apart. From their curved or projecting position, the French ships were prepared to pour in a concentric fire, should the British fleet attempt to break their line. To neutralise the enemy's intention, the British admiral determined, by placing his fleet half

on the outer and half on the inner side of the French line, to penetrate between them and the shore, and thus, having placed the enemy between two fires, attack his van with the whole British fleet. "Where there is room," he said, "for them to swing, there must be room for us to anchor."

Now was about to take place the most memorable battle recorded in naval history. Nelson had forewarned his captains of the nature of the plan they were to adopt, and for the first time in British naval history, gave orders to anchor and form in line-of-battle ahead and astern of the flag-ship. The object of this plan was to deprive the enemy of the power of raking the British ships, as they would have swung round and exposed their bows or sterns, had they been anchored in the usual way. When the commanders of the various ships had got their instructions, Captain Berry remarked to Nelson, "If we succeed, what will the world say?" "If!" said Nelson: "There is no *if* in the case; that we *shall* succeed is certain: who may live to tell the tale is a very different question." Nelson then hailed Captain Hood if he thought there was sufficient room for the British vessels between the enemy and the shore. Hood, in the *Zealous*, bore away and ascertained the precise distance to which the shore could be approached. The hostile fleets consisted of the following vessels:—

*British*.—Thirteen 74-gun ships, one 50, and one brig: viz., *Culloden*, Captain Troubridge; *Theseus*, Captain Miller; *Alexander*, Captain Ball; *Vanguard*, Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, Captain Berry; *Minotaur*, Captain Lewis; *Swiftsure*, Captain Hallowell; *Audacious*, Captain Gould; *Defence*, Captain Peyton; *Zealous*, Captain Hood; *Orion*, Captain Sir J. Saumarez; *Goliath*, Captain Foley; *Majestic*, Captain Westcott; *Bellerophon*, Captain Darby; the *Leander*, 50 guns, Captain Thompson; and the brig *La Mutine*, Captain Hardy. The frigates had parted company from the fleet in the course of the pursuit for the discovery of the French fleet and expedition.

*French*.—Three 80-gun ships—*Le Tonnant*, *Le Franklin*, *Le Guillaume Tell*: nine 74's—*Le Guerrier*, *Le Conquerant*, *Le Spartiate*, *L'Aquilon*, *Le Souverain Peuple*, *L'Heureux*, *Le Timoléon*, *Le Mercure*, *Le Généreux*: one of 120 guns, *L'Orient*: four frigates—*La Deane*, 48 guns; *La Justice*, 44 guns; *L'Artémise*, 36 guns; *La Sérieuse*, 36 guns: two brigs, three bombs, and several gun-boats.

The feelings of the men and officers in Nelson's squadron, on descriing the French fleet, are well described in a narrative of the battle published by Sir Edward Berry, who was then captain on board Nelson's flag-ship:—"The utmost joy," says Captain Berry, "seemed to animate every breast on board the squadron at sight of the enemy; and the pleasure which the admiral himself felt, was perhaps more heightened than that of any other man, as he had now a certainty by which he could regulate his future operations. The admiral had, and it appeared most justly, the highest opinion of, and placed the firmest reliance on, the valour and conduct of every captain in his squadron. It had been his practice, during the whole of the cruise, whenever the weather and circumstances would permit, to have his captains on board the *Vanguard*, when he would fully develop to them his own ideas of the different and best modes of attack, and such plans as he proposed to execute upon falling in with the enemy, whatever their position or situation might be, by day or by night. There was no possible position in which they could be found, that he did not take into his calculation, and for the most advantageous attack of which he had not digested, and arranged the best possible disposition of the force which he commanded. With the masterly ideas of their admiral, therefore, on the subject of naval tactics, every one of the captains of his squadron was most thoroughly acquainted; and upon surveying the situation of the enemy, they could ascertain with precision what were the ideas and intentions of their commander, without the aid of any further instructions; by which means signals became almost unnecessary, much time was saved, and the attention of every captain could almost undistractedly be paid to the conduct of his own particular ship, a circumstance from which, upon this occasion, the advantages to the general service were almost incalculable."

At half-past five o'clock, P.M., the fleet being nearly abreast of the extremity of the shore, the signal was made to form in line of battle ahead and astern of the flag-ship; and about six, P.M., the signal to fill and stand in was made. The ships, obeying the signal, were arranged in the following order: *Goliath*, *Zealous*, *Orion*, *Audacious*, *Theseus*, *Vanguard*, *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, *Majestic*, *Leander*, and away at some distance to the westward, the *Culloden*; and at

a still greater distance to the westward, the *Alexander* and *Swiftsure*, using, under a crowd of sail, every exertion to get up. In the attempt, the *Culloden* grounded on a ledge of rocks off Aboukir. Having formed the line, the British ships hoisted their colours, and displayed union-jacks in various parts of their rigging. For the purpose of lessening the confusion of a night attack, and to prevent the ships jostling one another, each vessel bore four horizontal lights at her mizen-peak, and the fleet went into action with the white or St. George's ensign, the red cross in its centre rendering it easy to be distinguished from the tri-coloured flag of the enemy. The French ships hoisted their colours about twenty minutes past six, P. M.

The French line of battle, beginning at the van, was as follows:—*Guerrier*, *Conquérant*, *Spartiate*, *Aquilon*, *Peuple Souverain*, *Franklin*, *Orient*, *Tonnant*, *Heureux*, *Mercure*, *Guillaume Tell*, *Généreux*, and *Timoléon*.

The *Goliath*, commanded by Captain Foley, led the fleet, and, when within a mile of the French, van, was assailed by their starboard guns, as also a cannonade from the batteries. Undeterred, he rounded the bow of the enemy's van ship; thus, having doubled their line, or got on the inner side of it, he dropped his anchor alongside of the *Conquérant*, second ship in their van, and in the course of ten minutes, shot away her topmasts. Hood, in the *Zealous*, followed, and having anchored on the bow of the *Guerrier*, the van ship, in twelve minutes dismasted her. Next came the *Orion*, commanded by Sir James de Saumarez: the frigate *La Sérieuse*, lying within the line, gave him a broadside, which Sir James returned with his starboard guns, and she instantly went down. He then proceeded to take his station on the bow of the *Franklin* and the quarter of *Le Souverain Peuple*, engaging both. The *Audacious* came next, and let go her anchor on the bow of the *Conquérant*, having passed between that ship and the *Guerrier*. Captain Gould instantly began a destructive fire. The *Theseus*, commanded by Captain Miller, was the fifth and last ship which came inside of the enemy's line. Passing between the *Zealous* and her opponent the *Guerrier*, he poured in a broadside as he brushed their sides. Immediately a hot and close action commenced on the inner side of the enemy's line.

While the advanced ships doubled the French line, the *Vanguard*, Nelson's flagship, had anchored on the outer side of the enemy's line, within half pistol-shot of the

*Spartiate*, and by her fire covered the advance of her comrades, the *Minotaur*, *Defence*, *Bellerophon*, and *Majestic*, which came up in the succession named; Lewis, in the *Minotaur*, brought the *Aquilon* to action; Peyton, in the *Defence*, engaged the *Franklin*; Westcott, in the *Majestic*, received the fire of the *Heureux* and the *Tonnant*; but Darby, in the *Bellerophon*, having sustained a loss of 200 of his crew and three of his lieutenants from the heavy fire of the *Orient*, the flag-ship of Admiral Brueys, against which he had brought up his ship exactly abreast, cut his cable, and drifted out of the bay. The *Swiftsure* and *Alexander*, commanded by Hallowell and Ball, having been sent to look into the port of Alexandria, did not come into action till eight o'clock at night. At three minutes past eight, the *Swiftsure*, dropping anchor nearly on the spot which had been occupied by the *Bellerophon*, took her station alongside of the *Orient*, and opened fire on the bows of that ship and the quarter of the *Franklin*. Soon after, the *Alexander*, passing under the stern of *L'Orient*, raked her, and anchored withinside on his larboard quarter. These two ships, the *Swiftsure* and *Alexander*, entered the bay, and took up their position with as much precision as if they had been performing certain evolutions in a review at Spithead. The *Leander*, Captain Thompson, which had gone to the assistance of the *Culloden*, finding that no effort could move that ship till she could be lightened, hastened to the scene of action, and anchoring athwart the *Franklin*, raked her with great effect. The battle now raged with indescribable fury, though both sea and land were enveloped in darkness, illuminated only at intervals by the fire of the hostile fleets. Nelson's ship suffered severely. The men working the fore-castle guns had been three times swept off in the course of the action, and the admiral himself was badly wounded, and had to be taken down to the cockpit. But Captain Berry so well supplied his place, that as Nelson remarked, in his despatch, "the service suffered no loss by that event." Nothing could be more grand than the sight this battle presented to the spectators who witnessed it on shore. The volumes of flame which at intervals burst through the clouds of smoke, and cast a lurid glare upon the combatants, half-naked and begrimed with smoke and gunpowder, gave to the scene a most startling effect; whilst the roar of upwards of 2,000 cannon sounded

more like the artillery of heaven in some grand convulsion of nature, than the contest of mortals in those

"Oak Leviathans whose huge ribs make  
Their clay creators the vain title take  
Of lords of thee [the sea], and arbiters of war."

The *Guerrier*, the foremost ship in the French van, received a raking broadside from each of the English ships as they passed her, and having also suffered severely from the broadsides of the *Zealous*, without being able to do any serious damage to her adversary, was the first to strike her colours. Before doing this, however, she had made a gallant defence, and ere her flag was hauled down, she had lost her three masts and her bowsprit. The whole of her head was shot away; and the two anchors on her bows were each cut in two. Two of her foremost ports were knocked into one; the masts had fallen in-board, and with the rigging, still lay over the dead and living of the crew. The *Conquérant*, also, from the position she occupied in the enemy's line, received a portion of the fire of the various ships that passed her; and the *Goliath* and *Audacious* poured such a destructive fire into her, that in a short time her fore and mizen-masts were shot away, and before she was half-an-hour in action she struck her colours. Her opponents in the encounter had not, however, come off scatheless, both vessels having suffered severely. The *Spartiate* was the next vessel that hauled down her flag, but not till she had felt the weight of the *Vanguard's* heavy broadside, as well as having stood for some time the direct fire of the *Theseus*. The French ship, *L'Aquilon*, occupied a position which enabled her to pour a raking and destructive fire on board the English admiral's ship, and the numbers who fell on board the *Vanguard* proved the fatal accuracy with which her shot told. The *Minotaur* and the *Theseus*, however, in a short time silenced the guns of the *Aquilon*, and compelled her to surrender. The *Souverain Peuple* also struck her flag

and quitted the line. Thus by half-past nine, five ships of the hostile fleet had surrendered; and about ten o'clock, *L'Orient*, the French admiral's flag-ship, with £600,000 sterling on board—the plunder of Malta—blew up with so tremendous an explosion, that every ship in both fleets shook to its centre; and so great was the consternation, that the battle was suspended for nearly a quarter-of-an-hour.\*

James, in his *Naval History*, gives the following account of this catastrophe:—"At about ten, the *Orient* blew up with a tremendous explosion. Any description of the awful scene would fall far short: we shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the effect it produced upon the adjacent ships. The *Alexander*, *Swiftsure*, and *Orion*, as the three nearest, had made every preparation for the event; such as, closing their ports and hatchways, removing from the decks all combustible materials, and having ready with their buckets a numerous body of firemen. The shock shook the ships to their kelsons; opened their seams; and, in other respects, did them considerable injury. The flaming mass flew over the *Swiftsure*, as was wisely conjectured by her commander, when urged to attempt moving further off; but a part of it fell on board the *Alexander*, who lay at a somewhat greater distance from the *Orient*, on her lee-quarter. A port-fire set the *Alexander's* main-royal in flames; and some pieces of the burning wreck set fire to the jib. In both quarters the crew extinguished the flames; but not without cutting away the jib-boom and spritsail-yard. The *Alexander*, with the little air of wind that the cannonade, and the more mighty concussion that interrupted it, had left, then dropped to a safer distance. Among the French ships, the *Franklin* received the greatest share of the *Orient's* wreck: her decks were covered with red-hot seams, pieces of timber, and burning ropes; and she caught fire, but succeeded in extinguishing it. The *Tonnant* had, just before the explosion, cut or slipped her cable, and

\* Part of *L'Orient's* mainmast was picked up by the *Swiftsure*. Captain Hallowell directed his carpenter to make a coffin of it; with which Hallowell sent the following letter to the rear-admiral:—"Sir, I have taken the liberty of presenting you a coffin made from the mainmast of *L'Orient*, that when you have finished your military career in this world, you may be buried in one of your trophies. But that that period may be far distant, is the earnest wish of your sincere friend, Benjamin Hallowell." An offering, so suited to the occasion,

was received by Nelson in the spirit in which it was sent. As if he felt it proper to have death present to his thoughts and eyes, he ordered the coffin to be placed upright in his cabin. But the odd piece of furniture not being quite agreeable to the feelings of his guests, he was persuaded by the entreaties of an old favourite servant, to have it carried below, but with strict injunctions for its preservation until the purpose for which its donor had designed it, occurred. t singular present he was buried.

dropped clear of the burning wreck. The *Heureux* and *Mercure*, although too far off to be injured, had done the same. Either amazement at what had happened, or a strong feeling towards self-preservation, or both causes united, made it full ten minutes ere a gun was again fired on either side. By this time, too, the wind, as if just recovering from the trance into which all nature had been hushed by the catastrophe, freshened up; and, as it ruffled the surface of the water, and clattered among the rigging of the ships, reanimated the half-benumbed faculties of the combatants."

After the suspension of arms, caused by the dreadful explosion of the *Orient*, the French ship *Franklin* recommenced hostilities, opening a fire upon the *Defence* and *Swiftsure*. These two vessels, lying on the starboard-bow and quarter of the French ship, returned the cannonading of the *Franklin* with such deadly effect, that her main and mizen-masts shortly after fell, and having lost more than one-half of her crew in killed and wounded, she struck her colours.

By midnight, the only vessel which kept up an active fire was the *Tonnant*; but the firing did not cease between the hostile fleets until after three o'clock. When the day broke on the morning of Thursday, August 2nd, the sight presented itself of the French van being either dismasted, or having struck. At the same moment, the battle was renewed between five ships of the line and two frigates of the enemy's rear, and the *Alexander* and *Majestic* of the British fleet; but it was soon terminated by the surrender of the *Mercure* and *Heureux*. The *Tonnant*, which had been dismasted and

lay a complete wreck, did not surrender until the morning of the 3rd. Only the *Guillaume Tell* and the *Généreux*, and the frigates *Diane* and *Justin*, were in a condition to make their escape. - The *Timoléon* endeavoured to follow their example; but being badly manœuvred, she ran on shore, and was set on fire by her crew. The battle had been fought close to the Egyptian shores, which, though shaken for many leagues around by the discharges of the artillery and the explosion of *L'Orient*,\* were crowded with astonished and trembling spectators. The wing of the French army at Rosetta, though at the distance of thirty miles from Aboukir, were eagerly employed with their glasses, in order to gain a sight of the scene.

Of the French fleet, nine surrendered, two were destroyed, and four escaped. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and taken amounted to between eight and nine thousand men. The killed and wounded on board the British fleet were 895. The prisoners were sent on shore *en cartel*, on the usual conditions; namely, not to serve until they had been exchanged; but Napoleon Buonaparte, soon after they had been landed, formed them into a battalion, which he named the nautical legion, and gave its command to the captain of the *Franklin*. Thus ended the battle of the Nile; but which the French, in their detracting nomenclature, termed "*le Combat d'Aboukir*." On the 8th the British took possession of the island of Aboukir, and its name was changed to that of Nelson's Island. On the 19th, Nelson, in the *Vanguard*, accompanied by the *Culloden* and *Alexander*, sailed for Naples, leaving Captain Hood with the

\* Brueys, shortly before the *Orient* blew up, was almost cut in twain by a cannon-ball; but he refused to be removed, saying, that it was the duty of a French admiral to die on his quarter-deck, which he did, exhorting his men with his latest breath to continue the combat to the last extremity. His captain, Casa Bianca, and his son, a boy only ten years of age, exhibited equally heroic bearing. The father, being mortally wounded, his son contrived, just before the *Orient* blew up, to bind his dying parent to the mast which had fallen into the sea; and pushing forward, he continued to float with his precious charge, until they were swallowed up by the agitation of the waves, occasioned by the explosion of that ship.

The following letter was sent by Napoleon to the widow of Admiral Brueys:—"Your husband has been killed by a cannon-ball while combating on his quarter-deck. He died without suffering; the death the most easy and the most envied by the brave. I feel warmly for your grief. The moment which

separates us from the object which we love is terrible; we feel isolated on the earth; we almost experience the convulsions of the last agony; the faculties of the soul are annihilated; its connexion with the earth is preserved only across a veil which distorts everything. We feel in such a situation, that there is nothing which yet binds us to life; that it were far better to die; but when, after such first and unavoidable throes, we press our children to our hearts, tears, and more tender sentiments arise; life becomes bearable for their sakes. Yes, madame, they will open the fountains of your heart, you will watch their childhood; educate their youth, you will speak to them of their father, of your present grief, and of the loss which they and the republic have sustained in his death. After having resumed the interest in life by the chord of maternal love, you will perhaps feel some consolation from the friendship and warm interest which I shall ever take in the widow of my friend."—*Napoleon's Confidential Correspondence.*

*Zealous, Goliath, Swiftsure, Seahorse, Emerald, Alcène, and Bonne Citoyenne*, to cruise off the port of Alexandria. On the 14th, Sir James Saumarez was dispatched with the *Orion, Bellerophon, Minotaur, Defence, Audacious, Theseus, and Majestic*, accompanied by the prizes taken at Aboukir, to refit at Gibraltar.

On Tuesday, the 2nd of August, the day succeeding that on which the battle was fought, Nelson's fleet offered up thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the victory they had obtained. Service was performed on board the *Vanguard* and other ships, and all were impressed with the solemnity of the occasion. This public acknowledgment of the Deity, is said to have had a peculiar effect upon the French prisoners on board the British ships.

The following is the despatch relating to the battle of the Nile, addressed to "Admiral the Earl of St. Vincent, Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c., off Cadiz" :—

"*Vanguard*—Off the mouth of the Nile.  
August 3rd.

"MY LORD,—Almighty God has blessed his majesty's arms, in the late battle, by a great victory over the fleet of the enemy, whom I attacked at sunset, on the 1st of August, off the mouth of the Nile. The enemy was moored in a strong line of battle for defending the entrance of the bay of Shoals, flanked by numerous gun-boats, four

\* Captain Westcott was a rising officer, and was much respected in the service. He was the son of a baker, who lived at Honiton, in Devonshire; and the following sketch of his career is given in vol. xii. of the *Naval Chronicle* :—"Being led by his profession to a connexion with the millers, young Westcott used frequently to be sent to the mill. It happened in one of his visits, that by the accidental breaking of a rope, the machine was disordered; and neither the owner nor his men being equal to the task of repairing it, Westcott offered to use his skill in splicing it, although attended with danger and difficulty. The miller complied, and the job was executed with such nicety, that he told him 'he was fit for a sailor, since he could splice so well; and if ever he should have an inclination to go to sea, he would get him a berth.' Accordingly an opportunity presented itself, of which the lad accepted; and he began his naval career in the humble capacity of a cabin-boy; a situation the most common in the ship, and not much calculated to afford vent to the expansion of genius. But he continued to exercise his abilities to such good purpose, and discovered such an acuteness of understanding, that he was, in a very short time, introduced among the midshipmen; in which rank his behaviour was so conciliatory and prudent, that farther advancement followed. From that time he became so signally conspicuous both for his skill and bravery, that he gradually, or rather hastily, continued to be promoted, until he

frigates, and a battery of guns and mortars on the island in their van; but nothing could withstand the squadron [which] your lordship did me the honour to place under my command. Their high state of discipline is well known to you; and with the judgment of the captains, together, with their valour, and that of the officers and men of every description, it was absolutely irresistible. Could anything from my pen add to the character of the captains, I would write with pleasure; but that is impossible.

"I have to regret the loss of Captain Westcott,\* of the *Majestic*, who was killed early in the action; but the ship continued to be so well fought by her first lieutenant, Mr. Cuthbert, that I have given him an order to command her, till your lordship's pleasure is known.

"The ships of the enemy, all but their two rear ships, are nearly dismasted; and these two, with two frigates, I am sorry to say, made their escape; nor was it, I assure you, in my power to prevent them. Captain Hood most handsomely endeavoured to do it; but I had no ship in a condition to support the *Zealous*, and I was obliged to call her in.

"The support and assistance I have received from Captain Berry cannot be sufficiently expressed. I was wounded in the head,† and obliged to be carried off the deck; but the service suffered no loss by

reached that honourable station in which he lost his life. Had he survived the battle, his seniority of appointment would have obtained him an admiral's flag; but alas! human expectations end in the grave!" By a vote of parliament a monument was ordered to be erected to the memory of this gallant young officer.

† He had received a severe wound in the head from a piece of langridge shot. The effusion of blood, occasioning an apprehension that the wound was mortal, he was carried down into the cock-pit. The surgeon, with a natural and pardonable eagerness, quitted the poor fellows then under his hands, that he might instantly attend the admiral. "No," said Nelson, "I will take my turn with my brave fellows." Nor would he suffer his own wound to be examined, till every man—and the cock-pit was crowded at the time—who had been previously wounded, had been properly attended to. When the surgeon came to examine his wound, it was with inexpressible joy that the wounded men and the whole crew heard, that the wound was merely superficial. Having dressed the wound, the surgeon requested his patient to remain quiet; but no sooner did Nelson hear the cry, that the *Orient* was on fire, than he hurried on deck, and gave orders that boats should be sent to the relief of the endangered crew. Nelson had already lost his right eye at the siege of Bastia, and his right arm at Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe.

that event. Captain Berry was fully equal to the important service then going on, and to him I must beg to refer you for every information relative to this victory. He will present you with the flag of second in command; that of the commander-in-chief being burnt in the *Orient*. Herewith I transmit you lists of the killed and wounded, and the lines of battle of ourselves and the French.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.,  
“ HOBATIO NELSON.”

Captain Berry quitted Nelson on the 6th of August, and proceeded in the *Leander*, Captain Thompson, with the above despatch to join Earl St. Vincent, who was still with the Mediterranean fleet off Cadiz. On the 18th, the *Leander* fell in, near Candia, with the *Généreux*, 74-guns, one of the French vessels that had escaped from Aboukir. This ship had behaved very disgracefully in the battle of the 1st of August; having made off from the fleet before she had received the slightest damage either in her hull or her rigging. Seeing the disabled state of the *Leander*, the *Généreux* bore down upon her; but although Captain Thompson was eighty men short of his complement, and several of his crew had been wounded at the battle of the Nile, still he determined to fight his ship as long as he could. The *Généreux* having fired a shot ahead, the *Leander* answered by bringing her broadside to bear, and keeping up a vigorous cannonade. A severe action ensued, which lasted from nine in the morning till half-past three in the afternoon, when the *Leander* became totally unmanageable, not a stick standing but the shattered remains of her fore and mainmasts, and the bowsprit; her hull sent to pieces; her deck covered with the dead and wounded; and herself scarcely able to float. In this forlorn state the *Leander* struck her colours, having lost, out of her crew of 343 men, thirty-five killed and fifty-seven wounded; and inflicted a loss on her opponent in killed, 100, and wounded, 188.

When the relative size and strength of the two ships are considered, it will be

\* To the observations of a member of the House of Commons, that the title of baron was not commensurate to Nelson's merits, Pitt nobly replied, “ Admiral Nelson's fame will be coequal with the British; and when the victory of the Nile, the greatest on naval record, is mentioned, no man will think of asking whether he had been created a baron, a viscount, or an earl.” This noble sentiment drew the line of distinction between the performance of

seen Captain Thompson sustained no loss in honour, when he surrendered to so powerful an antagonist. The force of the British ship was:—guns, 60; broadside weight of metal, 516 lbs.; men, 258; tonnage, 1,052. The force of the *Généreux* was:—guns, 78; weight of metal, 985 lbs.; crew, 700; tonnage, 1,926. Captain Berry, before the ship struck, threw his despatches into the sea, so that the British ministry had no intelligence of the decisive battle of the 1st of August, until the 2nd of October, on which day Captain Capel, who had been sent overland, by way of Naples, arrived in London with duplicates of the despatches.

The greatest rejoicings took place throughout the country when the news of the great victory of the Nile was made know. On the 6th of October the *Gazette* announced that Nelson was created Baron\* Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the county of Norfolk. A pension of £2,000 per annum was settled on him and his two next heirs male. The Irish parliament voted him an additional £1,000 a-year; and the East India Company presented him with £10,000. To the corporation of London, of which city he had previously received the freedom, he presented the sword of the French admiral, Blanquet: for this the corporation voted their thanks to Nelson and to the officers and men under his command. They also presented him with a sword, valued at 200 guineas. The Ottoman Porte instituted the order of the Crescent, and made the English rear-admiral its first knight-companion. He moreover received many presents from foreign princes. The grand seignor made him a present of a pelisse of sables, valued at 5,000 dollars, and an *aigrette*, taken from one of the imperial turbans, valued at £6,000. The czar Paul sent him his portrait, set with diamonds, in a gold snuff-box; and the King of Sardinia made a like present. Gold medals were presented, with the thanks of parliament, to the captains of the fleet; and the first lieutenants† of all the ships were promoted to the rank of comman-

illustrious deeds and the trappings of idle baubles and paltry appellations.

† On this occasion Nelson exhibited a noble trait in his character. Observing that the order for the promotion of the first lieutenants was limited to those engaged in the action, he was fearful that this would affect the officers of Troubridge's ship, and wrote to the Earl of St. Vincent as follows:—“ I sincerely hope this is not intended to exclude the



forms the inlet called the Gulf of Paria; in the bocca or mouth of which lay four Spanish ships of the line, and a frigate. So intimidated were the Spaniards, that they set fire to their ships, of which three and the frigate were burnt to the water's edge, before the assailants could devise any means to save them. The *San Domingo*, a 74-gun ship, the island, together with 1,500 prisoners, and a large quantity of naval and military stores were the reward of the victors. In the attempt, in April, on Porto Rico, the British were not so successful, the position being too strong for their means.

Insurrection still raged in the island of St. Domingo, where the negroes contended against the mulattoes and the French; but during their contests the English still kept possession of Port-au-Prince, St. Mark, and Arcahaye in that island. The continual drain, however, on our land and sea forces, by the prevalence of the yellow fever, induced the British ministry to direct General Maitland to evacuate the island. In conformity with his instructions, the general sent, on the 22nd of April, a flag of truce to the republican general, Toussaint-L'Ouverture, with a proposal for a suspension of arms, and for a guarantee of the lives and property of the inhabitants who might choose to remain in the island. The proposal being assented to, and a treaty to that effect concluded, the British troops and French royalists, on the 9th of May, embarked on board of a British squadron, and evacuating the island, proceeded to Cape Nicolas Mole, in the island of Jamaica, where they were disembarked. Soon afterwards, the negroes having triumphed over their masters, St. Domingo became a negro republic.

In the month of August, the Spaniards attacked the British settlement at the Bay of Honduras, with a flotilla consisting of twenty schooners and sloops, and having on board 2,000 troops, under the command of the redoubtable field-marshal, Arthur O'Neil; but they met with so warm a reception from the small detachments of the 63rd

and 6th West India regiments, stationed there under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Barrow, and the *Merlin* sloop, Captain Moss, that they were glad to sheer off, and leave the British settlers in Honduras Bay in quietness for the future.

Among the single ship-fights of this year, that of the *Mars* and *Hercule*, both 74's, is the most remarkable. While Lord Bridport, with the fleet, was standing across the Du Raz passage, the *Mars* discovered, January 21st, the *Hercule* working up along shore towards Brest. After attempting to escape through the passage Du Raz, the *Hercule* put herself in a position to meet her antagonist. At fifteen minutes past nine, P.M., the *Hercule* opened her starboard broadside upon the *Mars*, which was as promptly returned. The ships now became so entangled with each other, that the guns on the lower deck of each could not be run out, but were obliged to be fired within board: in this condition they continued fighting till thirty minutes past ten, P.M., rubbing their sides together, until, after two ineffectual attempts to board, the *Hercule* struck her colours.

In 1797, when Napoleon Buonaparte dissolved the Venetian republic, he possessed himself, on behalf of the French republic, of the Ionian Islands, belonging to Venice, in the Adriatic. In the course of this year, a powerful army of Turks and Albanians, under Ali Pasha, having swept away the French from the Ionian dependencies in Albania, on the 6th of October, a Turco-Russian fleet—between which powers a treaty of alliance and co-operation had been concluded—appeared off the island of Cerigo, with a division of 8,000 troops on board. By the 10th, the coalitionists had, with little difficulty, possessed themselves of all the islands, except Corfu, with a loss of 1,500 men to the French. On the 20th, they commenced their operations against that island; but the French general, Chabot, conducted its defence so skilfully, that it remained unsubdued at the close of the year.

#### NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE'S CAMPAIGNS IN EGYPT IN 1798 AND 1799.

HAVING renounced the command of "the army of England," Napoleon Buonaparte turned his entire thoughts towards the East—"to that theatre," as he described it, "of mighty empires, where all the great revolu-

tions of the earth had arisen, where mind had its birth, and all religions their cradle, and where six hundred millions of men still had their dwelling-place." "Europe," he observed, "is no field for glorious exploits."

While engaged in the adjustment of the peace of Campo-Formio, he had suggested, in a letter to the Directory,\* the importance of an expedition to the banks of the Nile.

For this purpose, active preparations were made in all the ports of Italy and the south of France. Toulon, Genoa, Ajaccio, and Civita Vecchia, were assigned as the stations for the assembling of the convoy and transports. Thither the *élite* of the "army of England" marched. Dessaix, Kleber, Lannes, Murat, Berthier, and Andreosse, were among the officers selected. The naval force was collected at Toulon, under the command of Admiral Bruëys. A troop of 100 scavans—men eminent in art, science, and literature—among whom were Monge, Bertholet, Geoffroy St. Hilaire, &c., accompanied the expedition. The army consisted of 40,000 picked men, who had served in the Italian campaigns; the fleet, of thirteen ships of the line, fourteen frigates, and seventy-two brigs and cutters. Four hundred transports conveyed the troops. Three millions of livres—the treasure which had been seized at Berne—were applied to meet the expenses of the expedition.

On the 3rd of May, Napoleon Buonaparte quitted Paris, and arrived at Toulon on the 9th of that month. Before the embarkation commenced, he addressed the following proclamation to the troops:—"Soldiers! you are one of the wings of the army of England; you have made war in mountains, plains, and cities; it remains to make it on the ocean. Soldiers! the eyes of Europe are upon you. The Roman legions combated Carthage by sea as well as by land; and victory never deserted their standards, because they never ceased to be brave, patient, and united. The genius of liberty, which has rendered from its birth the republic the arbiter of Europe, has now determined that it should become so of the seas, and of the

\* During these negotiations, in the summer of 1797, Napoleon Buonaparte took away from the Ambrosian library at Milan, all the books he could find on subjects relating to the East, and on their being brought to Paris, marginal notes were appended in every page which treated on Egypt. A plan for the seizure and colonization of Egypt, for the purpose of making it a stepping-stone for undermining the British power in India, had been suggested by Count Vergennes to the French government during the monarchy. The project was found by the Directory in the royal cabinet, and was given to Napoleon Buonaparte for his guidance.

† While engaged in the Italian campaigns, Napoleon Buonaparte conceived the project of revolutionising Greece. With this design, he sent a letter to the patriarch of the Maronites, Christians of the

most distant nations. I am come to lead you, in the name of the goddess of liberty, across mighty seas, into remote realms, where your valour may achieve wealth such as could never be hoped for beneath the cold skies of the West. The lowest soldier in the army shall have seven acres of land as his share in the enterprise."

On the 19th of May, the fleet got underway, and having effected a junction with the squadrons in the harbours of Ajaccio and Civita Castellana, bore away with a fair wind for Malta, off which island they appeared on the 16th of June. The grand-master and principal officers having been successfully tampered with before the expedition set sail, after a feeble show of resistance, threw open the gates to the invaders.† Having left 3,000 men, under General Vaubois, for the defence of the island, and distributed all the Turkish prisoners found in the galleys through the fleet, for the purpose of producing a moral influence on the Mohammedan population of Egypt, Napoleon set sail for that country, and on the 29th came in sight of Cape Aza. On the 1st of July, the fleet was off Alexandria, when he heard that the English fleet, under Nelson, had left only two days before. So great was Napoleon Buonaparte's apprehension of Nelson's return, that he ordered an immediate disembarkation of the troops, which was effected in the course of the night, at Marabout, an anchorage about three leagues from Alexandria. While on board the *Orient*, he had issued, on the 22nd of June, this proclamation:—"Soldiers! You are about to undertake a conquest, the effects of which on the commerce and civilization of the world are incalculable. You will strike a blow at England—the most severe and vital she can receive before you inflict her death-blow. We have some fatiguing marches to make, some actions to

Greek church, by an aged Greek, named Dimo, who had taken refuge in Corsica from Turkish oppression, offering the Greeks the co-operation of the French republic for their emancipation, and the chastisement of the Turks, their aggressors. At the same time, pamphlets, poems, songs, in ancient and modern Greek, were circulated throughout Macedonia, Epirus, Albania, the Morea, and the Isles of the Archipelago, with the intention of raising the Greeks to an emulation of their ancestors, under the auspices and protection of the "great nation." On obtaining the possession of Malta, he caused a proclamation to be issued from the central department of the Ionian Isles, announcing the reduction of the fortress, and inviting the Greeks to listen to the general cry there for liberty, and holding out to them hopes from the French conquests in the Mediterranean.

win; but success will crown our exertions. These destinies are favourable. The Mamelukes, who are in the pay of England, and tyrannise over this unfortunate country, will, soon after our landing, have ceased to exist. The people with whom we are about to be connected are Mohammedans. It is the first article of their creed that 'there is no other God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet.' Do not gainsay them: live with them as you have lived with the Italians and the Jews. Pay the same deference to their muftis and imams, as you have paid to the bishops and rabbins. Show to the ceremonies prescribed by the Koran, and to the mosques, the same tolerance as you have shown to the convents and the synagogues, to the religion of Jesus and of Moses. All religions were protected by the legions of ancient Rome. You will find here customs which are greatly at variance with those of Europe; accustom yourselves to respect them. The inhabitants treat their women differently from us: but, in every country, he who violates is a monster. Pillage enriches only a few, while it dishonours an army, destroys its resources, and makes enemies of those whom it is the interest of all to attach as friends. The first town we are about to enter was built by Alexander: at every step we shall meet with recollections worthy to excite the emulation of Frenchmen." At the same time, orders were issued that every individual of the army who should pillage, steal, or commit extortion of any kind, should be shot; and that when any individual of a division should have committed any disorders in a country, the whole division, if the offender should not be discovered, should be responsible, and pay the sum necessary to indemnify the inhabitants for the loss sustained.

To conciliate the scheiks and civil authorities of the country, he flattered the animosity which they and the people of Egypt cherished against the beys and Mamelukes, the military rulers of the country, who exercised the most unlimited despotism over every other class. Proclamations, in French and Arabic, were issued from head-quarters, setting forth that the sole object of the French, who were the friends of God and all true Mussulmans, was to put an end to their tyranny and oppression. One, dated June 30th, was as follows:—"People of Egypt! The beys will tell you I am come to destroy your religion. Believe them not. Tell them I am come to restore your rights, punish your

tyrants, and revive the true worship of Mohammed, which the French venerate more than the Mamelukes. Tell them, that all men are equal in the sight of God; that wisdom, talents, and virtue alone constitute the difference among them. And what are the virtues which distinguish the Mamelukes, which entitle them to appropriate all the enjoyments of life to themselves? Is there a beautiful woman? she belongs to the Mamelukes. So of every other valuable possession. If Egypt is their farm, let them show the tenure from God by which they hold it. No! God is just, and full of pity to the suffering people. For a long period a horde of slaves, bought in the Caucasus and Georgia, have tyrannised over the fairest part of the world; but God, on whom everything depends, has decreed that this tyranny should terminate. Cadis, scheiks, imams,—tell the people that we are the friends of true Mussulmans. Did we not destroy the pope who preached eternal war against the Mussulman? Did we not crush the Knights of Malta, because those foolish men thought that God wished war to be carried on against Mussulmans? Are we not the men, who, in all ages, have been the friends of the grand signior, and the enemies of his enemies? We have not come to make war against true believers, but against the blasphemers who have revolted from the rightful authority of the Sublime Porte. Thrice happy shall they be who are with us!—blest in their fortunes and inheritance. Happy those who are neuter: they will have time to know us, and to be with us; but woe to those who shall arm in defence of the Mamelukes, and fight against us. For them there is neither recompense nor hope. It is decreed that they shall perish!"

As soon as about 5,000 men had reached the shore, they were formed in battle order on the beach, and immediately marched on Alexandria, which city they reached shortly after daybreak of the 2nd. An assault was immediately ordered: in a few hours the place was in the hands of the French; for, the defenders having in the confusion left one of the principal gates open, the troops on the walls were attacked in the rear by those who had rushed in. The garrison, in confusion, fled into the interior of the city. The French quickly took up their quarters in the capital of Cleopatra and the Ptolemies.

While at Alexandria, Dessaix was dispatched with 5,000 men to Beda, to open

communications with the native Arabs, whose assistance he was instructed to obtain. Napoleon, before he left Alexandria, ordered the harbour to be sounded, with the view of placing the fleet in safety; but the draught of water being found insufficient, the fleet remained at their anchorage off Aboukir. On the 7th, Napoleon Buonaparte, leaving Kleber with 3,000 men in garrison at Alexandria, prepared to advance to Cairo before the inundations of the Nile rendered military operations difficult. His march lay over burning sands, at some distance from the Nile. The miseries the troops endured were severe in the extreme. The air was crowded with pestiferous insects; the glare of the sand weakened the eyes of the troops, and blinded many; the water was scarce and bad; and the country had been swept clear of everything that could furnish nutriment. The tortures which the troops suffered were so exquisite as to produce loud murmurs. "Is this the country," exclaimed the soldiers, "in which the general promised us farms of seven acres each? He might have allowed us to name our own quantities: we should not have abused his liberality." Nor was complaint confined to the men; even the officers could not restrain themselves from giving utterance to expressions of disappointment. Lannes and Murat threw themselves upon the ground, and gave way to despair. Napoleon Buonaparte alone was superior to all evils. While others, suffused in perpetual floods of perspiration, rid themselves of their clothes, he altered nothing: wore his uniform buttoned up, as at Paris; marched on foot at the head of the troops; and never thought of repose, except to lie down in his cloak the last at night, and start up the first in the morning.

On reaching Damanhou, the army halted two days to recruit its exhausted strength. Resuming its march across the sandy wilderness, on its approach to the Nile, scattered groups of horsemen began to appear. On the 10th it reached Rahmanieh; and now the difficulties of the march were increased by the scattered groups of the Mamelukes, which hovered on its flanks on each side of the Nile, and, discharging their carbines with unerring aim, wheeled and instantly were out of reach. To leave the line in pursuit brought instant and certain death. A troop of horsemen would dash on the adventurers, cut them down, and be off beyond reach before a musket could be levelled to

punish their audacity. It was not until the army had reached the village of Chebreisse, that the Mamelukes appeared in force. There, Murad Bey had collected 4,000 Mamelukes and Fellahs (foot-soldiers); his left resting on the village, and his right supported by a flotilla of gun-boats, on the Nile. Napoleon Buonaparte marshalled his army into five divisions, each composed of squares six deep, with artillery planted in the intervals. The grenadiers and the cavalry were placed in the middle of the squares, to support the menaced points. As soon as the French were within the distance of half-a-mile of the village, the Mamelukes charged at full gallop; but the rolling fire and impenetrable lines of their opponents disconcerting them, after an obstinate contest, they retreated in disorder towards Cairo, with the loss of 600 men. In the meantime a contest had taken place between Murad Bey's flotilla and that which Napoleon Buonaparte, while at Alexandria, had dispatched under Commodore Brée; but the Turkish commander, being discouraged by the blowing up of his boat, precipitately drew off further up the Nile.

On the 21st of July, the French army arrived within sight of the pyramids and the city of Cairo. There Murad Bey had collected 8,000 Mamelukes, and twice that number of Fellahs, Arabs, and Copts, extending from the Nile towards the pyramids, so as to cover the approach to Cairo. Napoleon, riding forward to reconnoitre, perceived that the guns in the entrenched camp were immovable, being unprovided with field-carriages; he therefore determined to move his army in the direction of the pyramids, which would bring it out of the range of the enemy's cannon. Instantly his plan of attack was decided. With the design of throwing his force on the enemy's left, the columns began their march. Riding in front of the advancing columns, and pointing to the pyramids—"Remember, soldiers!" he exclaimed, "that from the summit of those pyramids, forty centuries contemplate your actions."

As soon as the French columns were in motion, Murad Bey, penetrating their design, immediately charged, at the head of seven thousand Mamelukes, Dessaix's square, with wild yells and dreadful cries. They rushed on the line of bayonets, backed their horses upon them, and, at last, mastered by the firmness which they could not shake,

dashed their pistols and carbines into the faces of their opponents, while those who fell, crawled along the ground to cut at the legs of their foes with their scimitars. At last, thirty or forty of the bravest penetrated into the square, but only to meet death at the feet of the officers. With dauntless intrepidity they pierced between the intervals of the other squares, and galloping round them, strove to find an entrance: but in vain. The ceaseless shower of grape, shot, and shell, and the continued roll of ball, mowed down their ranks. In despair they fled to their camp. The French immediately advancing, the confusion became irretrievable. The enemy abandoned their entrenched camp, and fled in all directions towards Upper Egypt. The carnage was great; above 10,000 men having been slain or drowned in the Nile. Their artillery, baggage, 1,000 prisoners, and about twice that number of camels and horses were the reward of the victors. Thus was the fate of Lower Egypt decided. On the following morning, the French army entered Cairo; when Napoleon Buonaparte, on visiting the interior of the great pyramid, repeated his confession of faith, "There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet:" to which the bearded Orientals who accompanied him, solemnly responded, "Thou hast spoken like the most learned of the prophets." To conciliate their good opinion and attachment, he moreover, at the festival in honour of the inundation of the Nile, as also on other occasions, partook with the scheiks and imams in the ceremonies of the Great Mosque; joined in the responses of their litanies as piously as the most faithful Mussulman; and balanced his body and turned his head, in imitation of the followers of the Mohammedan creed. So successfully had he succeeded in winning them over to his views, that for the purpose of ingratiating himself, and furthering his plans with the Egyptians, he induced the scheiks to issue the following proclamation, which evidently bears the mark of Napoleonic composition:—"You are not ignorant, that the French alone, of all European nations, have, in every age, been the firm friends of Mussulmans and Mohammedanism, and the enemies of idolaters and their superstitions. They are the faithful and zealous allies of our sovereign, the sultan; ever ready to give proofs of their affection; and to fly to his succour: they love those whom he loves, and hate those whom he hates; and that is the cause of

their rupture with the Russians—those irreconcilable enemies of the worshippers of the pure God, who meditate the capture of Constantinople, and incessantly employ alike violence and artifice to subjugate the faith of Mohammed. But the attachment of the French to the Sublime Porte, and the powerful succours which they are about to bring to him, will doubtless confound their impious designs. The Russians desire to get possession of Sophia, and the other temples dedicated to the service of the true God, to convert them into churches consecrated to the exercise of their perverse faith; but by the aid of Heaven, the French will enable the sultan to conquer their country, and exterminate their impious race." The news of the loss of the French fleet, reached Napoleon Buonaparte on the 14th of August, when on his way from Salahieh to Cairo. Having read the despatch, he called the bearer (an aid-de-camp of General Kleber) to him, and demanded in a loud voice to hear the details. As soon as they were related, he exclaimed, "As we have no longer a fleet, we must either remain here, or quit it: in either case, let us leave the people a heritage of greatness." With this view, he proceeded to the civil and military organisation of Egypt. Among his first acts, was the establishment of an institute, on the model of Paris, for the collection and diffusion of general knowledge. He then proceeded to organise a system of government, under which the resources of the country might be turned to the best advantage. The strictest discipline was enforced in the army. The mosques, the harems, the civil and religious customs and rites of the people, were scrupulously respected; and so greatly superior, in point of personal security, was the administration of the French commander-in-chief to that of the Mameluke beys, that, notwithstanding the difference of creed, the most friendly understanding subsisted between the Arabs and the French; and the heads of the Moslem establishment issued a proclamation, signifying that it was right and lawful to pay tribute to the French. The *virtuosi* and artists who accompanied the expedition, were instructed to ascertain the long-smothered traces of the ancient devices for improving the agriculture of the country. Canals, which had been shut up for many centuries, were reopened; and the waters of the Nile flowed once more where they had been guided by the skill of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. Cultivation

was extended; property secured; and many signal advantages introduced into Egypt. The brief code established, was admirably adapted to secure the peace and welfare of the country. Perhaps Egypt had never, since the Saracen government was overthrown by the Ottomans, enjoyed so much prosperity, notwithstanding the presence of an invading army. In such labours, Napoleon Buonaparte employed the autumn of 1798; but during his interval of repose, he received information that the Ottoman Porte had declared war against the French republic, and was summoning all the strength of her empire to pour in overwhelming numbers on the army of Egypt.

While Napoleon Buonaparte was engaged in these pacific pursuits, Dessaix was pursuing Murad Bey and the Mamelukes, who had escaped from the battle of the Pyramids. At this time, intelligence reached Napoleon Buonaparte, that Ibrahim Bey had collected a multitude of Arabs from the borders of the desert, and was making head in Syria, where he was in expectation of being joined by a Turkish armament, which was assembling at Rhodes. He dispatched the divisions of Le Clerc and Regnier to subdue the bey before the expected reinforcement should arrive. The French overtook the Mamelukes at Salahieh, on the borders of the desert. The French cavalry, about 300, were a considerable distance in advance of the infantry. A combat ensued. The Mamelukes at length, appearing to yield, retired; but returning suddenly on their opponents with their wings extended, enclosed their pursuers on every side. In the *mêlée*, every Frenchman was engaged singly often with two or three opponents; but the infantry coming up to their assistance at the most critical time, the Mamelukes took to flight, and Ibrahim crossed the desert, leaving Murad Bey alone to maintain the war in Upper Egypt.

On the 23rd of September, the anniversary *fête* of the foundation of the French republic, was observed by the French soldiers at all their stations, but with more especial magnificence at Cairo. At the public dinner, to which Napoleon Buonaparte had invited the Turkish officers and Arabian chiefs, he gave for a toast—no doubt to impress his hearers with a belief of the antiquity of the French republic—"To the three-hundredth year of the French republic." At the same time, he gave a considerable sum of money for defraying the expense of a

magnificent feast, in honour of the birthday of the prophet,—an act which so conciliated the good-will of the Mussulmans, that they named him Ali Buonaparte. ) On this occasion, the republican flag and the Mussulman banner floated side by side; the Crescent by the cap of liberty; and the *Koran* formed a pendant to the *Rights of Man*.

But while these conciliatory measures were being adopted by Napoleon Buonaparte, the Arabs were designing the destruction of their conquerors. On the 21st of October, in consequence of previously concerted measures, Cairo teemed with insurrection. The malcontents had established themselves in the mosques, and they were not subdued until between five and six thousand of them had been put to the sword. The fate of the survivors, in their flight being met in front by the Arabs of the desert, and attacked by the pursuing French cavalry, was either death or slavery.

On the suppression of this revolt, Napoleon Buonaparte issued the following proclamation:—"Scheiks, ulemahs, orators of the mosque, teach the people, that those who become my enemies shall have no refuge in this world or the next. Is there any one so blind as not to see that I am the Man of Destiny? Make the people understand, that from the beginning of time, it was ordained, that having destroyed the enemies of Islamism, and *vanquished the Cross*, I should come from the distant parts of the West, to accomplish my task. Show them, that in twenty passages of the *Koran* my coming is foretold. I could demand a reckoning from each of you of the most secret thoughts of his soul; since to me everything is known; but the day will come, and is shortly at hand, when all shall know from whom I have derived my commission, and that human efforts cannot prevail against me. You may see, therefore, the folly of disobedience to my commands."

While the insurrection had been fermenting at Cairo, the French troops were employed in the suppression of plots, and in subduing open resistance in other quarters. On the night between the 16th and 17th of September, the French garrison of Damietta was attacked by the Arabs; but being repulsed, Generals Vial and Andreossi pursued them to their head-quarters, in the village of Schouarra, situated within cannon-shot of Damietta, and defeating them, with the loss of 1,500 men, took and burned that

village: and as soon as the inundation of the Nile had subsided, Dessaix marched in pursuit of the broken remains of Murad Bey's corps. At day-break of the 7th of October, he found himself in front of the army of the bey, consisting of 5,000 Mamelukes and Arabs, and about the same number of Fellahs, posted at the village of Sediman, in Fayoum, a province of Upper Egypt. The French general immediately formed his infantry, about 2,000 men, into two squares, flanked by two small squadrons of horsemen. The Mameluke and Arab cavalry, without hesitation, charged them with wild cries. In an instant the smallest square was broken by the impetuous charge. They then marched forwards on the larger square, which reserved its fire until the enemy was within ten paces, and then poured it in with withering effect. The barbarian cavalry, nowise discouraged, impetuously continued their charge. After firing and throwing their pistols and carbines at the heads of their enemies, they rushed on into close action with their spears and sabres. Here also, as elsewhere, the dismounted horsemen crept under the French bayonets, in order to cut at the legs of their enemies. But though all the frenzied valour of the battle of the Pyramids was displayed by the Arabs, the enemy was compelled to take to flight, and Murad Bey retreated to the mountains in the gorges of Tajain-Rast, to recruit his broken forces. This battle, which was decisive of the fate of Upper Egypt, had been more bloody than any which had as yet occurred in that country; the French having lost in it 340 men killed, and 160 wounded.

On his return to Cairo, Napoleon Buonaparte had busily occupied himself in his project of invading British India by way of Persia; and for that purpose he entered into negotiations with the shah for the requisite supplies and leave of passage through his dominions. In prosecution of his design, he dispatched, on the 25th of January, 1799, an envoy to Tippoo Saib, the sultan of the Mysore:—"To the most magnificent Tippoo Sultan, our greatest friend.—Citizen! You will have been already informed of my arrival on the shores of the Red Sea, with an army as invincible as it is innumerable; and animated with a fervent desire to free you from the iron yoke of England. I hasten to acquaint you with my desire to receive, by way of Muskat or Moka, intelligence from yourself, respecting the political situation in which you stand. I am even

desirous that you should send to Suez, or Grand Cairo, some person of ability who enjoy your confidence, with whom I may confer." The territory of Napoleon's "citizen king" having become an integral part of British India, in less than three months after this letter had been dispatched, and Tippoo having been numbered among the dead, prevented a reply. Napoleon Buonaparte's letter was occasioned chiefly by the disposition Tippoo had previously indicated to form an alliance with the French. Towards the close of 1798, the Mysorean prince had sent two ambassadors to the governor of the Mauritius, or Isle of France, proposing an offensive alliance between himself and the French, for the purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the British power in India, and expelling the people of that nation from the Indian continent; and for that purpose Tippoo offered to subsidize and supply whatever number of troops France might furnish.

Encouraged by the probable consequences of the battle of the Nile, Turkey had declared war against France, and formed an alliance with Russia. Before the end of January, 1799, two Turkish armies were in readiness to take the field. One was collected at Rhodes, and was to be landed at Aboukir; the other in Syria, under the command of Achmet, the bashaw of St. Jean d'Acre, surnamed Djezzar, or the Butcher, on account of his merciless disposition. Information of these preparations reaching Napoleon Buonaparte, he resolved to march on Syria, chastise Djezzar, possess himself of the enemy's magazines, ravage the country, and thus, by ruining its resources, render the passage of the hostile armies across the desert impracticable. Having accomplished his design, it was his intention to turn on the army of Rhodes, and dispose of it at his leisure.

For this purpose, on the 11th of February, 1799, having directed the artillery designed for the siege of Acre to be put on board three frigates, which were to cruise off Jaffa, and maintain a communication with the army, he commenced his march with 13,000 infantry, and 900 cavalry, under the command of Murat, over the desert which separates Africa from Asia, and which is seventy-five leagues across. In the course of this march the army had to endure the same sufferings from want of water and the intensity of the heat, which they had experienced in that from Alexandria to Cairo.

"It was amusing," says De Bourrienne, in his *Memoirs*, "to see the soldiers, including the commander-in-chief, sprawling on the earth, digging miniature wells with their hands, endeavouring to obtain a scanty supply of water."

On the 16th, the army reached El-Arish, a village situate on the river Peneus, whither Djezzar's vanguard had retreated on the advance of the French. In the night the camp of the pasha was surprised, and his Mameluke cavalry cut to pieces. Two days afterwards the fortress of El-Arish capitulated; and that part of its garrison consisting of 500 Maugrabins, entered into the French service, and were formed into an auxiliary corps. On the 22nd, the army resumed its march, and on the following day, in its advance on Gaza, came in view of Djezzar's cavalry, amounting to about 4,000 men, who were drawn up to oppose the march of the French; but on Murat's lancers being launched against them, they precipitately took to flight. Gaza was entered without opposition. On the 4th of February the army reached Jaffa, the Joppa of antiquity, when a flag of truce being sent to summon the town (a seaport on the coast of Palestine), the bearer was beheaded on the spot. Immediately trenches were opened, and the breach being declared practicable on the 6th of March, the assault was made at daybreak of the 7th, and by five o'clock in the afternoon the French were masters of the town, when an indiscriminate slaughter of the garrison, together with women, children, and old men took

place. So horrible had been the carnage, that Napoleon Buonaparte himself admitted, "he had never seen anything so hideous." During this scene of slaughter, a part of the garrison—amounting, according to Buonaparte, to 1,200 men, but stated by others as nearly 3,000 in number—held out in the caravansera, a large fortified building surrounding a court-yard: here they stipulated with Napoleon Buonaparte's aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Crosier, to surrender, if their lives were spared. The proposal was assented to; but no sooner had they reached the French camp than Napoleon Buonaparte sternly condemned the conduct of his two staff-officers. A council of war was immediately held in the tent of the commander-in-chief, to determine on the fate of the prisoners. After two long deliberations on the subject, on the 10th, two days after they had surrendered, they were marched, strongly fettered, out of Jaffa, in the centre of a battalion under General Bon. On reaching the sand-hills, a little to the south-east of the town, they were divided into detachments, and fired at for several successive hours. A number of them having broke their bonds, swam to a ridge of rocks out of reach of the shot. Deceived by the French troops, who made signals to them betokening a cessation of the massacre, the devoted wretches again approached the shore; but no sooner had they come within musket range, than they were fired at, and perished amidst the waters. Such was the terrible and remorseless massacre of Jaffa.\* Previously to quitting Jaffa, Napoleon Buona-

\* The circumstances attending this horrible massacre are such as to call for more than a mere passing notice. Various writers have attempted to palliate the enormity of the crime; but the massacre of Jaffa must for ever leave an indelible stain on the character of Napoleon, and take its place beside the murder of the Duc D'Enghien, the poisoning of the sick troops, and the assassination of Pichegru. The eloquent author of the *History of Europe* thus describes the event:—"For two days the terrible question was debated, what was to be done with these captives; and the French officers approached it without any predisposition to cruel measures. But the difficulties were represented as insurmountable on the side of humanity. If they sent them back, it was said, to Egypt, a considerable detachment would be required to guard so large a body of captives, and that could ill be spared from the army in its present situation; if they gave them their liberty, they would forthwith join the garrison of Acre, or the clouds of Arabs who already hung on the flanks of the army; if they were incorporated unarmed in the ranks, the prisoners would add grievously to the number of mouths for whom, already, it was sufficiently difficult to procure subsistence. No friendly sail appeared in

the distance to take off the burden on the side of the ocean; the difficulty of maintaining them became every day more grievous. The committee, to whom the matter was referred, unanimously reported that they should be put to death, and Napoleon, with reluctance, signed the fatal order. It was carried into execution on the 10th March; the melancholy troop were marched down, firmly fettered, to the sand-hills on the sea-coast, where they were divided into small squares, and mowed down, amidst shrieks which yet ring in the souls of all who witnessed the scene, by successive discharges of musketry. No separation of the Egyptians from the other prisoners took place; all met the same tragic fate. In vain they appealed to the capitulation by which their lives had been guaranteed; bound as they stood together, they were fired at for hours successively, and such as survived the shot were dispatched with the bayonet. One young man, in an agony of terror, burst his bonds, threw himself among the horses of the French officers, and emoracing their knees, passionately implored that his life might be spared; he was sternly refused, and bayoneted at their feet. But with this exception, all the other prisoners received their fate with the fortitude which is the peculiar characteristic of

parte had dispatched an officer with a letter to Djezzar, offering to treat for peace, and holding out a hope to that ferocious chief of a government independent of the Porte. His first messenger returned without an answer; the head of his second was struck off, and his body being sewn up in a sack, was cast into the sea.

On the 14th, the French army commenced its march from Jaffa, and on the 17th arrived at the mouth of the little river of Acre, which is above 3,000 yards distant from the fortress. On the 18th, the army crossed the river, and encamped upon an insulated eminence, near to and parallel with the sea; and immediately the trenches were opened, at about 300 yards from the fortress.

From the 18th to the 28th of March, the French laboured hard in their trenches; and on the 28th a breach was effected, which the grenadiers mounted with so fiery zeal, that the garrison was on the point of giving way, until Djezzar appeared on the battlements, and flinging his pistols at the heads of his men, urged and compelled

the Mussulman faith; they calmly performed their ablutions in the stagnant pools among which they were placed, and taking each other's hands, after having placed them on their lips and their hearts, in the Mussulman mode of salutation, gave and received an eternal adieu. One old chief, slightly wounded, had strength enough left to excavate with his own hands his grave, where he was interred while yet alive by his followers, themselves sinking into the arms of death. After the massacre had lasted some time, the horrors which surrounded them shook the hearts of many, especially of the younger part of the captives. Several at length broke their bonds, and swam to a ridge of coral rocks out of the reach of shot; the troops made signs to them of peace and forgiveness, and when they came within a short distance, fired at them in the sea, where they perished from the discharge or the waves. The bones of the vast multitude still remain in great heaps amidst the sand-hills of the desert; the Arab turns from the field of blood, and it remains in solitary horror, a melancholy monument of Christian atrocity. It would be to little purpose that the great drama of human events were recorded in history, if the judgment of posterity were not strongly pronounced on the conduct of the principal actors on the scene. Napoleon lived for posthumous celebrity; in this instance he shall have his deserts: the massacre at Jaffa is an eternal and ineffaceable blot on his memory; and so it is considered by the ablest and most impartial of his own military historians. The laws of war can never justify the massacre of prisoners in cold blood, three days after the action has ceased; least of all, of those who had laid down their arms on the promise that their lives should be spared; the plea of expedience can never be admitted to extenuate a deed of cruelty. If it were, it would vindicate the massacres in the prisons of Paris, the carnage of St. Bartholomew,

them to renew the defence. Those who had taken flight being rallied by Sir Sidney Smith and the British officers, rejoined those who still manned the walls. In the end, the French retreated with great loss; and the Turks, headed by the English seamen, pursued them to their lines. On the 1st of April, a second assault meeting with no better success, Napoleon Buonaparte resolved to wait for the arrival of the heavy artillery from Damietta.

During these contests, a vast Mussulman army had been collected by Ibrahim Bey, among the mountains of Samaria, on the other side of the Jordan, to raise the siege. Junot marched with his division to disperse them; but the French general would have been overwhelmed by the numbers of the enemy, had not Napoleon Buonaparte advanced to his rescue. A battle ensued (April 8th) at Nazareth, when the Mameluke cavalry were, as on all former occasions, unable to resist the solid squares and well-directed musketry of their opponents. Kleber, who had been dispatched with another division to effect a junction

the burning of Joan of Arc, or any of the other foul deeds with which the page of history is stained. Least of all should Napoleon recur to such an argument, for it justifies at once all the severities of which he so loudly complained, when applied in a much lighter degree to himself at St. Helena. If the peril arising from dismissing a few thousand obscure Albanians justified their indiscriminate massacre, what is to be said against the exile of him who had wrapped the world in flames? Nothing was easier than to have disarmed the captives and sent them away; the Vendéans, in circumstances infinitely more perilous, had given a noble instance of such humanity, when they shaved the heads of eleven thousand of the republican soldiers, who had been made prisoners, and gave them their liberty. Even if they had all taken refuge in Acre, it would, so far from strengthening, have weakened the defence of that fortress; the deed of mercy would have opened a wider breach than the republican batteries. In reality, the iniquitous act was as shortsighted as it was atrocious; and, sooner or later, such execrable deeds, even in this world, work out their own punishment. It was despair which gave such resolution to the defenders of the Turkish fortress. Napoleon has said, that Sir Sidney Smith made him miss his destiny, and threw him back from the empire of the East to a solitary island in the Atlantic; in truth, however, it was not the sword of his enemies, but his own cruelty which rendered the battlements of Acre invincible to his arms; if the fate of their comrades at Jaffa had not rendered its garrison desperate, all the bravery of that gallant chevalier would have been exerted in vain; and, instead of perishing by a lingering death on the rock of St. Helena, the mighty conqueror might have left to his descendants the throne of Constantinople."—See Alison's *History of Europe*, vol. iii., p. 470.

with Junot, was also endangered, but was rescued from his perilous position by Buonaparte. On April the 15th, that general had been attacked at Mount Thabor by 30,000 Turkish militia, cavalry and infantry, and though he had bravely maintained the unequal contest for six hours, behind a rampart of the fallen men and horses of the enemy, was saved from destruction only by the opportune arrival of Napoleon Buonaparte with fresh troops; when the valour of that army which the people of the country had, in Oriental phraseology, termed "innumerable as the stars of the heavens and the sands of the sea," was found to be unavailing against the steady, continuous fire, and the immovable squares of their enemies.

About this time an insurrection took place in Lower Egypt, occasioned by a religious fanatic of the desert of Dernu, who pretended to be the angel El Modi, a deliverer whom the prophet had promised, in the Koran, to send to the elect in critical emergencies. By his enthusiasm and energy, he soon collected some thousands of followers, whom he partly armed with warlike weapons, and partly with shovels. The shovel-armed troops were exercised to throw, with that implement, "blessed dust" against the French, which their fanatical leader asserted, all the efforts of the Sultan Kleber or Ali Buonaparte could not withstand. In an encounter with General Lanusse, the invincible dustmen being defeated, took to flight in the greatest consternation. Fifteen hundred of them, with their fanatical leader, being taken prisoners, were shot on the spot.

During these transactions the siege of Acre had been in prosecution. Fresh assaults had been made by the besiegers, and sorties by the besieged. The former were, on the 28th of April, encouraged by the arrival of the battering artillery, which had been brought to Jaffa from Damietta, by the frigate commanded by Vice-admiral Perée. Napoleon Buonaparte, who had returned to the siege, pressed it with desperate assaults day after day, but which were repelled with vigour by the garrison and its allies—the British sailors and Sir Sidney Smith. At length, however, the assailants succeeded (May 6th), by a desperate effort, in effecting a lodgment in the great tower; but they were soon, after a furious assault by Sir Sidney Smith with his gallant seamen, driven out. On the evening of the following day, the appearance in the Bay of

Acre of a fleet of corvettes and transports, with 7,000 men on board, under the command of Hussan Bey, reanimated the hopes of the besieged, and determined the besiegers to make a desperate effort before the reinforcement could be landed. Accordingly, Lannes was ordered to head Bon's division, and endeavour to enter a breach which had lately been effected in another part of the wall. The stormers were already in possession of the summit of the rampart, and the tri-coloured flag was waving on the outer angle of the tower. In this extremity Sir Sidney Smith landed the crews of the British vessels, and led them, armed with pikes, to the breach. This sight reanimated the Turks. A furious contest ensued, and the fray became a mere multitude of duels, in which the Orientals, with their scimitars and pistols, overpowered their enemies, and extinguished them almost to a man. Such of the French who had escaped the slaughter by fleeing into a neighbouring mosque, were indebted for their lives to the humane intercession of Sir Sidney Smith, and the efforts of the British sailors. In this affair, the loss of the French had exceeded 1,500 men.

Notwithstanding this disaster, Napoleon Buonaparte's desire to capture the place was unabated. On the 10th of May, he was determined to make a last effort with Kleber's division, which had been brought up from its advanced post on the Jordan. While standing, on that occasion, in the centre of a semicircle of generals and aides-de-camp, assembled on a mount called Cœur de Leon, "The fate of the East," exclaimed Napoleon Buonaparte, "depends on yonder petty town. Behold the key of Constantinople, or of India!" And about the same time he is said to have unbosomed himself thus to his secretary Bourrienne:—"If we succeed in taking this paltry town, I shall obtain the treasures of the pasha, and arms for 300,000 men. I will then raise and arm the whole population of Syria, already so exasperated by the cruelty of Djezzar, for whose fall all classes daily supplicate heaven. I shall advance on Damascus and Aleppo; recruit my army by enlisting all the discontented, and by announcing the abolition of slavery, and of the tyrannical government of the pashas. My armed masses will penetrate to Constantinople, and the Mussulman dominion will be overturned. I shall found in the East a new and a mighty empire; which will fix my position with posterity;

and, perhaps, when this has been accomplished, I may return to Paris by Adrianople and Vienna, after having annihilated the house of Austria by the way." Twenty years afterwards, when at St. Helena, speaking of Sir Sidney Smith, he said, "that man made me miss my destiny: had it not been for him, I should have changed the face of the globe. I should have reached India." Having given expression to the declaration above stated, he advanced in person to the foot of the breach, and finding it perfectly practicable, he ordered an immediate assault. A little before sunset, Bon advanced with his division to the breach; and their entrance not being impeded, they descended into the garden of the pasha. No sooner had they reached that spot than they were assailed with irresistible fury by the Turks, who speedily exterminated the whole column. In vain other columns advanced; they were as speedily annihilated.

The siege had now lasted sixty days: the French army had lost nearly 3,000 men in its prosecution; and the hospitals were filled with sick and wounded. A retreat, therefore, seemed unavoidable, which was put into execution on the night between the 20th and 21st of May. In the course of the retreat, the towns, villages, hamlets, and rich corn-fields were delivered over to conflagration, and all the camels, cattle, grain, and provisions, either carried off or destroyed, in order to render pursuit impracticable. "An army," said Napoleon Buonaparte, "cannot exist amidst ruins." On the 5th of June, the army reached Jaffa, and halted there for five days, during which time the fortifications were destroyed, and all the artillery of the place was thrown into the sea. Here, Napoleon Buonaparte, to veil his defeat at Acre, published the following proclamation:—"Soldiers! You have traversed the desert which separates Asia from Africa with the rapidity of the Arab horse. The army which was advancing to invade Egypt is destroyed; you have made prisoner its general, its baggage, its camels; you have captured all the forts which guard the wells of the desert; you have dispersed, on the fields of Mount Thabor, the innumerable host which assembled from all parts of Asia to share in the pillage of Egypt. Finally, after having with a handful of men maintained the war for three months in the heart of Syria, taken forty pieces of cannon, fifty standards, 6,000

prisoners, and razed the fortifications of Gaza, Jaffa, Caffa, and Acre, we are about to re-enter Egypt: the season of debarkation demands it. Yet a few days, and you would have taken the pasha in the midst of his palace; but at this moment such a prize is not worth a few days' combat: the brave men who would have perished in it are essential for further operations. Soldiers! we have dangers and fatigues to encounter: after having disabled the forces of the East, for the remainder of the campaign we shall, perhaps, have to repel the attacks of a part of the West."\* Here, as if Jaffa had not already affixed an indelible stain on the name of Napoleon Buonaparte, occurred the poisoning (on May 27th) of his sick and plague-stricken soldiers in the hospital, by the administration of opium under the guise of medicine. "A large part of the sick in the hospital of Jaffa," says Miot, "died of what was administered to them in the form of medicine." Sir Robert Wilson, in his account of the Egyptian expedition, states the number of those who had been poisoned, at 580. On the 30th the army reached Gaza, where heavy contributions were levied on the inhabitants, which had also been the case at Jaffa; and on the 3rd of June reached El-Arish. The desert between this place and Ker-Jouanesse, a space of eleven leagues, was now to be crossed. The march, consequently, was a continued scene of wretchedness and privation. The heat was oppressive; the thirst intolerable: the ferocious Djezzar was close behind, and the wild Arabs of the desert hovered around the army on every side. All the horrors of war were accumulated on the troops and the inhabitants of the villages which lay on the line of retreat. Buonaparte still persevering in his short-sighted policy of destroying everything belonging to the people through whose country he was passing, in retaliation, his pursuers and the irritated inhabitants, put to death every one of their enemies who fell into their hands. To expedite the conveyance of the sick and wounded, Napoleon Buonaparte ordered every horse, mule, and camel to be appropriated to their use; and gave his own last horse to that service, walking on foot by the side of the sick—cheering them with his eye and voice, and exhibiting to the soldiery an example of endurance and compassion.

\* This passage alluded to the force from India, under Sir David Baird, which had landed at Suez.

After a painful march of twenty-five days, the army reached Cairo on the 14th of June. On the evening of the 15th of July, a despatch arrived from Marmont, the governor of Alexandria, announcing the appearance, on the 11th, of the English and Russian fleets, with a large army of Turkish troops, under Mustapha Pasha, in Aboukir Bay. Immediately the army at Cairo was in full march; and, pushing forward with incredible speed, the advanced guard reached Alexandria on the 23rd. In a few hours they were joined by the divisions of Murat, Lannes, and Bon, with Napoleon Buonaparte at their head. At daybreak of the morning of the 25th, the army moved forward towards Aboukir, of which the Turkish forces, amounting to 18,000 men, had taken possession. After a march of two hours, the advanced guard came within sight of the Turks, who were drawn up in two lines; the first about half a league in front of the fort of Aboukir, the second about 300 toises in rear of the village of that name. The outposts were immediately assaulted and driven in with great slaughter. Lannes was appointed to attack the left of the front line; D'Estaing the right; while Murat was, with the cavalry, to pierce the centre, and turn both wings. As soon as the enemy came within the range of the batteries, and that of the shipping, which lay close to the shore, their march was checked; but the undisciplined eagerness with which the Turks engaged in despoiling and maiming those who had fallen, gave Murat the opportunity of charging their main body in flank with his cavalry; and the French infantry, at the same moment, profiting by their disordered and scattered condition, vigorously assaulted them. From that moment the battle became a massacre. Attacked on all sides, and their retreat to the fort being cut off, the panic-struck Turks precipitated themselves into the sea; and being fired upon with grapeshot from the artillery, suffered so great a loss, that the sea appeared covered with floating turbans. The fort and village of Aboukir were quickly carried, and Mustapha, with about 3,000 men, taken prisoners. All the Turkish camp-equipage, and twenty pieces of cannon, of which two were English, having been presented by the British government to the grand seignior, fell into the hands of the victors. On this occasion, Buonaparte, no doubt pleased with his British trophies, issued the following declaration, dated—

“Army of the East: General Orders.—The general-in-chief orders the commandant of artillery to send to the brigade of cavalry of General Murat, the two English pieces of cannon which had been sent by the court of London as a present to Constantinople, and which were taken in the battle of Aboukir. On each cannon shall be engraven the names of the three regiments composing that brigade; and the words ‘Battle of Aboukir’ shall be engraved round the touch-holes.” In the second order occurs the following expression, indicative, no doubt, of his prospective hopes:—“We have now reconquered our establishments in India, and those of our allies, by a single operation.” But Buonaparte, though possessed of great sagacity, was no prophet.

In the course of some negotiations which took place, after this battle, between Sir Sidney Smith and Napoleon Buonaparte, relative to the wounded and prisoners, among the courtesies and little presents which were interchanged between the parties, Sir Sidney sent to Napoleon Buonaparte a file of English newspapers and a *Frankfort Gazette*, containing details of the events which had taken place in Europe during the period of the operations of the French army in Egypt. Having perused these papers, as he laid them down, he said—“Things go ill in France: I must be gone and see what is passing there.” Orders were immediately given to Admiral Gantheaume, to prepare, with the greatest secrecy, two frigates, *La Muiron* and *La Carrera*, and two small brigs, *La Ravanche* and *La Fortune*, with provisions for four or five hundred men; and in order to mask his intention of quitting Egypt, he proceeded to Cairo, and countenanced a report that he intended to make an expedition into Upper Egypt. While at Cairo, he drew up instructions for Kleber, to whom he gave the command of the army: and in the letter containing these instructions, he added—“I hope, if fortune smiles on us, to reach Europe before the beginning of October.”

All things being ready, on the 22nd of August, he secretly left Alexandria, accompanied by Marmont, Murat, Lannes, Andreossi, and Berthier; the scavans Monge, Berthollet, Denou, and his secretary Bourrienne; and having reached an unfrequented part of the coast, where boats were ready to receive the party, the embarkation was completed by starlight; and by daylight next morning the vessel was out of sight.

Prior to his departure, he issued the following proclamation to the army:—"Soldiers!—Intelligence from Europe has decided my departure for France. I leave the command of the army to General Kleber. I cannot now make fuller explanations. It gives me pain to leave soldiers to whom I am most attached; but our separation will be brief, and the general who succeeds me, enjoys the full confidence of the government, as well as that of myself."

For above three weeks the little squadron beat against adverse winds along the African coast. At length a favourable breeze enabling it to stretch across the Mediterranean, it reached Corsica on the last day of September. On the first day of the following month, Napoleon Buonaparte landed in his native town of Ajaccio, where he was received with the most enthusiastic admiration. The wind proving favourable on the 8th, he renewed his voyage. On the following evening, an English squadron was descried in the midst of the rays of the setting sun, off the French coast. Gantheaume endeavoured to persuade him to return to Corsica, or take to the longboat; but he would not consent, saying—"That experiment may be

reserved for the last extremity." The French frigates passed at midnight unseen, through the English fleet.\* On the morning of the 9th, the long-wished-for mountains of Provence appeared; and in the course of a few hours, the little squadron was moored in safety in the Bay of Frejus. No sooner was it known that "the conqueror of Italy and the East" was at hand, than the sea was covered with boats; and, in defiance of the quarantine regulations, persons of all denominations hurried on board the vessel to congratulate him as the deliverer and guardian angel of the republic.

Throughout the country the bells were rung; illuminations and public rejoicings made; and the news of his disembarkation was received at Paris as the tidings of a great national triumph. At six o'clock of the evening of his landing he set out for Paris, and on the 16th of October, alighted at his house in the Rue de la Victoire, his progress towards the capital, wherever his person was recognised, having borne all the appearance of a triumphal procession. His presence alone was considered the pledge of victory and the advent of redemption.

#### NAPOLEON'S ARRIVAL IN PARIS—THE CONSULATE.

WHEN the telegraph of Paris gave the official intelligence that he who had caused the French standard to float on the summit of the Capitol and at the foot of the Pyramids, had arrived on the soil of France, the public joy knew no bounds: a leader was anticipated who was to save the sinking fortunes of the republic, and restore the conquests it had lost.

Two hours after Napoleon Buonaparte's arrival in Paris, he went to the Luxembourg, and being recognised by the soldiers on guard, his visit was announced to the trembling directors—Barras, Ducos, Moulins, Gobier, and Sièyes—by the shouts of gladness with which he was welcomed. The interview was one of constraint and dissimulation on both sides.

As soon as his arrival was known, the officers of the garrison, and the forty officers of the national guard of Paris, requested leave to wait on him for the purpose of ten-

dering the expression of their admiration and attachment; and three regiments of dragoons, forming part of the garrison of Paris, petitioned for the honour of being reviewed by him. The assembly received each application, but delayed appointing the time.

He continued for a short period to avoid public notice, observing apparently the same studious and sequestered life which he had led when last in Paris. It was, however, remarked, that when recognised by the populace, he received their salutations with uncommon affability; and that if he met any old soldier of the army of Italy, he rarely failed to recollect the man, and take him by the hand.

Meanwhile, a multitude of intrigues surrounded and occupied him. His house was daily thronged by those who had shared his fortunes in Italy and Egypt, and who were willing to support him in the assumption of a military dictatorship. It had been arranged between Sièyes and Napoleon Buonaparte, that instead of the four directors, three consuls should be appointed; namely—Napoleon Buonaparte, Sièyes, and Ducos.

\* The French vessels were descried by the English fleet; but being of Venetian build, were probably thought to be Italian store-ships, and owed their safety to that misapprehension.

The plot being now ripe for execution, and the time for action having arrived, it was resolved, between Sièyes and Napoleon to strike the decisive blow on the 9th of November (18th Brumaire.) It was then agreed that the secret Council of the Ancients should appoint Napoleon Buonaparte commander-in-chief of the national guard and of the troops of the military division of Paris, who were to be assembled by seven o'clock of that morning, when he would assume the command of them and of the capital. The following proclamation was immediately read, by beat of drum, in all the streets of Paris:—"Citizens!—The Council of Ancients—the depository of the national wisdom—has just pronounced a decree, imposing on General Napoleon Buonaparte the duty of taking measures for the safety of the internal representation. In conformity with the act of constitution (102nd article), the legislative body is removed, in order that it may deliberate in security, and devise means to rescue the republic from the disorganisation to which the imbecility and treachery of every department of government is tending. At this important crisis, union and confidence are required. Rally round the standard of the republic: there is no other method of fixing the government on the basis of civil liberty, victory, peace, and happiness."

As soon as Napoleon Buonaparte received the announcement of his authority, he mounted on horseback, and putting himself at the head of the conspirators and 1,500 dragoons, he presented himself at the bar of the Ancients. "Citizen representatives," said he, "the republic was about to perish, when you saved it. Woe be to those who shall attempt to oppose your decree! Aided by my brave companions, I will speedily crush them to the earth. You are the collective wisdom of the nation: it is for you to point out the measures which are to save it. I come surrounded by the generals of the republic, to offer you their support. Let us not lose time in looking for precedents. Nothing in history resembled the close of the eighteenth century;—nothing in the eighteenth century resembles this moment. We are resolved to have a republic: we are resolved to have it founded on true liberty and a representative system. Your wisdom has devised the necessary measure which our arms shall put into execution." The command entrusted to Napoleon Buonaparte was immediately an-

nounced to the soldiery, who received the intelligence with enthusiasm; and at the same moment their new general proceeded to the garden of the Tuilleries, where he passed in review the regiments of the garrison. Thus was the whole power of the state placed in a provisional consulate; and at two o'clock on the morning of the 29th Brumaire, the new government was invested with its authority. At dawn of day, Napoleon Buonaparte issued a proclamation announcing his elevation, and concluding with these words:—"Frenchmen! you will doubtless recognise in my conduct the zeal of a soldier of liberty—of a citizen devoted to the republic."

On the establishment of the consulate, Sièyes had hoped that the post of chief consul would have been conceded to him; but he was soon foiled in his expectations. Napoleon Buonaparte, on entering the council-room, on the first morning of their meeting, seated himself at once in the only armed-chair at the table. On Sièyes introducing the question of the presidency, Ducos said, that Napoleon Buonaparte was already in the chair which belonged to him of right; for he alone was able to save France, and on that account he would support him. Sièyes was obliged to submit. To those with whom he had acted in concerting the measures for the 18th Brumaire, he said—"Gentlemen, we have a master! Napoleon Buonaparte can and will do everything himself."

At first the consulate was for three months. In the course of the following December, the government determined on was—that of a first consul, and two subordinate consuls. The first and second consuls to remain in office ten years; the third five years. Napoleon Buonaparte was the first consul, and Cambacères and Lebrun succeeded Sièyes and Ducos. Napoleon Buonaparte, though nominally consul, was invested with kingly power. He fixed his residence in the Tuilleries, where he immediately caused all the *bonnets rouge* and republican emblems to be effaced, and at once established the ceremonial of a court, with all the retinue of chamberlains, pages, esquires, &c. On the 5th of December, Napoleon issued the following proclamation to the army:—

"Soldiers! I know your valour. You are the men who have conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and made peace under the walls of astonished Vienna.

“Soldiers! It is no longer your business to defend your frontiers: you are now to invade the states of your enemies. There cannot be one among you who have made different campaigns, but who knows that the most essential duty of a soldier is, with patience and constancy, to suffer privations. Several years of bad government are not to be repaired in a day.

“It will be a pleasure to me, in the character of first magistrate, to proclaim to the nation the corps which, by its discipline and valour, shall best deserve to be hailed as the support of their country.

“Soldiers! In due time, I shall be in the midst of you; and astonished Europe shall recollect that you are a race of brave men.”

Napoleon Buonaparte having established a constitution and a government, addressed the following letter, dated December 25th, 1799, to the King of Great Britain and Ireland:—

“French republic—Sovereignty of the people—Liberty and equality.—Napoleon Buonaparte, first consul of the republic to his majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.

“Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper, on entering into office, to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

“Must the war which, for eight years, has ravaged the world, be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an understanding? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain grandeur commercial advantages, national prosperity, and domestic happiness? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first necessity, as well as of the first glory? These sentiments cannot be new to the heart of your majesty, who rules over a free nation with no other view than to render it happy.

“Your majesty will see in this overture only my sincere desire to contribute efficaciously, for a second time, to the general pacification, by a prompt step taken in confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary, perhaps, to disguise the apprehensions of weak states, prove, in those which are strong, only the mutual desire of deceiving each other.

“France and England, by the abuse of

their strength, may still, for a long time, to the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say, that the fate of all civilised nations depends on the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

The answer of Lord Grenville, the British minister for foreign affairs, to this letter was, that the King of Great Britain had given frequent proofs of his sincere desire for the re-establishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe; and that he had no other object than that of maintaining against aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. That while he made no claim to prescribe to France what should be her form of government, or in whose hands the necessary authority should be invested, he would eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of a general pacification, as soon as sufficient stability could be obtained by the parties conducting the affairs of the French nation.

Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, replied to Lord Grenville's note, in which he made the strange assertion, that “from the very commencement of her revolution, France had solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination for conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments;”—a bold assertion in the face of the affiliated Batavian, Ligurian, Cisalpine, Helvetian, Roman, and Parthenopeian republics, and the enormous contributions and plunder which had been exacted from the conquered states. Also, by way of commenting on Lord Grenville's answer, the *Moniteur* published a fictitious letter from the last heir of the exiled house of Stuart, demanding from George III. the throne of Great Britain, which, as the principle of divine right was in the ascendant in the doctrines of the coalitionists, the writer maintained could not be justly withheld from the legitimate owner. The senate of Hamburg having, at the instance of the Russian emperor, Paul, surrendered up the Irish rebel Napper Tandy and his accomplices to the English government, Napoleon Buonaparte laid an embargo on all Hamburg vessels in French ports; and denounced vengeance for the act. The burghmasters sent a cringing letter to the chief consul, soliciting the suspension of the threat, and the acceptance of their homage. Napoleon Buonaparte's reply, dated December 30th.

1799, was—"We have received your letter, gentlemen: it is no justification of your conduct. It is by virtue and courage that states are preserved: cowardice and vice prove their ruin. You have violated the laws of hospitality. Such a violation would not have taken place among the barbarian

hordes of the desert. Your fellow-citizens will impute it to you as an eternal reproach. The two unfortunate men whom you have given up will die illustrious; but their blood will be a source of greater evils to their persecutors than could be brought on them by a whole army."

#### WAR WITH TIPPOO SAIB.

WE must now turn our attention to the affairs of the British empire in the east. In the course of this year the kingdom of Mysore was dismembered, and its sultan, Tippoo Saib, destroyed. As previously stated, Napoleon's designs upon India were the cause of his expedition to Egypt; and during his operations there, he dispatched a letter to Tippoo Saib, requesting him to send a confidential person to Suez or Cairo, to confer with him, and concert measures for the liberation of India from British rule. In the year 1797, Tippoo had sent two ambassadors to the governor of Mauritius, or Isle of France, to propose an alliance with the French republic, and solicit thirty or forty thousand troops to assist him in the expulsion of the English from Hindoostan. The Mysorean sultan had also sent embassies to Zamorin Shah, emperor of Candahar and Cabul, to treat for the co-operation of the Affghan tribes; and he was in negotiation with the Nizam of the Deccan, and other native princes.

Information of these designs, in conjunction with the preparations making by the French in Egypt, reaching the knowledge of the governor-general of India, Lord Mornington, he issued orders in June to assemble the armies on the coast of Coromandel; and in August he directed the attention of Rear-admiral Rainier to the defence of the coast of Malabar, hoping, by his provident measures, to compel Tippoo to detach himself from his French alliance, or to be able to prevent his co-operating with Napoleon Buonaparte. On the 20th of October, necessary orders were issued to the government of Madras, for the equipment of the battering train, and for the advancing it, with all practicable dispatch on the frontiers of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam. Orders were also issued to the government of Bombay for the collection of the troops and the largest possible supplies on the coast of Malabar.

While these preparations were in active execution, an event happened which contributed to encourage the hope of a complete triumph over the confederacy of Tippoo and the French against the British power in India—the British, having by their influence, procured the dismissal of the French faction from the army of the Nizam of the Deccan. This had been accomplished at Hyderabad, and a new subsidiary treaty had been ratified with that power. French influence, before this event, was considerable in the Deccan. Above 10,000 foreigners, French and others, were in the service of the Nizam.

Before proceeding to active operations, Lord Mornington addressed two letters to Tippoo, proposing an amicable arrangement of all differences; but his propositions being met with duplicity and cunning on the part of the sultan, the advanced guard of the army was ordered into the Mysorean territory. Intimation, at the same time, being given to the allies of the intention of proceeding to immediate hostilities, the Nizam's army, consisting of 6,000 native troops, nearly an equal number of the company's troops, and a large body of cavalry, took the field, and formed a junction with the army of Madras, under Major-general Harris, which amounted to about 24,000 strong. The united forces entered the Mysorean country on the 5th of March, with orders to advance immediately on Seringapatam.

In the meantime, the Malabar army, under General Stuart, had, on the 1st of February, marched from Cananore, and ascended the Ghauts on the 25th. His army was divided into four different corps, each advancing, successively, as might enable him to form the earliest possible junction with the powerful army from the Coromandel coast. With this view he took post at Sedaseer, near which is a high hill that commands a view of the Mysore, almost to

the environs of Seringapatam. From the summit of that mountain a party of observation, on the morning of the 5th of March, discovered a body of troops forming between Sedaseer and Seringapatam. Before the evening their encampment assumed a formidable appearance, and covered a great extent of ground. On further observation, the whole of the army here encamped was perceived to be in motion; but their movements were so well concealed by the woody nature of the country, and the haziness of the atmosphere, that it was impossible to ascertain their object. Before their design could be discovered, they had penetrated a considerable way into the jungle, and commenced an attack on the British line, about the hour of ten, P.M., of the 6th.

On the 7th, the enemy pierced through the jungles so secretly and expeditiously, that they attacked the rear and front of the British line almost at the same instant; at the same time a column of above 5,000 men obstructed the communication between the corps attacked at Sedaseer, and the other three Bombay corps, which were posted two miles and-a-half in the rear.

On the 8th the brigade was completely surrounded, but was unable to repulse the enemy, until General Stuart, who had been apprised of the perilous situation of the brigade at Sedaseer, proceeded with the flank companies of the royal 75th and the whole of the 77th, to their assistance. By this time the enemy had penetrated into the rear, and had possessed themselves of the great road leading to Sedaseer. After a smart engagement, which lasted about half-an-hour, the enemy fled with precipitation through the jungles.

A junction being at length effected between the Bombay and the main army, and Tippoo having taken refuge within his capital and fortress of Seringapatam, General Stuart, with the Bombay army, crossed the Cavery on the 14th of April, and took up a strong position extending on the northern bank of that river; while General Floyd, with the left wing and cavalry of the Madras army, moved to the Delawayery, beyond Mysore, to cover a party sent out the pre-

ceding night to collect cattle and sheep, and to examine the new fort of Mysore. The party returned with considerable success on the evening of the 16th, and encamped near the line of General Harris. Measures were immediately taken for erecting batteries and preparing for the siege of the city. The batteries began to batter in breach on the 30th of April, and on the evening of the 3rd of May, had made so large an opening, that preparations were made for assaulting the place on the next day. The troops designed to be employed were stationed in the trenches early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, General Harris having determined that it should be made in the heat of day, as the time best calculated to ensure success; for Tippoo's troops, on account of their custom of making this the season of repose, would then be least prepared to offer opposition. At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, and crossing the rocky bed of the Cavery, passed the glacis and ditch, ascended the *fausse-braye* and rampart of the fort. After a severe struggle, the enemy gave way on every side, and the city was in the possession of the assailants. Tippoo was slain in the confusion of the assault. Among the numerous prisoners taken in the fortress, were a few French officers; and among Tippoo's papers were found documents, in which it was stipulated that Bombay, when reduced, was to be given up to the French.

On the reduction of Seringapatam, a partition was made of the kingdom of Mysore. The province of Canara; the districts of Coimbatore and Daraporam, with an extensive tract of country extending along the Malabar coast, including Mangalore; also the capital, with its fortress, and the island on which they are situate, were allotted to the East India Company. The remainder was divided between the Nizam of the Deccan, and a descendant of the ancient rajahs of the Mysore, whose throne had been seized by Hyder Ali, the father of Tippoo Saib. The sons of Tippoo, who had been removed from the palace on the capture of Seringapatam, were taken under British protection.

## CONFEDERACY AGAINST FRANCE—OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH AND THEIR ALLIES.

LIKE all great battles, the victory of the Nile had a powerful effect upon the position of the various parties engaged in the great struggle which was now going on in Europe and in the East. Whilst the steady opponents of France were confirmed in their opposition to the encroachments of the republic, the wavering and doubtful were rendered stable and trustworthy; and even the weak took courage when they found that the spell of French invincibility was broken. In Europe, it served again to band together that coalition which had almost fallen asunder; and in the East it at once brought on the Egyptian army the whole weight of the Ottoman empire. Napoleon had endeavoured, even while his army was laying waste one of the fairest provinces of the Turkish dominions, to hoodwink the Porte, and to make it appear that he had no intention of injuring that power, but had entered Egypt merely to punish the beys for insults they had committed on French commerce. This the Turkish government was slow to believe; and no sooner had the power of Nelson's arms rid the Levant of the French fleet, than the Divan formally declared war against France. Shortly before this the Porte had arranged its differences with Russia, and entered into a treaty of alliance with that power. So promptly was this brought about, that on the 1st of September, one month after the battle of the Nile, the extraordinary spectacle was beheld of a Turko-Russian fleet sailing under the walls of the Seraglio, and passing along the Hellespont. Although at this time there was no formal treaty existing between them, yet the three powers of England, Russia, and Turkey acted in concert.

At the commencement of the French revolutionary war, the then reigning empress of Russia, Catherine II., jealous of a union between Austria and Prussia, and not displeased to see those preponderating powers exhaust their strength in a conflict with France, acceded at first to the confederacy of kings against the French republic, only in name. But, on the secession of Prussia from that coalition, she evinced her intention of listening to the solicitations of her general, Suwarroff, to send him against the "French atheists," as he denominated them, and had entertained a project for the formation of a powerful confederacy to pro-

tect Europe against the encroachments of the French republic. To carry out this design, she had given orders to embody an army of 150,000 men. But her death, in 1796, prevented the carrying out of her designs. Catherine's son, the czar Paul Petrovitz, inherited his mother's disposition to oppose the French republic; and being influenced by Nelson's victory of the Nile, he entered into a permanent treaty with Great Britain. By virtue of that treaty, executed at St. Petersburg December 18th, 1798, Russia engaged to furnish an auxiliary force of 45,000 men, to act in conjunction with the British forces in the north of Germany; and, as an equivalent, England engaged to pay a monthly subsidy of £75,000, in addition to the immediate advance of £225,000 for the first and most urgent expenses. Paul also manifested his zeal in the common cause of crowned heads, by declaring war against Spain, for "the dread and pusillanimous submission she is making to the French republicans;" and in the same temper he laid an embargo on the Hamburg ships in the Russian ports; and also, in a menacing manner, endeavoured to draw off that republic, as also Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, from their system of neutrality to the side of the coalition.

By virtue of the treaty entered into with England, a Russian squadron of twelve sail-of-the-line was sent to co-operate with the British fleets in the German Ocean, off the coast of Britain. The combined Turko-Russian fleet which sailed through the Dardanelles into the Mediterranean, consisted of twelve ships-of-the-line and sixteen frigates, gun-boats, &c., with 12,000 troops on board. This fleet, as already mentioned, blockaded and besieged Corfu; but on account of the strength of its fortifications, possession of it was not obtained till the 1st of March of the year 1799.

Nelson, after the battle of the Nile, continued in the command of the detached squadron in the Mediterranean, and in the course of the winter, visited Malta and various ports in the Mediterranean; he also assisted in protecting the royal family of Naples after the reverses of General Mack in Italy. Sir Sidney Smith joined the Mediterranean squadron in the end of the year 1788. Sir Sidney, shortly after making his escape from prison, had been appointed

to the *Tigre* of 84 guns, and was sent out as plenipotentiary to the Ottoman court at Constantinople; and on the 3rd of March he superseded Captain Troubridge in his command, who had been cruising off Alexandria. This appointment gave much offence to Nelson, and caused a good deal of misunderstanding between Sir Sidney Smith, Earl St. Vincent, and the hero of the Nile. On December 30th, 1798, we find Nelson writing as follows to Earl St. Vincent:—

“My Lord,—The great anxiety I have undergone during the whole time I have been honoured with this important command, has much impaired a weak constitution. And now, finding that much abler officers are arrived within the district, which I had thought under my command, having arranged a plan of operations with the embassy, with which I have been honoured by the grand signior, having opened an unreserved correspondence with the Turkish and Russian admirals, and, I flatter myself, having made the British nation and our gracious sovereign more beloved and respected than heretofore; under these circumstances, I entreat, that if my health and uneasiness of mind should not be mended, that I may have your lordship’s permission to leave this command to my gallant and most excellent second in command, Captain Troubridge, or some other of my brave friends who so gloriously fought at the battle of the Nile. Captain Ball has the important command of the blockade of Malta, and is as eminently conspicuous for his conciliating manner, as he is for his judgment and gallantry. I shall not, if I can help it, quit this command till I receive your approbation; for I am, with every respect,

“Yours, &c., NELSON.”

He again writes to Earl St. Vincent on the 31st December:—“*I do feel, for I am a man*, that it is impossible for me to serve in these seas, with the squadron under a junior officer:—could I have thought it!—and from Earl Spencer!—never, never was I so astonished as your letter made me. As soon as I can get hold of Troubridge, I shall send him to Egypt, to endeavour to destroy the ships in Alexandria. If it can be done, Troubridge will do it. The Swedish knight (Sir Sidney Smith) writes Sir William Hamilton, that he shall go to Egypt, and take Captain Hood and his squadron under his command. The knight forgets the respect due to his superior officer: he has no orders from you to take my ships away from my

command; but it is all of a piece. Is it to be borne? Pray grant me your permission to retire, and I hope the *Vanguard* will be allowed to convey me and my friends, Sir William and Lady Hamilton, to England.”

To this communication Earl St. Vincent replied as follows:—“I am not surprised at your feelings being outraged at the bold attempt Sir Sidney Smith is making to wrest a part of your squadron from you. I have received much the same letter from him, as the one you describe to have been addressed to Sir William Hamilton; a copy of which, with my answer, you have inclosed, and orders for you to take him immediately under your command. I have informed Lord Spencer of all these proceedings, and sent him copies of the letters. The ascendance this gentleman has over all his majesty’s ministers is to me astonishing, and that they should have sent him out after the strong objection I have made to him, in a private letter to Mr. Nepean, passes my understanding. For the sake of your country, and the existence of its power in the Levant, moderate your feelings, and continue in your command. . . . The sensations you must have gone through before and since your departure from Naples, must have been very trying; nevertheless, I trust the greatness of your mind will keep up the body, and that you will not think of abandoning the royal family you have by your firmness and address preserved from the fate of their late royal relations in France. Employ Sir Sidney Smith in any manner you think proper: knowing your magnanimity, I am sure you will mortify him as little as possible, consistently with what is due to the great characters senior to him on the list, and his superiors in every sense of the word. God bless you, my dear Lord, be assured no man loves and esteems you more truly than your very affectionate,

“ST. VINCENT.”

A better understanding, however, shortly after took place between Sir Sidney and his commanding officer; and when Nelson received the account of the gallant defence of Acre, and Sir Sidney’s exploits on the coast of Egypt, he was the first to acknowledge his merit, and wrote to him as follows:—“Yesterday brought us letters from your worthy brother; and we had the great pleasure of hearing that your truly meritorious and wonderful exertions were in a fair train for the extirpation of that horde of thieves

who went to Egypt with that arch-thief Buonaparte."

On August the 20th, 1799, he again wrote to Sir Sidney from Palermo:—"I have received with the truest satisfaction all your very interesting letters to July 16th. The immense fatigue you have had in defending Acre against such a chosen army of French villains, headed by that arch-villain Buonaparte, has never been exceeded, and the bravery shown by you and your brave companions is such as to merit every encomium which all the civilized world can bestow. As an individual, and as an admiral, will you accept of my feeble tribute of praise and admiration, and make them acceptable to all those under your command."

At the risk of slightly repeating ourselves, we shall now proceed to lay before the reader a brief account of the gallant assistance Sir Sidney Smith rendered at the siege of Acre. Sir Sidney, having been for some time at Constantinople, arranging a plan of offensive war, to be carried on by the Turks against the French army in Egypt, proceeded on the 3rd of March, 1799, to take command of the squadron, which, under Commodore Troubridge, had been cruising in the Archipelago. The squadron, of which he thus assumed the command, consisted of his own ship, the *Tigre*, of 84 guns; the *Theseus* (Captain Miller), 74; the bomb-vessels, *Bull-dog* and *Perseus*, Captains Drummond and Oswald; and the *Alliance* frigate-flute, Captain Wilmott. The plan of operation for a general attack on Buonaparte, by land and sea, had been arranged at Constantinople, and was as follows:—

\* St. Jean d'Acre, or the city of Acre, was a place of great antiquity; it was called Accho by the Hebrews and Phœnicians, and afterwards Ptolemais by the Greeks. It was named St. Jean d'Acre by the French, on account of its being the residence of the knights of Jerusalem, which they defended against the Saracens. It is the most southern city on the coast of Phœnicia. So early as the period of the Judges of Israel, it was a considerable place; as we find it related, that the tribe of Asher could not drive out its inhabitants. After being in the possession of the Emperor Claudius, it fell into the hands of the Moslem, who kept it till the war of the Crusades, when it was retaken by the Christians in 1104. Possession of it was again obtained by the Turks, under Saladin. It was wrested from them a second time, in 1191, by Guy, King of Jerusalem, Richard I., King of England, and Philip, King of France. It was then given to the knights of St. John, who held it with great bravery for about 100 years. A dispute, however, about the possession of the city taking place in the year 1291, among the Christians themselves, afforded an opportunity to the Sultan Melech Seraf, with an

A descent was to be made by the bashaw Djezzar on the frontiers of Egypt, on the side of the desert of Syria. Djezzar was to be supported by an army which was to march across Asia-Minor from Damascus; and the combined operation of these armies from Syria was to be favoured by a diversion towards the mouth of the Nile by Mourad Bey, who, although he had been forced to retreat before Buonaparte, was yet in considerable strength, and would be joined by numerous bodies of Arabs. Commodore Hood continued to block up the port of Alexandria and the mouths of the Nile, but had been unable to destroy the fleet of transports and French frigates, without sufficient number of troops to enable him to disembark and attack Alexandria. In order to deceive Buonaparte, Sir Sidney bombarded Alexandria, but with no further injury to the French than sinking two transports.

Receiving information from the pasha of Syria that Acre\* was about to be attacked, on the 7th of March he hastened to the scene of action, and on the 15th arrived at Acre, just two days before the appearance of the French. On the 16th, after a chase of three hours, he captured, off the Cape of Carmel, the whole French flotilla, laden with heavy cannon, platforms, &c., necessary for the siege. This artillery, consisting of forty-four pieces, was immediately mounted on the ramparts of Acre, against the lines and batteries of the enemy. At the same time a large body of seamen and marines, headed by Sir Sidney, were landed to cooperate in the defence of the works.

army of 150,000 men, again to reduce it under the power of the Ottoman Porte, and the Crescent was once more raised above the Cross on the blood-stained walls of Acre. In this city, Edward I. of England, then a prince, received a wound with a poisoned arrow. Acre is beautifully situated, enjoying all the advantages to be derived from sea and land; it is encompassed on the north and east side by a spacious and fertile plain; on the west, by the Mediterranean; and on the south, by a large bay extending from the city to Mount Carmel. Faccardino, a chief of the Druses, in the 15th century, threw off the Turkish yoke, and endeavoured to turn Acre into an *entrepôt* for commerce. He carried on a trade with India and kept up a correspondence with the foremost men of Italy. He paid a visit to the court of Cosmo di Medici, where he was received with the greatest hospitality, and returned to St. Jean d'Acre accompanied by the first artists of his day. Bridges and various other public buildings were commenced by Faccardino, but, unfortunately, were not finished; and shortly after his death, Acre again fell under the dominion of the Turks.

In the month of May, the French batteries were approached to within ten yards of the Turkish ravelins, which they attacked for many successive nights, but were invariably repulsed with loss. A constant fire was kept up to produce a practicable breach. Nine times were the French led on to the storm, and as often beat back with great slaughter. The siege had been one continued battle for fifty-one days, when, on the 7th of May, a fleet of corvettes and transports, with 7,000 men on board, under the command of Hassan Bey, entered the bay from Rhodes. Napoleon Buonaparte, in hopes of gaining possession of the place before the troops could land for its relief, ordered a fresh assault during the night. The assailants advanced to the attack, and mounting the breach, made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower, the upper part of which had been beaten down, and its ruins falling into the ditch, formed the acclivity by which they mounted. At daylight the tri-colour flag was seen flying on the outer angle of the tower; and the points of the enemy's bayonets appeared above the bloody parapet which they had formed of the bodies of their slain.

At this moment the troops of Hassan Bey had effected a landing. These and the crews of the ships, armed with pikes, Sir Sidney led to the breach. In the furious combat which ensued, the muzzles of the hostile muskets touched each other, and the spear-heads of the standards were locked together. A succession of troops ascended to the assault, who were valiantly resisted, the heaps of slain forming a breastwork for both sides. At length the French were driven from the town, and fled with great loss to their trenches. But while success was gained in this quarter, ruin was impending elsewhere. The enemy had succeeded in reaching the ramparts, and leaping down into the town, were in possession of the garden of the Seraglio, which now became an important post. Immediately Sir Sidney, at the head of the Chiffleek regiment of Janizaries, rushed to the spot, and, after a desperate conflict, compelled the assailants to take refuge in a mosque, where they were indebted for their lives to his humane intercession.

The enemy, nowise discouraged, began a new breach to the southward of the old one. Being declared practicable, on the 10th of May, Kleber's division, which had just come up from Mount Thabor, advanced to

the assault. The pasha had determined to admit them, to a certain number, within the wall, and to close with them according to the manner of the Turks. The column mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the garden of the Seraglio; but in an instant they were assailed by a body of Janizaries, with a scimitar in one hand and a dagger in another. In a few moments the whole body of the assailants were headless trunks; and though succeeding columns advanced to the attack, they were necessarily obliged to retreat to their trenches with great loss and precipitation. This event closed the siege of Acre on the 17th of May, it having lasted sixty days. In the retreat of the French army, Sir Sidney harassed it incessantly in its movements with the largest vessels of his squadron. On the 10th of July he landed at Aboukir, under the protection of his squadron, the troops which had been landed at Acre from Rhodes.

Towards the end of October, while the grand Turkish army was advancing by the desert, a considerable reinforcement of troops having arrived from Constantinople, determined Sir Sidney Smith to endeavour to create a diversion in their favour. He accordingly proceeded to the Damietta branch of the Nile, sounded the coast, and marked the passage with Turkish gun-boats and buoys. The boats of the *Tigre* then proceeded to take possession of a ruined castle on the eastern side of the entrance of the channel, which was insulated from the mainland by the overflowing of the Nile, but was accessible by a fordable passage. When the Turkish flag was seen to wave on the turrets of the castle, the Turkish gun-boats advanced towards it, and at the same time a heavy fire was opened by the French upon the little garrison, from a redoubt on the mainland, which mounted two 36-pounders and an 8-pounder field-piece. The fire was briskly returned from the launch's carronade, which had been mounted on a breach in the castle, and four field-pieces which were placed in the boats. A body of cavalry was seen advancing along a neck of land, and Lieutenant Stokes, with the boats, was sent to check the advance of this force. This service he gallantly performed, with but the loss of one man killed and one wounded. A cannonade was kept up from the castle, by the Turks and their allies, for three days, which was well replied to from the redoubt garrisoned by the French, and

which was within point-blank distance. But at length, from the bursting of a shell, the magazine at the French redoubt blew up, and silenced one of the guns. Orders were then given to disembark, and on the morning of the 1st of November, a landing was effected. The French had drawn up a large body of infantry on the shore, to receive the troops when they landed, and the Turks had scarcely time to form before they were attacked by the French, who advanced to the charge with the bayonet. As the combatants joined in the *melee*, the guns from the castle and from the boats were obliged to suspend their fire—friend and foe were so mixed together. The Turks rushed on with great impetuosity, and overthrew the first line of French infantry; but their ardour carried them too far, having no reserve to support them, and the boats not being able to return in time with the remainder of the troops to assist their comrades who were on shore. The fortune

of the day being now completely changed, the troops were withdrawn into the boats; but nearly 1,100 were taken prisoners by the French.

Shortly after this defeat of the Turks at Damietta, Sir Sidney Smith conveyed to General Kleber, the commander-in-chief of the French army in Egypt, the reply of the Sublime Porte to the overtures which had been made by Napoleon Buonaparte. Kleber, availing himself of the opportunity of communication, made proposals to Sir Sidney to conclude a treaty for the evacuation of Egypt. Sir Sidney acceding to these proposals, General Dessaix and the administrator of the finances, Poussielgue, repaired on board the English commodore's ship, the *Tigre*, to enter into a conference on the subject; but a heavy gale of wind driving the ship and the negotiators out to sea on the 29th of December, no further proceedings took place during this year on the subject.

#### EXPEDITION TO HOLLAND.

THE recovery of the united provinces from the influence and dominion of France was an object of importance to the confederacy, as by the re-establishment of the stadtholder, an opening would again be presented for a campaign in the Low Countries; and even if the attempt should not be successful, a diversion would be effected in favour of the allies, as the French would thereby be compelled to send to Holland a considerable portion of their forces destined for the army of the Rhine. To put into execution this purpose, a treaty was concluded, on June 22nd of this year, between Great Britain and Russia, by which it was stipulated that England should furnish 25,000 men, and Russia 17,000, and employ her whole naval force in the support of the operations of a descent on that country, Russia receiving a monthly indemnity of £44,000 for the expenses of the troops so furnished.

In pursuance of this treaty, preparations were made by England and Russia. In the middle of July, Sir Home Popham sailed for the Baltic to receive on board the Russian contingents. In the meantime 12,000 troops were assembled on the coast of Kent, and 12,000 more were preparing to reach the same rendezvous. On the 13th

of August, the first division, consisting of 12,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, set sail from Deal, and joined the fleet of Lord Duncan, then cruising in the North Sea. On the 20th, they were within sight of the Dutch coast; but from the tempestuous weather and a high surf, were prevented coming to anchor until the 25th, which they did near the shore of the Helder, a strong point on the northern extremity of the mainland of Holland, and which commands the Mars Diep, where the Dutch fleet was moored. At daylight of the 27th, the disembarkation began. As soon as the first detachment, consisting of 2,500 men, under Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, had reached the shore, it was attacked by a superior force of Dutch troops, under General Daëndells; but after an obstinate conflict, the enemy was driven back to the sand-hills, about six miles distant, with the loss of 1,500 men; the British loss being about one-third of that number. In the night the enemy evacuated the Helder, and the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under weigh, and retired into the Vlieter canal.

Having fortified the Helder, Admiral Mitchell, whose fleet consisted of fifteen ships-of-the-line and forty frigates and brigs,

having entered the Texel, summoned the Dutch fleet, under Admiral Storey, consisting of eight ships-of-the-line, three of 54-guns, eight of 44, two of 32, four of 24, one of 16, and four Indiamen, to surrender, and hoist the flag of the Prince of Orange; which he did without having fired a gun. - At the same time the island of the Texel was taken possession of.

In the meantime, General Brune, having taken the command of the French and Dutch forces, amounting to 25,000 men, on the 10th of September attacked the British army, which had remained on the defensive, expecting the reinforcement of the Russian contingent. An obstinate engagement ensued, but the enemy being repulsed at all points, withdrew to his position at Alkmaar, with the loss of 1,500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

On the 13th of September, the Duke of York arrived and took the command. In the course of the following three days, 7,000 Russians from Revel, and the third embarkation from the Kentish coast, consisting of 7,000 British troops and 10,000 Russians, joined the army. As the army now consisted of nearly 35,000 men, the Duke of York resolved on a general attack. Accordingly, at daybreak of the 19th, the army advanced in four columns. The column to the extremity of the right, under the command of the Russian Lieutenant-general D'Herman, consisted of twelve battalions of Russians, the 7th light dragoons, and General Manver's brigade, and extended to the sand-hills on the coast near Camperdown. The second, commanded by Lieutenant-general Dundas, consisted of two brigades of foot-guards, Major-general Prince William of Gloucester's brigade, and two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons. Its object was to force the enemy's positions at Walmenhuysen and Schoveldam, and to co-operate with the column under D'Herman. The third column, commanded by Sir James Pulteney, consisted of the brigades of Major-general Daw and Major-general Coote, and two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons. This column was intended to take possession of Oud-Scarpel, at the head of the Lang-Dyke, the great road leading to Alkmaar. The fourth and left column, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, consisted of the brigade of Major-general Moore, Major-general the Earl of Chatham, and Major-general the Earl of Cavan, the first battalion of the British grenadiers of the

line, the first battalion of light infantry of the line, two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and the 23rd and 25th regiments; and their object was to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder-Zee.

The Russians, furiously attacking Bergen, were soon in possession of it; but falling into disorder in consequence of the rapidity of their advance, they were, after a murderous conflict, put to total rout. The column under Dundas, after carrying the posts it was destined to attack, extended to the right for the purpose of supplying the place of D'Herman's fleeing column, and renewed the battle with considerable success; but being too much weakened by its disproportionate extension, was at length obliged to retire. The third column effected its object by carrying by storm the post of Oud-Scarpel, made 1,000 prisoners, and forced the whole of the enemy's line under the fire of the English artillery. The fourth column had taken possession of Hoorn, and captured its garrison. Successful, however, as the centre and left had been, the flight of D'Herman's column neutralised that success, and compelled the allied army to retire to its former position. The loss of the enemy had been 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the English, 120 killed, 400 wounded, and 500 prisoners; and that of the Russians, 3,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; among the last of whom was D'Herman, twenty-six cannon, and seven standards. The advantage in the affair of the 19th having been, on the side of the allies, in the centre and left of the line, on the junction of a third Russian division, consisting of 4,000 men, a company of the 60th, and three troops of 15th light dragoons, which had been disembarked on the 25th at the Helder, the Duke of York resumed the offensive on the 2nd of October. The hostile armies were each about 30,000 strong. The attack commenced about six o'clock in the morning. In the centre, the right, and the left, the enemy being, after a stubborn contest, entirely defeated, retreated in the course of the night, abandoning Alkmaar and all his former line. The loss of the enemy was 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with seven cannon and many tumbrils; that of the allies, 1,500. The sickly state of the troops, and the increasing number of the enemy, now pointed out the policy of obtaining possession of some fortified town, to enable the allies to retain their footing in Holland. Haarlem

being the place selected, the allied army was put in motion to dislodge Brune from the strong position he had taken in the narrow isthmus between Berverwick and the Zuyder-Zee, and which it was necessary to pass to reach Haarlem. For this purpose the allied army made a forward movement on the 6th of October. After a spirited resistance along the whole line, from the Lemmer to the sea, and which lasted the whole day, the enemy retired, leaving the field of battle in possession of the allies. The loss on each side was about 2,000 men. That of the English amounted to 1,200.

Intelligence being now obtained from the prisoners taken in this action, and who amounted to 500, that the enemy had been reinforced with 6,000 men, and that a large force was stationed at Purmerend, in an almost inaccessible position (which force, as the allied army advanced, would be in its rear), the Duke of York convened a council of war, in which it was unanimously agreed to fall back to the entrenchments at Schagenbrug, which they had occupied before the battle of Bergen, and there wait for reinforcements or further instructions from the British cabinet.

Brune immediately pursued the retreating army; and resuming his position in front of Alkmaar, several skirmishes took place between the allied rear-guard and the advanced posts of their pursuers. On the 10th of October, General Daëndels attacked, with 6,000 men and six cannon, the right wing of the British in an advanced post near

Wincle, under the command of Prince William of Gloucester; and though the prince had only 1,200 men and two cannon, he forced the Dutch general to retreat, with the loss of 200 men and one French general. But Daëndels being almost instantly reinforced by 4,000 Dutch troops, the prince was obliged to fall back to Cohorn.

The situation of the allied army was now daily becoming desperate; it was reduced by sickness and the sword to 20,000 men, and the magazines contained only eleven days' rations. In these circumstances the Duke of York, on the 17th of October, proposed to General Brune a suspension of arms, preparatory to the evacuation of Holland by the allied troops. By the terms of the convention, all prisoners on both sides were given up; and that, for permission to embark without molestation, 8,000 seamen (whether Dutch or French prisoners in the hands of the British, taken before the present campaign, and now in England) should be restored to the French government. Before the end of November the conditions were executed by each side. The British troops were landed in England, and the Russians in Jersey and Guernsey. In this unfortunate expedition the British army sustained a loss of 536 men killed, 2,791 wounded, and 1,455 missing. Three ships were also lost, having been wrecked on the coast—the *Nassau*, a reduced sixty-four, and the *Blanche* and *Luton* frigates; on board the last mentioned of which were £140,000 in specie for the payment of the troops.

#### AFFAIRS OF NAPLES.

WHEN, on the reverses of General Mack, the King of Naples, in a cowardly and pusillanimous manner, got on board Nelson's fleet, carrying off with him all the specie in the country, and leaving his people to the tender mercies of the French republicans and the care of St. Januarius, Championet having obtained a firm footing on the great road from Rome to Naples, in front of Capua, Mack, on the last day of that year, proposed an armistice, on account of the severity of the weather and the badness of the roads. The French general returned for answer, that as his army had overcome the difficulties both of the way and the weather, he should not halt until he had made his entry into Naples: but his communication with

Rome being cut off by the formidable insurrection of the rural districts in the Terra di Lavoro, he had called in his outposts, resolved to conquer or perish, when a flag of truce presented itself, proposing an armistice with more extensive powers. The proposal was joyfully accepted; and an armistice for two months concluded January 11th, 1799, on condition of payment by Naples of 10,000,000 francs in fifteen days, the surrender to the French of the fortresses of Capua, Acerra, and Benevento, and the evacuation of the Neapolitan ports by the ships of all hostile powers.

By the time the armistice was concluded, the king and the royal family had been safely landed at Palermo. Having created

Prince Pignatelli viceroy, they embarked on board the British ships commanded by Lord Nelson, during the night of the 1st of January. For the tranquillity of the city a civic guard was formed; and large sums of money, as well as arms, were distributed among the lazzaroni, for the purpose of retaining and encouraging their wonted loyalty.

The cowardice and incapacity of Ferdinand in deserting his people at this time, are proved by the fact that Championet, in a secret note which he sent to the Directory along with the treaty of Capua, declared that he was surrounded on all sides, destitute of provisions, ammunition, and articles of every kind; that the loss of a battle would have ruined his whole army; and a victory, even before Capua, would have availed him nothing. He looked on the possession of Capua as of the utmost importance, since there was in it a supply for the army of all its wants, and it greatly hastened the conquest of Naples. It is evident from this, that all that was necessary to have saved the Neapolitan territory, was courage and patriotism, aided by ordinary capability; but, unfortunately, the imbecile and heartless Ferdinand possessed none of these qualities. In fact, Nelson only spoke the truth in his own plain fashion, when he described Naples as a "country of fiddlers and poets, whores and scoundrels."

Championet had, from his head-quarters, opened communications with the revolutionary party of Naples. A regular correspondence was soon established between the malcontents and the French general. The crisis desired was precipitated by the following circumstance:—A French agent had been sent by the general to hasten the payment of the first instalment of contribution stipulated by the convention. But the object of his mission was no sooner known, than the indignation of the Neapolitans knew no bounds. The lazzaroni flew to arms, and forming themselves into bands, ran through the streets, invoking the aid of St. Januarius, and exclaiming, "Long live our holy faith! Long live the Neapolitan people!" General Mack was denounced as a traitor. The viceroy and provisional government fled to Sicily; and Mack and the Neapolitan soldiery went over to the French. The exasperated lazzaroni collected themselves in a body, and rushed on the French advanced posts at

Ponte Rotto, routed the advanced guards, and had penetrated even to the line. Naples was now about to undergo every kind of horror, when the Prince Moliterno, mixing among the people, persuaded them to choose himself as their leader.

Moliterno, in concert with the reigning authorities of the city, had begun to establish order, and to enter into negotiation with Championet, when the lazzaroni, informed of his designs, revolted against their chief, and renewed their pillage. To save the city from their ravages, they determined to call in the French to their assistance. Arrangements were therefore made with Championet, that as soon as Moliterno and his party were in possession of the castle of St. Elmo, he should open his fire on the city, and march to the assistance of the occupants of St. Elmo. At the same time, the whole French army was to rush forward and bear down everything that opposed them.

The lazzaroni, being informed of this design, deposed Moliterno, and elected two of their own class for their leaders. Having barricaded the principal streets, and inflamed their zeal by means of a nocturnal procession of the head and blood of St. Januarius around the city, they drew themselves up in two columns on the plain outside the town, to sustain the attack of the French. The contest lasted for three days. When repulsed, they returned to the charge, and several times bore back the French in their turn. During the first night the hostile ranks bivouaced within pistol-shot of each other. Next day the contest was renewed with equal fury. When the tumultuary ranks were mowed down by volleys of grapeshot, fresh multitudes rushed forward, crowd after crowd succeeding, until the plain was covered with dead and dying. At the dawn of the third day, the fury of the combatants was redoubled. Two attacks of the French were repulsed at the gate of Capua, with great slaughter; and the resistance of the lazzaroni continued with unabated resolution, until a junction was formed between the French and their partisans in the castle of St. Elmo. At this moment, the exhausted state of both parties occasioned a momentary cessation of mutual slaughter. In this interval, Championet spoke to some of the inhabitants who had crept forth from their houses, and gave them assurances of protection. He professed profound respect for St. Januarius, to whom

he put up fervent ejaculatory prayers for the preservation of human life, and the restoration of tranquillity to Naples. The report of the general's respect for the saint was no sooner carried into the ranks of the people, than the cries of "Long live the French!" were heard among the lazzaroni; to which the French responded, "Long live St. Januarius!" The French general paid profound homage at the shrine of the saint, and ordered a guard of honour to be stationed at the church of the tutelary deity. The lazzaroni, enraptured with homage paid to their saint, and the conversion of their foes to his authority, embraced the French soldiers with whom, the moment preceding, they had been engaged in mortal strife. No sooner had the French obtained possession of Naples, than an order was issued for disarming the Neapolitans; and, on the day following the cessation of hostilities, the cardinal, archbishops, and other clergy of the cathedral sang *Te Deum*, "thanking," as their published advertisement phrased it, "the Most High for the glorious entry of the French troops in Naples, who had come to regenerate and to establish the prosperity and happiness of the Neapolitans;" adding, that St. Januarius rejoiced in their arrival, and gave sanction to their proceedings; his blood being miraculously liquified on the very day of their entering the city. On the same day Championet abolished Neapolitan royalty, and proclaimed in its stead the Parthenopeian republic; and levied on the affiliated member of the French republic a contribution of  $\approx 7,000,000$  francs.

While Championet was employed in the conquest and revolutionising of Naples, General Serrurier invaded the little republic of Lucca; and, having revolutionised it, imposed on it a contribution of 2,000,000 francs.

When General Championet had succeeded in reducing Naples, he gave orders for the disarming of the lazzaroni, garrisoned the forts which commanded the town with French soldiers, and proclaimed the establishment of the Parthenopeian republic. Heavy contributions were levied on the inhabitants—but the Neapolitans had further advantages in store for them from their affiliation with the French republic. Shortly after the occupation of the territory, Faypoult, the commissary of the Directory, arrived, and proceeded at once to sequester the royal property, the estates of the

monasteries, the banks containing the private property of individuals, the allodial lands, and everything of value on which he could lay his rapacious hands. Championet, who seems to have had some principle of honour left, objected to this system of robbery, and was in consequence recalled, and Macdonald was intrusted with the supreme command. The provisional government was intrusted to twenty-one citizens, and they drew up a plan for a new constitution. An assembly was soon after convoked; Jacobin clubs were established; the right of election was confided to colleges of electors named by the government; and every means were used to take from the unfortunate people the few remnants of liberty which they had previously possessed.

The French having become masters of Florence and Leghorn, the King of Sardinia took refuge in Cagliari. The King of Naples having taken up his residence at Palermo, the island was put in an effective state of defence under the superintendence of Lord Nelson. Having been joined by four sail-of-the-line, under Captain Troubridge, Nelson detached this force, along with a Portuguese 74, on the 31st of March, to effect a blockade of the port of Naples. The squadron stood into the bay on the 2nd of April, anchoring off the island of Procida. This island, along with Ischia, Capria, and all the other of the Ponza islands, in the course of the next day hoisted the royalist flag. A strict blockade of Naples was kept up; Captain Edward Foote, who arrived in the *Seahorse* on the 22nd of May, taking the command.

When Ferdinand IV. deserted his capital, he had not been wholly abandoned by his subjects; and when the excesses and exactions of the French had taught the people what *advantages* they were to derive from republican fraternisation, a considerable party was formed in favour of the exiled family. These sentiments in the minds of the people were taken advantage of by a very extraordinary character in the interest of the King of Naples,—Cardinal Ruffo. He had been authorised by the king to levy forces in his name, and had been so far successful as to have embodied an army of several thousands, with whom he had attacked the French; and when General Macdonald had been compelled to retreat from Naples, by the successful advance of the Russians under Suwarroff, Cardinal Ruffo, as vicar-general of the royalist

Neapolitan forces took possession of the capital. In the course of a few days, a combined English, Russian, and Neapolitan force entered the port. The Castel del Uovo—which, with Castel-Nuovo, constituted the principal sea-defence of Naples, and, with St. Elmo, were the only strongholds then possessed by the French in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital—capitulated on the 26th of June to Captain Foote, of the *Seahorse*. On the 11th of July, after a siege of eight days, St. Elmo surrendered to Captain Troubridge, as did also Capua on the 29th, and Civita-Vecchia, Cornatto, and Tolfa on the 29th of September. Captain Louis, of the *Minotaur*, reduced Gaeta on the 31st. By these capitulations between five and six thousand French troops laid down their arms, and were conveyed to neighbouring ports of France. The same treaty by which these places were surrendered gave up Rome, which was taken possession of by a detachment of seamen under Captain Louis, of the *Minotaur*, who rowed up the Tiber in his barge, and hoisted the English colours on the Capitol. The French were forced to abandon their conquests in Italy; and thus were Naples, Rome, and Tuscany freed, in a great degree, from their dominion by the officers and seamen of the British navy. Leghorn had been previously taken possession of by a joint squadron of British and Portuguese ships of war; and, in its port, a large number of vessels laden with corn from the ports of France and Genoa, and several privateers ready to proceed to sea to operate against British commerce in the Mediterranean, were captured. Troubridge's capture of the Italian fortresses had been so rapid, that Nelson's designation of him as "a first-rate general," did not seem too hyperbolic a phrase. In a letter written to the Duke of Clarence—"I find," said the hero of the Nile, "that General Koehler does not approve of such irregular proceedings as naval officers attacking and defending fortifications. We sailors have but one idea—to get close alongside. None but a sailor would have placed a battery only 180 yards from the castle of St. Elmo: a soldier must have gone according to art, and in a zigzag way. My brave Troubridge went straight on, for we had no time to spare."

It is now the duty of the historian to detail "a deplorable transaction!—a stain on the memory of Nelson and the honour of England! To palliate it would be vain; to

justify it would be wicked: there is no alternative for one who would not make himself a participator in guilt, but to record the disgraceful story, with sorrow and with shame."

On the capitulation of the Castel del Uovo and Castel-Nuovo, the Neapolitan republican garrisons had stipulated that they and their families should be secured in their persons and properties if they remained at Naples—a condition which was guaranteed by Captain Foote, on behalf of Great Britain, and by Cardinal Ruffo, on that of the King of Naples. About six-and-thirty hours after the execution of the capitulation, Nelson arrived in the Bay of Naples with a fleet of seventeen sail-of-the-line, and having on board his flag-ship, the *Foudroyant*, Sir William and Lady Hamilton. A flag of truce was flying at the mast-head of Captain Foote's ship, the *Seahorse*, and on the castles of Nuovo and Uovo. Nelson made a signal to annul the treaty, declaring that he would grant rebels no other terms than those of unconditional submission—a resolution he adopted, there can be but little doubt, by the instigation of the artful woman for whom he entertained an infatuated passion. "Haul down the flag of truce, Bronté!" exclaimed Lady Hamilton on the quarter-deck of the *Foudroyant*, as the ship entered the bay; "no truce with rebels!" Cardinal Ruffo strongly protested against Nelson's determination, and refused to be a party to the suspension of the capitulation. Nelson was, however, not to be diverted from his purpose. On the 26th of June, the republicans who garrisoned Nuovo and Uovo, being removed from the castles under pretence of carrying the treaty into effect, were bound two and two together, delivered over as rebels to the vengeance of the Sicilian court, the administration of whose justice was left in the hands of the queen and Lady Hamilton. Numbers were immediately condemned and executed. The fate of the Neapolitan admiral, Prince Francesco Caraccioli, the younger branch of one of the noblest Neapolitan families, and who had served with distinction, not only in the Neapolitan navy, but had commanded the *Tancredi*, a Neapolitan seventy-four, in Admiral Hotham's action with the French fleet, on the 17th of March, 1795, excited great interest.

That brave but unfortunate officer, when the Neapolitan revolutionary government, or Parthenopeian republic, issued an edict ordering all absent Neapolitans to return,

on pain of confiscation of their property, solicited and obtained the King of Naples' permission so to do. On reaching Naples, the French refused the restoration of his property, unless he consented to take the command of the Neapolitan fleet. He consented, and ably directed the offensive operations of the revolutionists. But when the recovery of Naples was evidently at hand, he applied to Cardinal Ruffo for protection, expressing hopes that forty years' faithful services would outweigh the few days during which he had been forced to obey the French. Instead of protection, a price being set on his head, he fled from Naples; but being discovered in the disguise of a peasant, he was, on the morning of the 29th of June, at about nine, A.M., brought alongside the *Foudroyant*, with his hands tied behind him. The tragedy which ensued was:—Nelson issued an order to the Neapolitan commodore, Count Thurn (Caraccioli's bitterest enemy), to assemble a court-martial of Neapolitan officers on board the *Foudroyant*, and proceed immediately to the trial of the prisoner. At ten, the trial began; at twelve, he was declared guilty; and Nelson, immediately issuing an order for his execution, at five he was hanged at the yard-arm of the *Minerva*, Thurn's ship.\* While the body of this brave man was hanging at the yard-arm of the frigate, "Come," said the demon woman, who had had the power to expel every generous feeling from the breast of her infatuated admirer, and substitute in their stead the worst of those vindictive passions which degrade human nature—"Come, Bronté, let us take the barge, and have another look at Caraccioli." The barge was manned; and the vindictive pair rowed round the frigate, and satiated their eyes with the appalling spectacle. At sunset the body was cut down, and being carried to a considerable distance, was sunk in the Bay of Naples, two double-headed shots, weighing 250 lbs., being attached to the legs for the purpose of sinking the body. Between two and three weeks after the performance of this tragic scene, the body having swollen by putrefaction,

\* When Count Thurn pronounced the sentence of the court on Caraccioli, the aged Neapolitan replied:—"Hereafter, when you shall be called to your great account, you will weep for this unjust sentence in tears of blood. I take shame to myself

rose upright as far as its middle in the water under the stern of the *Foudroyant*, as if to reproach Nelson for his pusillanimous subjection to a wicked and revengeful woman.

In the whole of this disgraceful transaction, Nelson's conduct calls for severe and unqualified condemnation. After his victim had been found guilty, the ill-fated Caraccioli requested Lieutenant Parkinson, under whose custody he was placed, to intercede with Nelson for a second trial, on the ground that Thurn, the president, and the members of the court-martial, were his personal enemies. Nelson's answer was—that the prisoner having been fairly tried, he could not interfere. To Caraccioli's request that he might be shot, instead of being hung—in his own words, "the disgrace of being hanged is dreadful to me,"—Nelson, when Lieutenant Parkinson communicated the request to him with much agitation, told the applicant to "go and attend to his duty."

If the following anecdote be true, the instigator of this tragic scene, did not escape retributory justice. Brenton, in his *Naval History of Great Britain*, says:—"I have heard that Lady Hamilton, in her last moments, uttered the most agonising screams of repentance for this act of cruelty. The prince was ever before her eyes; she could not endure to be in the dark; and left the world, a sad but useful example of the fatal effects of revenge and of unbridled licentiousness." The power and ascendancy which this artful woman had obtained over her infatuated admirer, whose affections for his wife were now entirely alienated, appears from the following extract from one of his letters to her:—"How dreary and uncomfortable the *Vanguard* appears, is only telling you what it is to go from the pleasantest country to a solitary cell; or from the dearest friends to no friends. I am now perfectly the *great man*—not a creature near me. From my heart, I wish myself the little man again. You and good Sir William have spoiled me for any place, but with you."

in asking any favour from such men; but, if possible, I wish to be shot, as becomes my rank, and not hung up like a felon and a dog." "It is inadmissible," said Count Thurn, "and the court is hereby dissolved."

## THE FRENCH CAMPAIGNS IN GERMANY IN 1799.

THE treaty of Campo-Formio having been considered, by both French and Austrians, merely as an armed truce, enabling each party to put itself in a condition to renew the war, military preparations were, during the congress of Rastadt, carried on with unremitting activity by both sides. At this time the disposition of the French armies in Germany was:—a force of 45,000 men, under the orders of General Massena, occupying Switzerland and the left bank of the Rhine, almost from its source to the western extremity of the Lake of Constance, and from that point, the two banks of the river as far as Basle. Between that town and Düsseldorf were stationed 65,000 men, commanded by Jourdan, occupying the fort of Kehl, on the right bank of the Rhine, and lining its left bank from the frontier of Switzerland to Mayence, and from that town to Düsseldorf: 30,000 men, under Bernadotte, formed an army of observation from Düsseldorf to Mannheim. The plan of operations of these armies was to invade the hereditary states of Austria, and form a junction under the walls of Vienna. — The army of Jourdan was to cross the Rhine, traverse the defiles of the Black Forest, and extending itself into Swabia, turn the Lake of Constance and the southern part of the Tyrol: the army of Switzerland, under Massena, was to drive the Austrians from the Grisons, and attacking the Tyrol in front, seize on the valleys of the Lech and Inn; while the army of Italy penetrated into Germany through either the Tyrol or Friuli. To oppose these forces, the Austrian armies were collected between the Lech and the Danube, in the Tyrol, and on the Adige, under the Archduke Charles and generals Bellegarde, Laudon, and Kray. The Russians, who had entered Brunn, in Moravia, in December last, under Suwarroff, had not yet arrived at their destined place of operation.

The first military event which took place this year was the capitulation, in the early part of January, of the strong fortress of Ehrenbritstein, which had been blockaded since April, 1797, and which had continued longer than any blockade in modern history. By the reduction of that place, the French became masters of both banks of the Rhine, from Schaffhausen to Düsseldorf.

Austria, to enable her to engage in the approaching contest, had, in the close of the

preceding year, entered into a treaty of co-operation with the Emperor Paul, of Russia. In pursuance of that treaty, sixty thousand Russians, under General Suwarroff, had arrived at Brunn about the middle of December.

The French plenipotentiaries at Rastadt having received no answer to their demand for the retreat of the Russians under Suwarroff, Jourdan received orders, on the 1st of March, to cross the Rhine and advance towards the Black Forest. On the following day, Bernadotte took possession of Mannheim. Immediately the Archduke Charles passed the Lech, and advanced to oppose the enemy.

While these transactions were in operation between the Rhine and the Danube, the war had commenced in the country of the Grisons. On the 5th of March, Massena attacking the Austrian generals in that country, after several severe encounters, made himself master of the upper extremities of the two great valleys of the Tyrol, the Inn, and the Adige. But these successes were more than counterbalanced by the advantages obtained by the Archduke Charles over Jourdan, in Swabia. On the 20th of March, a desperate contest took place between the armies of Jourdan and the Archduke Charles, which lasted until darkness put an end to the conflict: again, on the 25th, a second action was fought on the plain of Leiblingen, when night separating the combatants, left the victory undecided; but in that fought the following day at the village of Stockach, the imperialists defeated the republican army, with the loss of 5,000 men on each side. The French army immediately retreated through the defiles of the Black Forest, and recrossed the Rhine at Strasburg on April the 7th; Massena also having, in his attempt to force an entrance into the Tyrol, been repulsed by the Tyrolese, with the loss of 3,000 men, at Feldkirch, retreated into the central parts of Switzerland.

The victory of Stockach, having placed Rastadt, where the congress was still continuing its proceedings, in the centre of the seat of war, and the cabinet of Vienna wishing to obtain intelligence of the secret transactions which had taken place between the French Directory and the princes of the empire, instructed their minister

plenipotentiary, at the congress, to possess himself of the papers of the French embassy, who had demanded their passports, and were about to return to France. A detachment of hussars was commissioned to undertake the office. The French plenipotentiaries had scarcely passed the gates, when they were dragged by force out of their carriages, their papers seized and carried off, and two of them slain by the hussars. This atrocious outrage and violation of the law of nations, excited so strong a feeling of horror and resentment throughout France, that the National Council directed that a banner should be sent to every army by sea and land, with an inscription provocative of vengeance against the Austrians; and immediately a general military conscription was ordered, to enable the republic to inflict the requisite punishment.

The French forces in Italy, at this time, were distributed into two armies, that of Italy and that of Naples. The army of Italy occupied the Modenese territory, the state of Genoa, Piedmont, the Milanese, the Valtelline, and the countries of Brescia, Bergamo, and Mantua; that of Naples, the capital and the conquered part of the Neapolitan dominions, as also Rome and the different states of the church. Scherer, who had obtained the title of the *peculator*, was appointed to the chief command of the Italian armies. The Austrian army, under General Kray, occupied the line of the Adige from the Italian Tyrol to beyond Rovigo. On the 16th of March, Scherer advanced against the imperialists; but after a furious contest, was routed with the loss of 4,000 men and all his artillery. In the decisive battle of Magnan, on April the 5th, he was overthrown, with the loss of 4,000 in killed and wounded; besides 4,000 prisoners, and several standards and pieces of cannon; and, in less than a month, he was driven from the Mincio to the Adda, where, conscious of his incapacity, he delivered up the command of the army to Moreau; but it was too late for

that able general to retrieve the campaign. At this time the Austrian arms had been, to a certain extent, successful; but the fate of the Italian provinces was still in suspense, when, on the 18th of April, Marshal Suwarroff,\* the Russian general, reached the centre of Lombardy. Suwarroff had been sent by the czar to take upon himself the command of the Austro-Russian army, estimated at 100,000 men. Suwarroff had forced the passage of the Adda, and on the 25th of April, joined the Austrians, who were encamped on the shores of the Mincio, and assumed the joint command of both armies, expressing a regret that "that famous youngster, Buonaparte, had got away before he came to trim his jacket." In the meantime Korsakoff had joined the Archduke Charles in Switzerland, with 40,000 Russians. On the 26th, Suwarroff having surrounded Serrurier's division, compelled it to surrender; on the 29th, he entered Milan in triumph; and on the 27th of May, having surprised one of the gates of Turin, and rapidly introduced his troops, he captured that city, with 260 pieces of cannon, eighty mortars, 60,000 muskets, and an immense quantity of military stores. Moreau, unable to face his adversaries, had in the meantime retreated on the Apennines, in order to facilitate a junction with Macdonald, who had received orders to evacuate the Parthenopeian republic and retire on that ridge of mountains which covered the principal line of retreat for both armies into France. Macdonald, in consequence of measures concerted between himself and Moreau, advancing with the army of Naples, to form a junction, was encountered by Suwarroff, on the 17th of June, on the banks of the Trebbia. The contest lasted for three successive days. The French were at last defeated. Each side had sustained a loss of 12,000 men. In the disastrous retreat of the French over the Apennines, their loss was equal to that in the battle. The prisoners who had fallen, in the battle

\* Field-Marshal Suwarroff was one of the extraordinary characters of the age in which he lived. He had risen from the ranks, through all the intermediate gradations, to that of general-in-chief, and carried with him a reputation established in more than fifty campaigns. He had first distinguished himself during the seven years' war; and afterwards acquired a notorious fame in carrying on the Russian war against the Poles, the Tartars, and the Turks. The victory he obtained at Ryminisk gave him the surname of Ryminiski, as well as the title of count, conferred on him by two emperors. His bravest deeds, however, were stained by the cruelties

which he inflicted upon his enemies; and the butcher of Ismail and Praga had won more the dread than the applause of mankind. He was much regarded by his troops, as he won their affections by participating in all their hardships; and he had the address to insinuate himself into the superstitious feelings of his countrymen, by pretending a feeling of reverence for their religion, and seized every opportunity of rousing the valour of his soldiers by recurring to their popular superstitions. He was passionately fond of the danger and excitement attendant upon a life of warfare, but had no knowledge of war as a science.

and the pursuit, into the hands of the allies, were between 13,000 and 14,000 men. In the course of the night following the second day's combat in the Trebbia, occurred the spectacle of a midnight combat by moonlight. Some French troops entered into the bed of the Trebbia, and opened a fire of musketry on the Russian videttes. In an instant, troops on each side marched into the stream, and commenced a conflict while standing in the water up to their middle. Their officers, however, soon putting a stop to the useless fray, both parties again sunk into sleep within a few yards of each other, amidst the dying and the dead.

The Directory having appointed Joubert to the command of the army of Italy, that general gave battle to Suwarroff, at Novi, on the 15th of August. In a few hours the battle had raged with the utmost fury, when the Austrian general, Melas (who had superseded Kray in the command of the Austrians), bringing up the left wing, the joint forces rushed forward with resistless ardour and deafening cheers: the French fled in tumultuous confusion. The loss on each side was great; that of the French, 1,500 killed, 5,500 wounded, and 3,000 prisoners; and that of the allies, 1,800 killed, 5,200 wounded, and 1,200 prisoners. Joubert having been killed, Moreau succeeded to the command. For these services, the Emperor Paul conferred on his famous general the title of Prince Italinski, which signifies *he of Italy*, in imitation of the act of Catherine, who had conferred on the butcher of Ismail that of Ismailinski, *he of Ismail*. Massena, on whom the command of the armies of the Rhine and the Alps had devolved, having repulsed the repeated attacks of the Austrians under the Archduke Charles, in the position he had taken behind the Limmat and the Lake of Zurich in Switzerland, retreated from his entrenched camp at that place under cover of the night of the 6th of June, and took post in the rocky ridge of Mount Albos, between Lucerne and Zurich. On that occasion, the auxiliary (18,000) troops of the Swiss confederacy in the service of France, seceded from their French alliance.

Suwarroff concerted a plan of operations with General Korsakoff, who commanded the second Russian force in Switzerland, that after he had forced the passage of St. Gothard, the two Russian armies should effect a junction, and assail the rear of Massena's position on the Limmat. But Massena, anticipating their design, on the

27th of September advanced on Korsakoff's troops concentrated in Zurich, with an overpowering force. Reaching the Russian position, he commanded Korsakoff to surrender—a proposal to which no answer was returned, the Russian chief being determined to cut his passage through the enemy. Accordingly, at daybreak of the 28th, the Russian columns, forming in order of battle, advanced against the French, and after a sanguinary contest, the head of the column cut its passage through its opponents. In the meantime, the French having entered the city before its garrison had begun its march, a desperate engagement took place in the streets and suburbs. In the frightful carnage which ensued, the Russians lost 8,000 in killed and wounded, 5,000 prisoners, all their artillery, ammunition, baggage, and military chest. Neither was this the only discomfiture the allies experienced at this moment in the same quarter. Soult, crossing the Linth on the morning of the 25th, defeated the imperial right, under General Hotze, at Wescott, with the loss of 3,000 prisoners, twenty pieces of cannon, and all their baggage. While these disasters attended the allied arms in Switzerland, Suwarroff had effected the passage of St. Gothard. He had expected to come on the flank of the French, while they were pressed on the front by Korsakoff and Hotze; but when he arrived in the valley, the forces with which he was to have co-operated had been dispersed. In this dilemma, he had no alternative but retreat, and that, too, through the tremendous defile of Shächenthal, the Lake of Lucerne lying before him, with its banks shut up with inaccessible precipices on either side. Abandoning their baggage and artillery, the whole army advanced in single file, dragging their beasts of burden after them up the narrow rocky paths. Numbers slipping down the precipices, perished miserably; others worn out by fatigue, lay down in the track, and were either trodden to death by the multitude who came after, or fell into the hands of the enemy, who closely pressed behind. So calamitous was their retreat, that the precipices beneath the line of march were covered with horses, men, equipages, and arms, which had fallen over the narrow path. On reaching the valley of the Venthenthal, where Suwarroff hoped to find some respite for his exhausted troops, he beheld the enemy on the crests of the mountains ready to oppose his passage. J.

this extremity he called a council of war, and proposed an advance to Schwytz, and thus endeavour to get in the rear of the French position at Zurich; but the council urging the necessity of advancing into the Grisons, to endeavour to effect a junction with Korsakoff's division and the left wing of the allied army which yet remained unbroken, orders were issued for proceeding over the summits of the Alps which divide the canton of Glaris from the valley of the Rhine, a passage more rugged than that of Schächen-thal. The march commenced in a fall of snow, which by obliterating the track, augmented all the natural difficulties of the passage. With incredible toil, the head of the columns, on the following morning, attained the summit of the ridge of colossal rocks, from which a sea of snow-clad mountains were seen to stretch as far as the eye

could reach. Here commenced a series of hardships seldom experienced by retreating armies. Whole companies fell into precipices, and were buried in the drifting snow. Winter was in all its severity; not even a tree was to be found in the vast wilderness of the inhospitable scene to form the fire of the bivouacs for the preparation of food for the famished troops, or the restoration of heat to their frost-bitten limbs. At length, on the 10th of October, the remnant of exhausted fugitives rallied in the valley of the Rhine, and head-quarters were established at Ilanz, where Suwarroff, indignant against his Austrian allies, by whom he asserted he had been betrayed, broke his sword in anger, and resigned his command. The consequence of this exasperated feeling on the part of Suwarroff, led to the dissolution of the alliance between Russia and Austria.

#### DETACHED OPERATIONS IN 1799.

It has been already stated, that in October of the preceding year, Gozo, a dependency of Malta, had surrendered to Captain Ball, of the *Alexander*. After that event, the British and Portuguese squadrons, under Captain Ball and the Marquis de Niza, were left to continue the siege and blockade of Malta. In the course of this year, those Maltese who had taken up arms against the French in 1798, again rising in insurrection against their oppressors, sent a deputation to Captain Ball, inviting him to assume the government of the island, and reduce the French garrison who were shut up in the fortress of Valetta. The garrison of Valetta consisted of 5,000 men; the besieging force of 500 English and Portuguese marines, and about 1,500 armed peasants. Troubridge arriving at Messina, co-operated in the siege which, for want of a sufficient force and supplies to carry it on effectively, proceeded but slowly.

In August, the Dutch colony of Surinam surrendered to the expedition consisting of the squadron under Lord Hugh Seymour, and the troops under Lieutenant-general Trigge, which had been dispatched from Port Royal, Martinique; when the French brig corvette, *Hussar*, and the Dutch brig corvette, *Camphaan*, fell into the hands of the victors.

Among the numerous frigate actions of this year, may be mentioned that of the

18-pounder 36-gun frigate *San Fiorenzo*, Captain Sir Harry Neale Heale, and the 38-gun frigate *Amelia*, Captain the Honourable Charles Herbert, with the three French frigates, *Cornélie*, *Vengeance*, and *Sémillante*. The British ships having, on the 9th of April, observed two French frigates in the port of Lorient, stood towards Belle-Isle. As the British ships neared the port, they discovered three French frigates and a large gun-vessel. While reconnoitring, the *Amelia* was struck by a sudden squall, which brought down her main-topmast and fore and mizen top-gallant masts. Promptly taking advantage of the accident which had befallen the *Amelia*, the French frigates weighed anchor, and made sail towards the British ships. The *Amelia*, having set her fore and mizen top-sails, bore up in company with her companion, the *San Fiorenzo*. When the French and British vessels met, the latter opened fire, and a cannonade was kept up between them, a battery on the rocks assisting the Frenchmen, who, notwithstanding, showed a great aversion to come to close quarters with their opponents. After an engagement of one hour and fifty minutes, the French frigates made off under all sail, and the *San Fiorenzo* and the *Amelia* were prevented, by their disabled state, from following up their three opponents in their escape to the river Loire. The joint complement of the two English frigates was 552 men and boys;

that of their three opponents not much less than 1,000. The joint loss of the *San Fiorenzo* and the *Amelia* was two killed and thirty-five wounded. According to a paragraph in the *Moniteur*, the loss on board the commodore's ship, the *Cornélie*, was upwards of 100 men killed and wounded.

Another frigate action, deserving of commemoration, is that of the *Cerberus*, 32 guns, Captain Macnamara, and a squadron of five Spanish frigates, namely the 18-pounder 40-gun frigate *Ceres*, and the 34-gun frigates *Diana*, *Esmeralda*, *Mercedes*, and another, as also two brig corvettes, in charge of a convoy of eighty Spanish merchantmen off Cape Ortugal, October 20th. The British ship having, early in the morning, discovered the merchant-vessels and their convoy, she, undismayed by the formidable appearance of the foe, stood towards the hostile squadron, and at eight, P.M. commenced the action with the nearest frigate, and at such close quarters, that the two ships almost touched each other. In less than half-an-hour, the *Cerberus* had silenced the fire of her opponent; but was prevented from taking possession of her by the approach of the four other frigates. The leading fresh frigate taking the place of the disabled ship, opened her fire on the *Cerberus*, at which moment a third frigate took part in the action, in which unequal contest the *Cerberus* had to fire both her broadsides at the same time. At thirty minutes past ten, P.M., while maintaining this unequal action, she being nearly surrounded, hauled to the wind and effected her escape. At eleven, P.M., she captured a brig, one of the convoy; but as the French frigates were distant only one mile, the *Cerberus* set fire to her prize.

On the 28th of February an action was fought by Captain Edward Cooke, in the *Sybille*, of 44 guns, off the sand-heads of Bengal river, against the French frigate *La Forte*. At about eleven o'clock on the night of the 28th, through the darkness, Captain Cooke discovered three vessels lying in a cluster. The *Sybille* had extinguished all her lights, and was close upon the French ships before they discovered her. The two other vessels, in addition to the frigate, were the *Endeavour* and the *Lord Mornington*, country ships from China, which had been captured by *La Forte*. The *Sybille*, having made every preparation for boarding, stood on under top-gallant sails. The *Forte* bore down on the *Sybille's* larboard-bow, and fired a broadside. The

latter then bore up close to her opponent, and commenced a brisk cannonade, which she continued for nearly two hours. The French ship made but a feeble defence, and having lost all her masts, she struck her colours, and was taken possession of. In the course of the action the *Forte* made an attempt to board, but finding every preparation made for her, she stood off and resumed her fire. When the republican ship struck the tricolor flag, she was found to be a complete wreck; and a number of English prisoners who were on board hailed the *Sybille* that the ship was sinking. The principal loss sustained by the English ship was in her sails and rigging. Early in the engagement the *Sybille* was deprived of her commander, who was struck by a grapeshot, and survived the action only a few days. The loss of the *Sybille*, in addition to her commander, was five killed and sixteen wounded; while the French ship's loss was 100 killed and eighty wounded. The comparative force of the combatants was—*La Forte*, 52 guns; broadside weight of metal, 606 lbs; number of crew, 360; tonnage, 1,401. *Sybille*, 48 guns; weight of metal, 503 lbs; crew, 300; tonnage, 1,091.

In closing the account of this year's events, we may state that the British navy continued to assert its superiority. The wooden walls of England had swept the seas, and the allied fleets of France and Spain had been obliged to submit to the indignity of a blockade, rather than commit themselves to a trial of strength with so formidable an adversary.

In the course of the year, five sail-of-the-line, one ship of 52 guns, one of 42, and another of 40, were taken from the French; and two of 36 from the Spaniards. Besides a number of vessels of inferior force, no less than twenty frigates, corvettes, and luggers belonging to France, and ten to Spain, were either taken or run on shore; but not so much as a single frigate or sloop of war was lost to Great Britain.

The Dutch navy was almost entirely destroyed this year. Admiral Storey surrendered twelve ships to the British admiral without firing a gun; and twelve others surrendered within the Texel. In addition to this, the Batavian republic lost a 50-gun ship, the *Hertog van Brunswick*, in the straits of Sunda; and as it was supposed that the seamen were disaffected towards the republican government, all further operations by sea were interdicted.

## EXPEDITION TO QUIBERON BAY—FOUDROYANT AND GUILLAUME TELL, ETC.

IN June, Sir Edward Pellew, with a flying squadron of seven men-of-war and five frigates, on board which were embarked 5,000 troops under General Maitland, sailed from the English shores for the purpose of again rendering assistance to the royalist insurgents in the Morbihan. On the 4th, the squadron anchored in Quiberon Bay, and a small body of troops being landed, the forts on the south point of the peninsula having been previously silenced by the shipping, were destroyed. On the 6th, 300 troops, covered and sustained by a division of small craft and gun-launches, landed on the Morbihan, and attacking the little port of that place, burnt the French brig *Tricolante*, and several smaller vessels, and brought off two brigs, two sloops, and some merchantmen, on board of which were above 100 men. An attack was meditated on the island of Belle-Isle; but it being ascertained that above 7,000 troops were on the island, the attempt was deemed impracticable. The troops were then landed and encamped on the Houat, a small island about two leagues south-east of Quiberon point, until Sir Edward Pellew's squadron was directed to effect a junction with that of Sir John Borlase Warren, which had on board a strong body of troops commanded by Sir James Pulteney.

This armament was in the first instance sent to Quiberon Bay and Belle-Isle, for the purpose of co-operating with the Chouans and other royalists in behalf of the Bourbons; but it being ascertained that there was no probability of success, the joint force steered for Ferrol, for the purpose of possessing themselves of the Spanish squadron, consisting of five ships of war, lying ready in that port for sea. Reaching Ferrol on the 25th of August, the troops were immediately disembarked; and, on the following morning, were in possession of the heights which command the town and arsenal. But though the garrison was not equal to one moiety of the besieging force, Sir James requested the rear-admiral to embark the troops and cannon in the course of the evening.

From Ferrol, the squadron and fleet of transports sailed to Vigo, where, after having made a demonstration, and the boats of the *Renown* and *Courageux*, under the command of Lieutenant Burke, having cut out the French brig-of-war, *La Guépe*, of sixteen

guns, proceeded to Gibraltar, and there formed a junction with the fleet and forces under Lord Keith and Lieutenant-general Sir Ralph Abercomby. For the purpose of obtaining possession of the Spanish fleet, then ready for sea, this powerful armament, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, thirty-seven frigates and sloops, and eighty transports, having on board 18,000 men, proceeded to the Bay of Cadiz, where coming to anchor on the 4th of October, the town was summoned to surrender. At this time the yellow fever was raging in the precincts of the unfortunate city, with a malignancy greater than ever had been known to prevail in the West Indies. The governor, De Morla, adjuring the British commanders not to add the calamities of war to those of disease now prevalent, the British armament withdrew from the infected isle to the Straits of Gibraltar, lest the ulterior objects of the expedition should be frustrated by the effects of the contagion.

Malta had now been besieged for the space of two years by a powerful force (Maltese, Neapolitans, and British), and blockaded at the mouth of the harbour by a squadron of British and Portuguese ships. The garrison, consisting of 3,000 men, under General Vaubois, having been reduced to the direst necessity by want and the ravages of typhus fever, on the 20th of September surrendered the fortress of Valletta and the island of Malta to General Pigot and Captain Ball. By the terms of the capitulation, the garrison was conveyed to Toulon. During this siege, the contest between the *Guillaume Tell*, Rear-admiral Decrès, and the British line-of-battle ships, the *Lion* and *Foudroyant*, and the 32-gun frigate the *Penelope*, on the 30th of March, was one of the most heroic defences among the records of naval actions. The history of this gallant action was as follows:—

Provisions having become very scarce in Malta, the *Guillaume Tell*, the last line-of-battle ship of the Nile fleet which had fought so bravely under the gallant Vice-admiral Brueys, remained uncaptured, attempted to escape with part of the garrison on board, but was pursued by the *Penelope* frigate, Captain Blackwood dispatching the *Minorca* brig with the intelligence to the commodore, Captain Troubridge, who was cruising with the squadron off the

island, that the chase was on the starboard-tack. The *Penelope* having, about half-an-hour after midnight, arrived close up with the *Guillaume Tell*, luffed under her stern, and gave her in succession the larboard and starboard broadsides. The *Guillaume Tell*, observing on the verge of the horizon, the hostile ships advancing to the assistance of the *Penelope*, continued her retreat, being still pursued by the frigate, who poured in her raking broadsides with so decisive an effect, that just before the break of day she had carried away the main and mizen-top-masts of her enemy, while the gallant little vessel had sustained only a slight damage in her rigging and sails, with the loss of one killed and three wounded of her crew. About five, A.M., the *Lion* came up with the chase, and placing herself athwart the bows of the *Guillaume Tell*, maintained the contest until the *Foudroyant* came up under a crowd of sail. The *Lion* was so near to her adversary, that their guns were almost touching, and the jib-boom of the *Guillaume Tell* passed through her main and mizen shrouds. In a short time, however, from the rolling of the vessels the jib-boom of the *Guillaume Tell* broke across, and thus the *Lion* was freed from the risk she had run of being boarded. About half-past five, this vessel, having kept up a steady cannonade for half-an-hour, and considerably damaged her antagonist, became unmanageable, and was obliged to drop astern. The *Foudroyant* arrived at six o'clock, and laid herself so close alongside of her opponent, that her spare anchor was but just clear of the French ship's mizen chains. Having called upon the French ship to strike, the *Foudroyant* followed the demand by pouring into her a treble-shotted broadside. Immediately the action began, and both ships were soon in such a state, that they separated as unmanageable; but as soon as they had repaired their damages they recommenced hostilities. The French admiral nailed his colours to the mast; nor did he strike until all his masts and rigging were shot away, and his ship lay like a log on the water, with upwards of 200 of her crew killed and wounded, the *Guillaume Tell* inflicting a loss on her opponents of seventeen killed and 101 wounded. The *Lion* and the *Penelope* took no share in the action after the arrival of the *Foudroyant*, having been disabled by the shot of the French ship.

As all the ports on the coast of Europe, from Holland to its extremity in the Mediterranean, were blockaded by the British navy,

the naval events of this year were few, either in that or other parts of the globe. The most memorable were:—In the middle of the night of the 1st of March, the British 12-pounder 36-gun frigate *Néréide*, Captain Watkins, discovered to westward a squadron consisting of five privateers and a schooner. On arriving within gun-shot, the foe appeared determined for battle; but suddenly (though the total of his guns were ninety-four, and his crews amounted to 681 men), his heart failed him, and immediately the squadron made all sail on different cruises. The *Néréide* went in immediate pursuit; and on the 2nd, after a chase of twelve hours, and a run of 123 miles, captured the *Vengeance*, of eighteen long 6-pounders and 174 men. While the *Amity*, a pilot-boat belonging to Bembridge, was in February of this year looking out for ships, a hostile lugger-privateer approached so close to them (not having been observed on account of the haziness of the weather), that no chance of escape appearing to the master of the boat, he and a seaman getting into a small boat which was lying alongside the pilot-boat, began to make their escape, desiring the boy (James Wallis, the only other person forming the pilot-boat's crew) to accompany them, a proposal he declined to accede to, declaring he would remain by the vessel, whatever might be his fate; at the same time handing over to them his watch, which he desired might be delivered to his father. Having promised to perform his request, they left him to his fate. In the course of a few minutes the lugger ran up under the lee of the pilot-boat; but just as her crew were in the act of throwing their grappling-line, Wallis put the helm of the boat down and tacked, and thus was enabled to make headway before the lugger had time to resume her course. Small arms and swivels were now fired by the crew of the lugger at their determined adversary, who, as soon as they again approached him, tacked again. For the space of two hours the boy repeated this manœuvre as soon as the lugger approached him: at length a fresh breeze springing up, the boy succeeded in baffling the attack of his foe, and at last brought his boat safe into port. During the whole time a regular and constant fire of small arms and swivels had been kept up by the crew of the lugger. The following exploit possesses the character of heroism in a high degree.

On the 26th of July, the *Viper* cutter,

commanded by Lieutenant Coghlan, and attached to Sir Edward Pellew's squadron, was stationed to watch Port Louis, where a strong squadron of the enemy was lying. In a ten-oared boat, manned with twenty picked men, he set out to capture the *Cerbère* gun-brig, the advance of the enemy, mounting three long 24-pounders, and four 6-pounders, moored within pistol-shot of three batteries, surrounded by armed vessels, and within a mile of a 74 ship-of-the-line and two frigates. As soon as he reached the brig, in the act of jumping on board, he became entangled in a trawl-net, hung up to dry, and at this same moment, was pierced through the thigh, and he and several of his men knocked back into their boat. No way discouraged, he hauled the boat further ahead, and at length effected boarding his opponent. A desperate conflict ensued, in which every officer on board the French vessel was either killed or wounded; and at length the vessel was carried, with eighty-seven people on board. The loss of the enemy was six killed and twenty wounded; that of the British, one killed and eight wounded.

While Sir John Borlase Warren was at anchor in Bournouf Bay, being informed that a ship of war and a large convoy, destined for the fleet at Brest, were lying within the sands at the bottom of the bay and the island of Noirmoutier, moored in a strong position, under the protection of six batteries, on the 1st of July, he detached the boats of three of his ships, under the command of Lieutenant Burke, to attempt their destruction. The assailants, reaching their destination by midnight, immediately commenced boarding, and after a desperate resistance, succeeded in obtaining possession of the ship of war, four armed vessels, and fifteen merchantmen, which, as it was impracticable to remain there, they burned. Having performed the object designed, the party

prepared to return, but the tide having fallen, the boats were found to be aground. In this situation the assailants were exposed to a continued fire from the forts, as well as from a body of 400 soldiers drawn up in their rear. Placed in this dilemma, they immediately came to the determination of deserting their own boats, and effecting their escape in a vessel belonging to the enemy. They accordingly possessed themselves of a vessel which lay on the sands on the opposite side of the bay; but before they could get it afloat, they had to drag it above two miles. In this they effected their escape, having in their retreat lost four officers and eighty-eight men, out of their original complement of 192 officers, seamen, and marines.

Early in the summer of this year, the island of Goree, on the western coast of Africa, with the dependent French factory of Joul on the mainland, surrendered to a British squadron under Sir Charles Hamilton; and in the course of the year, the remaining Dutch settlements on the mainland of South America, and the West India islands of Berbice and Curaçoa, were captured, and became subject to British dominion.

During the month of April, a body of about 500 English troops, under Colonel Murray, had been landed from an English man-of-war at Suez, and were soon joined by about the same number of Arab auxiliaries; but it being ascertained that a powerful French force was advancing to recapture the place, the English were re-embarked, and Suez left in the possession of the Arabs.

In December of this year, the confederacy or coalition of the northern powers of Europe against the maritime preponderance of Great Britain, was entered into, in imitation of the armed neutrality adopted in 1780, during the American war, by the same powers against that state.

#### THE FRENCH CAMPAIGNS IN GERMANY AND ITALY IN 1800.

At this time France had four armies on her frontiers:—that of the north, under Brune, watched the partisans of the stadtholder, and guarded the Dutch coasts from any new invasion by the English: the second was the army of the Danube, under Jourdan, which, since the defeat at Stockach, had been obliged to recross the Rhine: the third, under Massena (styled the army of

Helvetia), had been compelled, in the preceding campaign, to evacuate the greater part of Switzerland; but, gaining the battle of Zurich against the Russians, now reoccupied the whole of that republic: the fourth was the remnant of the army of Italy, which, after the disastrous conflict in the preceding campaign, had rallied in disorder on the Apennines and the heights of Genoa.

Moreau was now ordered to assume the command of the two armies of the Danube and Helvetia, and to consolidate them into one combined body, to be entitled "The Army of the Rhine." His orders were to march on Ulm, and take in the rear the imperialists between the Rhine and the defiles of the Black Forest, at the risk of placing the Austrian army, under Kray, between him and France; but he was, at all hazards, to prevent Kray from opening a communication with Italy by way of the Tyrol; and also to detach 15,000 of his troops for the service of the "army of reserve" in its passage into Italy by the defiles of St. Gothard. Massena was sent to assume the command of "the army of Italy." In February a proclamation was issued, complaining of the obstinacy of Great Britain in continuing hostilities, and inviting the French people to furnish subsidies and men necessary for the acquisition of peace; at the same time 60,000 conscripts were ordered to be assembled at Dijon, under the title of the "army of reserve," for the purpose of deceiving the Austrians in regard to its destination. From its central position, it was enabled to support or reinforce either Massena or Moreau, according as circumstances demanded. The muster at Dijon was merely a feint to deceive Melas as to the plan of the campaign. A numerous and efficient staff was sent thither. To Dijon, accordingly, the agents and spies of Austria and England were attracted, who, when they saw that the vaunted force did not exceed five or six thousand men, consisting of raw undisciplined recruits, or maimed and aged men, they transmitted such accounts to their employers, that caricatures representing a few boys and invalids in the process of drilling, inscribed "Buonaparte's army of reserve," were circulated throughout Europe. But while his opponents were diverting themselves with these pleasantries, the object of them was employing all his energies in the formation of the real army of reserve, and the planning and arrangement of the approaching campaign. His design he thus explained to Bourrienne, who, suddenly entering his cabinet, found him stretched on the floor fixing pins (the heads of which were covered with black and red sealing-wax, to denote the Austrian and French troops) in Chanchard's large map of Italy:—"I intend to beat Melas thus," said he: "that general is now at Alessandria, where he will remain till Genoa has sur-

rendered. Passing the Alps at the Great St. Bernard, I shall fall upon his rear before he even suspects I am in Italy; and having taken his magazines, stores, and hospitals, and cut off his communication with Austria, I will give him battle in the plains of Scrivia, and decide the fate of the war at a blow." It is worthy of remark, that the last red pin was placed at the village of St. Julian. At this time, Field-marshal Kray commanded 100,000 Austrians in the valley of the Danube, Germany; and Melas was at the head of 140,000 imperialists in Piedmont, waiting the approach of spring to resume operations, in concert with the British fleet which blockaded Genoa, and by reducing that city, drive the French over the Maritime Alps, and carry the war into the heart of France. Before opening the campaign, Buonaparte issued the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers!—In promising peace to the French people, I have been merely your organ. I know your valour. You are the same men who conquered Holland, the Rhine, Italy, and gave peace beneath the walls of astonished Vienna. Soldiers! the defence of your frontiers must no longer bound your desires. The states of our enemies remain to be subdued. There is not one among you who, having made a campaign, is ignorant that the most essential quality of a soldier is to endure privations with constancy. Many years of maladministration cannot be repaired in a day. As first magistrate of the republic, it will be grateful to me to declare to the whole nation what troops deserve, by their discipline and valour, to be proclaimed the best supporters of their country. Soldiers! when the proper time arrives, I will be in the midst of you, and awe-struck Europe shall acknowledge that you are of the race of the brave." This animating declaration produced an electric effect on the army of Italy.

About this time, the exiled Bourbon family endeavoured, through the agency of the Abbè de Montesquiou and the duchess of Guiche, to open a negotiation with Napoleon Buonaparte, for their restoration to the throne of France, offering him for his co-operation the principality of Corsica and the appointment of constable of France. On February 4th, Louis XVIII. addressed the following letter to him:—

"Ere long, general, you must know the esteem I entertain for you. If you doubt

my gratitude, specify the position you desire to occupy, and the places you wish your friends to hold. The victor of Lodi, Castiglione, and Arcola—the conqueror of Italy and Egypt—cannot prefer a vain celebrity to true glory. But you are losing the most precious moments. *We* could secure the happiness of France. I say *we*, for I require Napoleon Buonaparte for such an attempt; and he could not achieve it without me. General—Europe observes you; glory awaits you; and I am impatient to restore peace to my people.”

To this communication, Napoleon Buonaparte's reply was:—“I have received, sir, your letter. I thank you for the obliging expressions which it contains regarding myself. You should renounce all hope of returning to France. You could not do so but over the bodies of 100,000 Frenchmen. Sacrifice your interest to the repose and happiness of France. History will duly appreciate your conduct in so doing. I am not insensible to the misfortunes of your family, and shall learn with pleasure that you are surrounded with everything which can secure the tranquillity of your retreat.”

The combined campaign of Germany and Italy, arranged between Napoleon Buonaparte and Moreau, is the most extraordinary and memorable in history: there is nothing superior, if even equal to it, in the history of war.

The great outline of the concerted plan, as it related to the German campaign, was—that Moreau should by a series of feints, as also of attacks, occupy the attention of Kray, and strike terror into the heart of Germany; while he created an alarm in the cabinet of Vienna for the safety of the capital, to maintain a communication, and send reasonable reinforcements to the “army of Italy,” in the meditated operations in the plains of Piedmont. The attack was first to commence on the enemy's right; and while his attention was there occupied, to overwhelm the imperial centre by the concentration of the French left wing, centre, and reserve, and thus intercept the Austrian communication with Italy.

For this purpose the French army, on the 25th of April, at daybreak, crossed the Rhine at different points, in four great divisions. The reserve division, under the immediate command of Moreau, crossed at Basle and advancing to Schaffhausen, was joined by the other divisions, having taken 1,500 prisoners and six pieces of cannon in

their advance. The united force then marched forward towards Moeskirch, Engen, and Stockach, where the imperial magazines were posted. In the course of that march, the French advanced guard under Molitor, on May 4th, falling in with the left wing of the imperial army under the Prince of Reuss, routed it with the loss of 3,000 prisoners and eight cannon; and Stockach, with its magazines, fell into the hands of the victors. Nearly at the same moment, Moreau with the French centre, attacked Kray, who was posted on the plain of Engen, for the defence of the magazines in that city and Moeskirch. A furious contest ensued, and each side bivouaced on the field of battle; but Kray perceiving, on receipt of information of the defeat of Reuss and the capture of Stockach, that his line of communication was endangered, commenced a retreat at daybreak of the 5th, to a strong position in front of Moeskirch. In this battle the loss on each side exceeded 7,000 men. On the 5th, another furious battle took place at Moeskirch, which lasted till nightfall, when the imperialists retreated to the heights of Rohrsdorf. In this battle the loss on each side amounted to 6,000 men. At Biberach, whither Kray had retreated, to cover the evacuation of the great magazines in that fortress, the imperialists were, on the 9th, routed with the loss of 1,000 in killed, and twice that number in prisoners. On the 11th, another bloody engagement took place near Meiningen, in which the loss of the imperialists was equal to that of the battle of Biberach. Kray now retreated to his defensive position in the entrenched camp of Ulm; and Moreau, after a brief campaign of fifteen days, found his victorious columns on the banks of the Danube.

In the execution of Moreau's design of compelling the imperialists to withdraw from their strongholds, or accept battle, a series of actions took place for four successive days on the plains of Blenheim, or Hochstadt, in which the loss of the Austrians was not less than 6,000 men, and that of the French rather more than a moiety of that number. In consequence of the last of these conflicts, on the 18th of June, Kray was under the necessity of leaving Ulm to the protection of its garrison, and retreating across the Danube to Ingolstadt. After the retreat of the imperialists from Swabia, Moreau took possession of Munich, and laid Bavaria and the duchy of Würtemberg under heavy

contributions: he compelled the Elector of Bavaria to pay over to him a great part of the subsidy of £500,000, which he had received from England. In those circumstances, and in consequence of the truce which had been concluded at Alessandria between France and Austria a month before, Austria solicited an armistice, which Moreau granted on the 15th of July, and which led to the preliminaries of peace signed at Paris on the 28th, on the basis of the treaty of Campo-Formio.

Before proceeding to the narrative of Napoleon Buonaparte's celebrated second Italian campaign, a brief statement of the memorable siege of Genoa seems necessary.

In consequence of Massena's brilliant campaign in Switzerland in the preceding year, the first consul deemed him the most competent person for taking the command of the dispirited and discomfited army of Championet. Arriving in Genoa on the 9th of February, he issued proclamations for establishing confidence among the troops and the inhabitants of the city and territory of Genoa.

After a variety of slight but spirited engagements—the most distinguished of which was that at Montenotte, where Soult, with 4,000 troops, resisted 20,000 Austrians—Massena having been cut off from his left wing under Suchet, was compelled to throw himself, with his main body, into Genoa. There he was blockaded by the Austrian general Ott. On the 5th of April, the attack of the Austrians became general; and at the same moment the English fleet, under Lord Keith, appeared in the Gulf of Genoa. The siege was carried on with the greatest spirit by the assailants, and resisted with as much resolution by the garrison. Within the first two or three weeks of May, the English fleet bombarded the city thrice. Both the garrison and the inhabitants were at length reduced to a state bordering on famine. The last horses, dogs, and cats having been consumed, the sufferers were driven to the wretched necessity of searching for rats and other vermin in the common sewers and other receptacles of filth, in the hope of prolonging a miserable existence. Want and pestilence had already carried off above 20,000 of the inhabitants, when Massena received a letter from Melas, inviting him to an arrangement for the evacuation of the city. On the 4th of June a capitulation was agreed to, by virtue of which the French garrison, to the number

of 9,000 men, with their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition, were conveyed by sea and land to Voltri and Antibes; and the allies took possession of Genoa.

On the very day on which the was signed for the evacuation of Genoa, Napoleon Buonaparte had, with the army of reserve or occupation, crossed the Alps, and entered Milan, the capital of Lombardy.

The army, which consisted of 30,000 conscripts and 20,000 veteran troops, was directed to effect the passage of the Alps in four divisions, by as many separate routes. The left wing, under Moncey, detached from the army of Moreau, was ordered to debouch by the way of St. Gothard; those of Thureau and Chabeau took the direction of Mount Cenis and the Little St. Bernard; while, for the main body, consisting of 35,000 men, under Napoleon Buonaparte, was reserved the gigantic task of surmounting, with the artillery, the huge barriers of the Great St. Bernard. In these wild regions, though the severity was still unmitigated, an army laden with all the munitions of a campaign, including a park of forty field-pieces, was to be urged up and along airy ridges of rock and eternal snow; where the goatherd, the hunter of the chamois, and the outlawed smuggler are alone accustomed to venture; where, amidst precipices, to slip a foot is death; beneath glaciers from which the percussion of a musket-shot is often sufficient to hurl an avalanche. This dangerous passage was selected because it led to the rear of Melas's army, and left him no alternative but to abandon his magazines and reserves, or fight his way to them.

In this arduous undertaking, the troops were ordered to carry as much subsistence as would suffice them for six days: the mules and peasanets were summoned from all quarters to aid in the transport of stores and munition; and as the conveyance of the artillery was the most difficult point, the trees in the forests of the Jura were cut down to form sledges for that purpose. The guns were dismounted, grooved into the trunks of trees hollowed out so as to suit each calibre, and then dragged on by soldiers harnessed to them—often not less than 100 men to a single gun. The gun-carriages and wheels, being taken to pieces, were slung on poles, and borne on men's shoulders. To encourage the men, from four to five hundred francs were allowed for every piece of artillery thus transported. The powder and shot, packed into boxes of fir-wood, formed

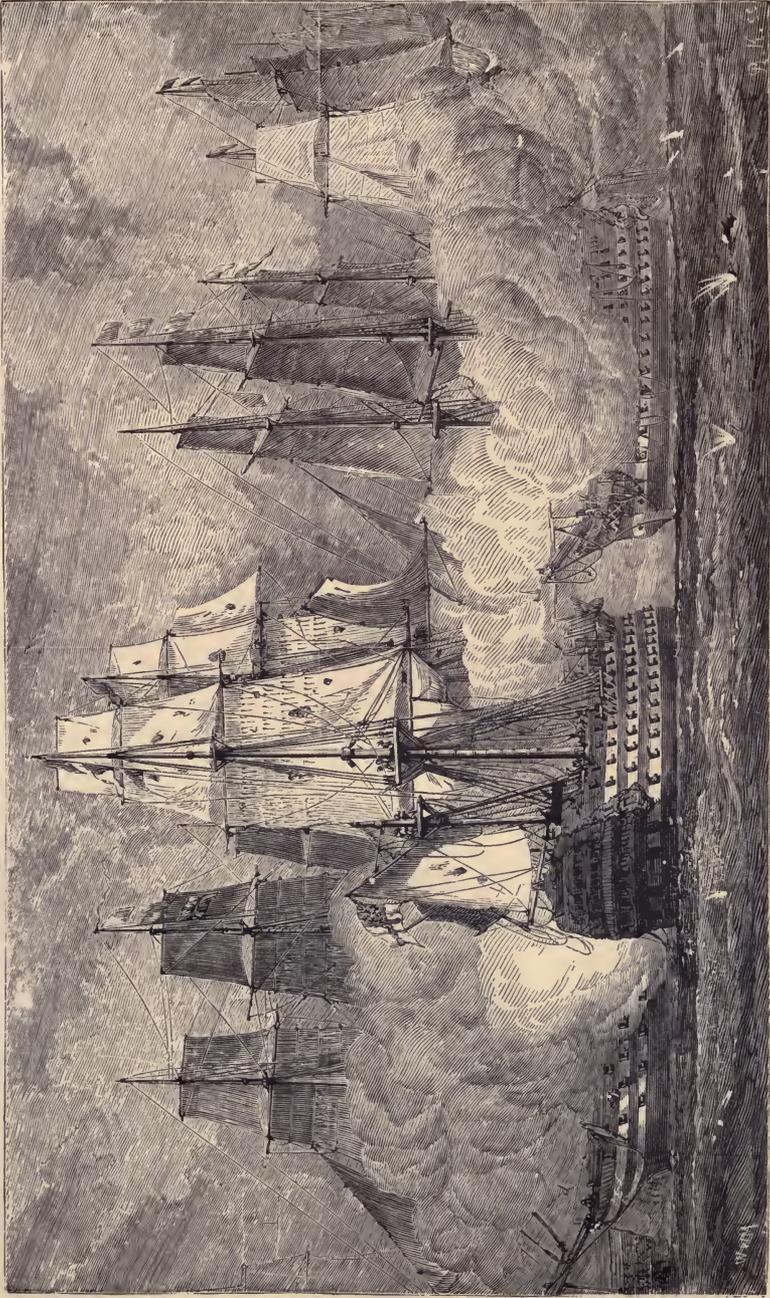
the lading of all the mules which could be collected over a wide range of the Alpine country. The men proceeded in single files, the narrowness of the path not allowing of two to draw abreast, or to pass each other without danger of falling down the precipices on the side. The foremost men stopped from time to time, when every one took the refreshment of biscuit moistened in snow-water. It was the labour of five hours to reach the monastery of St. Bernard, where each man was presented with a draught of wine and a ration of bread and cheese by the monks, to whom 20,000 francs had been remitted from Paris for the purpose. Eighteen miles of steep descent to St. Remi (by far the most difficult and hazardous), had still to be overcome. On the 16th of May, the vanguard reached Aosta, garrisoned by 1,500 Croats, who, after a trifling loss, evacuated the place. Midway between Aosta and Ivrea, the Dora flows through a defile only fifty yards in width, girt in on each side by precipitous rocks, in the midst of which stands an abrupt conical rock, crowned with the fortress of St. Bard, entirely commanding the river and the small walled town of the same name, through the last-mentioned of which the only passage lies. Lannes, succeeding in his assault on the town, the garrison retired into the castle, from which they kept up so heavy a fire as to prevent the passage of both the troops and artillery. Napoleon Buonaparte, receiving intelligence of the occurrence, hastened to St. Bard, and having surveyed its locality, directed a cannon to be planted on the rock of Albaredo, which commanded the adjacent fort. In a moment the main battery of the castle being silenced, the troops began their march, creeping along the brow of the Albaredo in single file, and re-formed in the valley. Thus passed the main body. At nightfall, the 58th demi-brigade scaled the walls, and obtained possession of the town. Immediately the wheels of the artillery were bound with straw, the guns and ammunition-waggons covered with straw and the branches of trees, and the streets littered with loose earth and dung, so as to deaden the sound of the passage. Thus the French artillery and ammunition passed in security through the town, while the Austrians slumbered above unconscious of the *ruse* practised on them. No obstacle opposed the march of the French till they reached Ivrea, which the advanced guard, under Lannes, attack-

ing on the 24th of May, was abandoned by the imperialists, with the loss of 300 men and all their stores and provisions. The march was now within one month of Turin; and the divisions of Moncey, Chabeau, and Thureau, having accomplished their Alpine marches, were converging towards the appointed rendezvous in the Ticino. Thus the French army was ready, by the end of May, to open the campaign on the plains of Piedmont.

On the 1st of June, Napoleon Buonaparte, with the army of reserve, crossed the Ticino. On the 2nd he entered Milan, and immediately proclaimed the restoration of the Cisalpine republic; at the same time issuing one of those inflated bulletins so well adapted to the excited feelings of French soldiers. In that document he told his troops, "that a malediction rested on all madmen who dared to insult the great nation." In the meantime, the principal towns in Lombardy were abandoned by the imperialists without resistance.

At daybreak of the 11th of June, General Ott, who occupied Montebello with the besieging army of Genoa (which had been rendered disposable by the surrender of that city), was attacked by Lannes with 9,000 men. The battle was obstinately contested until the appearance in the field of Victor's division, which decided the contest in favour of the French. Each side lost 3,000 in killed and wounded. This battle was almost a personal conflict between man and man; the fields being covered with tall crops of rye and other grain, the hostile battalions repeatedly found themselves at the point of each other's bayonets before they were aware of their proximity. It was on the evening after this battle that General Dessaix—one who, in Napoleon Buonaparte's language, was "of the heroic mould of antiquity"—who had recently come from Egypt, arrived at Napoleon Buonaparte's head-quarters.

The French army being now concentrated at Stradella, Napoleon Buonaparte was desirous of bringing Melas to an engagement before he could be joined by the English army, already collected at Port Mahon, in the island of Minorca. After remaining there three days, the chief consul being fearful that Melas would recross the Ticino, and reopen his communication with Vienna, or that he would fall back on Genoa, and embark his army on board the British fleet under Lord Keith, to be conveyed to



NELSON FORCING THE LINE AT THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.



the other side of Italy, thereby placing himself once more between the French army and the German states, Buonaparte, on the 12th of June, advanced on the Scrivia, and at day-break of the 13th, passing that river, marched to St. Juliano, a village in the centre of the great plain of Marengo. On the same day he took possession of the village of Marengo; Ott retiring, on his approach, across the Bormida, to effect a junction with Melas at Alessandria.

The position of Melas was now critical. Suchet, who had routed his rear-guard, under Elnitz, in several encounters, with the loss of nearly 9,000 men, was already in his rear on the heights of Montenotte, and Napoleon Buonaparte, with the army of reserve, was in his front. On the morning of the 13th, he held a council of war, in which it was determined to give the enemy battle on the following morning, and then cut their way through the French army, and reaching Mantua, open a passage for supplies and reinforcements from Vienna. The imperial army was immediately concentrated in front of Alessandria, having only the river Bormida and a small portion of the plain of Marengo between it and the French army; and, at dawn of the morning of the 14th, defiled across the river by three temporary bridges, and advanced towards the French position in as many columns. The left column, consisting of cavalry and light infantry, made a detour round Castel Ceriolo, a hamlet almost parallel with the village of Marengo, for the purpose of outflanking the French right; and the centre and the right, as soon as they reached the open plain, formed into two columns, and advanced on Marengo. The French advance, under Gardonne, occupied a small hamlet situated a little in front of Marengo; its first line, under Victor, was posted at Marengo, with a brigade of cavalry, under Kellerman, behind it, for the protection of its flanks. A thousand yards in the rear of Victor was the second line, under Lannes, which was protected in the like manner by the cavalry of Champeaux. At about an equal distance behind Lannes was the third line, consisting of the division of St. Cyr and the consular guard. Dessaix, who had reached the first consul's head-quarters on the morning of the battle of Montebello, had been detached to intercept Melas, should he retreat on Genoa, and had nearly reached Novi, when he received orders to retrograde on Marengo.

The battle began by a furious cannonade on both sides. As the hostile forces were but a few toises apart, and the pieces of the tirailleurs on each side almost touched the muzzles across the narrow ravine in front of Marengo, death and devastation were spread in every direction. Marengo was at length carried, and Victor's division driven in confusion into the plain. The second line, under Lannes, being now attacked, was compelled to retreat; but the fugitives of Victor's division having rallied in the rear, both the discomfited lines were enabled to form again before St. Juliano. Four times, during this retreat, were the French advancing, and as often retrograding. The Austrian infantry were now, in heavy and formidable masses, advancing in the full tide of success; while the French precipitately retreated, having been thrown into confusion by the overwhelming charges of cavalry. The battle seeming inevitably lost, Melas left the pursuit to Zach, the second in command, retiring to Alessandria to write his despatches. At this critical moment, the corps of Dessaix arrived at St. Juliano, to which the enemy was hotly pressing forward. That intrepid general, at the head of the 9th brigade, instantly rushed on the charging columns, and drove them back in the utmost disorder. Napoleon Buonaparte, availing himself of this fortunate occurrence, galloped through the field, exclaiming, "Soldiers! we have now retired far enough;—let us advance. Recollect it is my custom to sleep on the field of battle." A new line of battle being immediately formed, Dessaix, with his division, commenced his advance from St. Juliano against the imperialists, falling upon the Hungarian grenadiers who led the advance. The 9th light infantry, deploying into line on its march, sustained the first shock of the onset, but being overpowered by the weight of the opposing mass, gave way, sweeping in its flight the rest of the lines with it. In his endeavour to rally his troops, Dessaix was shot through the head. The Hungarian grenadiers, carried away by the impulse of success, and rushing forward without pausing to reload, pursued the fleeing enemy. At this moment Kellerman, with a brigade of heavy cavalry, fell on the flank of the Austrian column, dividing it in two, and scattering it in confusion over the plain. Six thousand men, under the influence of sudden consternation, threw down their arms, and General Zach and his staff were

taken prisoners. The Austrian army fell back on Alessandria in a condition of the most absolute defeat, having lost 6,000 killed, and about the same number wounded; fifteen standards, and forty pieces of cannon. The French represented their loss as not much exceeding 2,000 men in killed and wounded. The Austrians, on June 16, sent General Melas to treat respecting an armistice, until an answer could be obtained from Vienna; and Berthier was appointed, on the part of the French, to settle the conditions, which were arranged the same day. The Austrians were to occupy the country lying between the Mincio and Fossa-Maestra and the Po, and thence along the left bank of the same river; and, on the right bank, the city and citadel of Ferrara. The French were to occupy the country between the Chiesa, the Oglio, and the Po. Whatever might be the answer from Vienna, neither of the armies was to attack the other without ten days' previous notice. On the 17th, Napoleon Buonaparte re-entered Milan, and re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics. He then gave the command of the army of Italy to Massena, and returned to Paris.

The armistice of Alessandria extended to the contending armies on the German frontier; and, in the meantime, negotiations were in operation between the governments of France and Austria for peace on the basis of the treaty of Campo-Formio; but Napoleon Buonaparte, receiving intelligence of a secret treaty entered into between the courts of Vienna and Great Britain, and the subsidy of two million sterling granted by Great Britain, to enable Austria to prosecute the war, transmitted orders, in the beginning of September, to the commanders of the armies of the Rhine to renew hostilities. At this time Moreau was at the head of 175,000 men at Nimphenburg, near Munich; and the Archduke John, who had superseded Kray, was in the command of 130,000 Austrians, posted in a line extending from Mühldorf to Landshut.

On the 27th of November, the French army advanced in four divisions on the Inn. At daybreak of the 1st of December, the archduke, attacking the divisions of Grenier, Ney, Grandjean, and Legrand, drove them back with considerable loss; but instead of following up his success, he postponed his general attack till the morning of the 3rd. At the time when the archduke began his march, a heavy fall of snow obliterated all traces of a path through the forest, and his

army was so much retarded, that only the central column had arrived at the place of destination at a time when all the divisions ought to have been ready for action. The first encounter took place at the village of Hohenlinden, where Grouchy's division was compelled to retreat. The battle soon became general, during which the snow fell without intermission, and so densely, as to prevent the opposing lines from distinguishing each other, and compelled them to aim at the flash which appeared through the gloom. At length, General Richepanse having manoeuvred into the Austrian rear, Moreau ordered Grouchy and Ney to make a combined charge on their front. The Austrian lines, unable to resist the furious onset, fled in confusion across the Inn, abandoning their artillery, baggage, and magazines. One hundred cannon and 7,000 prisoners were the trophies of the victors; and 10,000 imperialists lay dead on the field of battle. The wreck of the Austrian army rallied on the Ems, where the Archduke Charles resumed the command; but although he disputed the ground step by step between this position and Vienna, he was obliged to consent to an armistice, which was signed at Steyar on the 25th of December, by virtue of which all the fortified places in the Tyrol, the strongholds of Wartzburg in Franconia, and of Brunau in Bavaria, with their artillery, ammunition, and military stores, were surrendered to the French. In consequence of this convention, the French army remained in its positions until the ratification of the peace of Luneville, signed on the 9th of February, 1801.

In the month of September of this year (1800), at the same time that the armistice of Alessandria had been formed with Austria, Napoleon Buonaparte, being desirous of throwing supplies into Egypt and Malta, instructed his agent, M. Ott, who resided at London as commissioner for the exchange of prisoners, to endeavour to get England to join in a cessation of hostilities. That gentleman addressed a note to Lord Grenville, informing him that Lord Minto, having intimated to the French government the intention of the court of London to take part in the negotiations for the conclusion of a definitive peace between Austria and France, the first consul was willing to admit the English minister to the negotiations, provided a naval armistice was entered into between Great Britain and France; the principal stipulations of which

were:—that ships of war and merchant-vessels of both nations, should enjoy free navigation without being subjected to any kind of visitation; that the English squadrons then blockading the ports of Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, and Cadiz, should return to their respective ports; and that the maritime fortresses of Malta, Alexandria, and Belle-Isle, should be placed on the same footing which those of Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingolstadt were by the armistice of Pahrzdorf. The English government immediately signified its anxious desire to conclude a naval armistice, on condition that none of the ships of war in the blockaded ports of France, should sail therefrom during the suspension of arms; also that the English squadrons should continue in sight of those ports; and that during the continuance of the armistice, Malta,

Alexandria, and Belle-Isle, might be supplied with provisions for fourteen days at a time, according to the number of men of which their respective garrisons consisted. To these conditions Napoleon Buonaparte acceded, provided six frigates were allowed to depart from Toulon to Alexandria, without being subject to interference by the English cruisers. This condition not being acceded to by the cabinet of London, the negotiations were broken off. The object of demanding this requisition was, that he might be enabled to transport reinforcements of men, arms, and ammunition to the French army in Egypt. A few days prior to the proposition of a naval armistice by the French government, a convention had been entered into between Great Britain and Austria for the joint prosecution of the war, on condition of a loan by the first to the last-mentioned state.

#### THE FRENCH IN EGYPT

It has been already stated, that when Napoleon Buonaparte had determined to quit Egypt and return to France, he had transmitted a despatch to General Kleber, appointing him to the command of the French forces in Egypt, and detailing the policy which he wished to be pursued for the retention of Egypt as a colony subject to France. The positions of the French army at this time were on the eastern bank of the Nile, the fort of El-Arisch, the wells Katieh and Salahieh, bordering on the Syrian desert; Belbeis, midway between the last-mentioned place and Cairo; and Suez and Cosseir, on the Red Sea. Kleber fixed his head-quarters at Cairo. Soon after Napoleon Buonaparte's departure from Egypt, Kleber, believing his position to be desperate—the country having been exhausted by the severity of the contributions levied, and the grand vizier being on his march from Damascus with a powerful army, in order to effect a junction with Djezzar Pasha. under the walls of Acre)—had signed a convention, known as that of El-Arisch, with the plenipotentiaries of the grand seignor and Sir Sidney Smith, on behalf of Great Britain; by which it was agreed that the French should evacuate Egypt and be conveyed to France: but the British government refusing to ratify the convention, on the ground that Sir Sidney had exceeded his authority, the treaty was broken off, and Kleber prepared to maintain his position by force of arms.

As the posts of Katieh, Salahieh, and Belbeis, had been evacuated by the French in pursuance of the treaty, and the baggage and stores had been transported to Alexandria, no time was lost in putting Cairo in a state of defence; and to Lord Keith's letter addressed to Kleber, requiring the French to lay down their arms, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, the French general annexed the following spirited appendage—*"Soldats! Ou ne repend à telles insolences que par la victoire. Préparez vous à combattre"*—(Soldiers! To such insults we shall reply by victories. Prepare for battle!)—and circulated the document among his soldiers.

At midnight, on the 20th of March, about 15,000 French troops mustered at the gates of Cairo, the divisions of infantry being formed into two solid squares, the light artillery occupying the intervals between the squares, and the cavalry the centre of the whole line; the reserve and the grand park of artillery being in the rear, advanced against the Turkish army posted at Maturia, near the ruins of the ancient Heliopolis, which is distant from Cairo about five miles. As soon as they reached the enemy's position, the infantry formed in line and advanced to the attack. In a few hours the Turkish army, though consisting of 40,000 men, was routed, and fled across the desert to Gaza. But while this signal success attended the French arms in the

field, the inhabitants of the city of Cairo, instigated by Nassyf Pasha, who had fled from the battle of Heliopolis, had risen in insurrection against the French garrison, and massacred the whole of the European merchants in the French quarter, as well as all those Turks who had accepted offices or honours under the French. On the 27th of March, Kleber advanced to the assistance of his countrymen, and established a close blockade. In the meantime, Damietta and the other towns of the Delta were reduced; Cairo and its fortified suburb, Boulac, being the only remaining obstacles to the entire conquest of Egypt. Siege was therefore laid to each of these places. On the 18th of April, several breaches having been effected in the latter, the assault was made. The Turks, driven from their posts, retired to the houses; and even when these coverts were fired, they refused all terms of surrender, and continued to fight with the wildest desperation. The carnage was horrible; neither age nor sex escaped; and before night, the streets presented only one hideous mass of ruin and flame, and were tenanted by none but the dying and the dead.

On the following day, dispositions were made for the assault of Cairo. The principal depôt of the Turks having been mined, on the 18th it was fired; and in the midst of the confusion, four French columns rushed into the city from different points. The Turks fought valiantly in the streets during the whole day; but being at length

forced from all their positions, were compelled to propose a capitulation, which being acceded to, the French were again in possession of Cairo: and thus the whole of Egypt was, before the close of April, a second time conquered by them. On the surrender of Cairo, the small English force under Colonel Murray, which had landed at Suez, retired to their ships, having burned all the vessels in that port.

Egypt being now in entire subjection to the French, heavy contributions were levied on the inhabitants. Cairo alone had to contribute, as its share, 12,000,000 livres, half in money, and half in military equipments and clothing.

A melancholy occurrence, in the month of June in this year, terminated the life of General Kleber. On the 16th of that month he was looking over some repairs which had been done to his house at Cairo. Walking with his architect on the terrace of his garden, he was stabbed several times with a poniard, and immediately expired. The assassin was said to be a fanatic, who had followed the French general from Gaza, and had got into his house along with the workmen who were engaged in repairing his mansion, and thus effected his diabolical purpose. After the execution of the murderer, who was subjected to the cruel punishment of being impaled alive, the command of the army in Egypt devolved on General Menou, who entered into a correspondence with Sir Sidney Smith concerning the evacuation of Egypt.

#### COALITION OF THE NORTHERN POWERS—BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN.

Not long after his elevation to the consulate, Napoleon Buonaparte earnestly represented to the maritime nations of the north the policy of a revival of the armed neutrality of 1780;\* and for that purpose he had exerted every art and engine of diplomacy,

\* The first instance of importance which occurred since the armed neutrality of 1780,—of disputation of England's claim of naval search, and the maintenance of the doctrine by neutral states, that free and neutral bottoms make free and neutral goods, with the exception of goods comprised under the description of contraband of war,—was in the case of the Danish frigate, the *Freya*. The circumstances of that case were:—On July the 25th, 1800, that frigate, with convoy, being met at the mouth of the English channel by a squadron of English frigates, and resisting the visitation of her convoy, a contest ensued, in which, after a few men had been

through the medium of the French party in each of the courts of Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, to awaken the spirit of dissatisfaction of their courts, by England's claim of naval right of search of neutral vessels, and to fan their animosity

killed and wounded on each side, the Dane struck her colours. To prevent all misunderstanding between the two countries, Lord Whitworth was dispatched with a special mission to the court of Denmark, for the accommodation of the untoward occurrence, and to give greater weight to the mission, he was accompanied by a squadron of nine ships-of-the-line, four bomb-ships, and five gun-vessels, under the command of Rear-admiral Dickson. The armament sailed from Yarmouth on the 9th of August, and on the 19th anchored in the Sound. On the 29th, a convention was signed by Lord Whitworth and the Danish minister, by which the matter was

into open rage and hostility. Paul, the czar of Russia, chagrined that Malta had not been delivered over to him (he having by artifice prevailed on the refugee knights to appoint him grand-master), readily entered into the proposal, and addressed the following letter to Napoleon Buonaparte:—"Citizen First Consul,—I do not write to you to open any discussion on the rights of men or citizens; every country chooses what form of government it thinks fit. Whenever I see at the head of affairs a man who knows how to conquer and rule mankind, my heart warms towards him. I write to you to let you know the displeasure which I feel towards England, which violates the law of nations, and is never governed except by selfish considerations. I wish to unite with you to put restraints on the injustice of that government." At the same time he published a declaration of his adherence to the armed neutrality, or northern confederacy proposed by the first consul; and a few days after, he announced by ukase or edict, that all the effects of English subjects, on land or afloat, were confiscated, and appropriated to the liquidation of the claims of the Russians on British subjects. In pursuance of this edict, upwards of 200 British merchantmen were seized in the Russian ports, and their crews, amounting to about 2,000 men,\* were marched away in the dead of winter to the confines of Siberia, with a daily allowance of about three-halfpence English money for their subsistence. Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia were acceding parties to the confederacy, which was signed by all the contracting powers on the 16th of December, 1800. At this time the queen of the Two Sicilies determined, in the dead of winter, to visit the court of the czar, and implore his intercession with the first consul in behalf of her husband and his territories. In consequence, Paul resolved to open a communication with France, and dispatched on this errand Lavinshoff, grand huntsman of Russia. He was received with great honours at Paris; Buonaparte gave immediately a favourable

amicably adjusted; the English government agreeing to repair the damages which the *Freyja* and her convoy had sustained, at the expense of England. The discussion respecting the right asserted by the English of visiting convoys, was to be adjourned to a further negotiation in London; and until that point should be decided, the Danish ships were to be liable to be seized as heretofore, and were to sail under convoy only in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of protection from the Barbary corsairs. A dispute had occurred before, in the month of December, 1794, when the *Haufenen* Danish frigate, with

answer to the request of the emperor; engaged to suspend his military operations, and to leave the royal family in possession of their sovereignty, but reserving to himself the right of dictating the terms which were to accompany these concessions. Peace was concluded with the King of Naples, on his undertaking to close all his ports against the English, and against their ally, the grand seignior. The first consul required the king to pardon all political offences, and to restore the confiscated property of the Neapolitan revolutionists. In consequence of the Neapolitan court concluding a peace with France, great inconvenience was caused to the English navy, as the supplies had been drawn from Sicily, as well for the Mediterranean fleet, as for the forces then blockading the French in Malta.

The year 1801 opened very inauspiciously for Great Britain: she found herself not only deserted by all the states of Europe, who had commenced with her as allies in the war against republican France, but the majority of those states were now leagued against her as enemies. Britain, however, proved herself equal to the emergency. In consequence of the hostile measures of her former allies, the government, on the 14th of January, 1801, ordered a seizure of all vessels of the confederated powers at that time in any of the ports of Great Britain; and at the same time, letters of marque were granted for the purpose of capturing the merchant-vessels belonging to those states which were known to be making their way to the Baltic. On the day following the issue of this embargo, a note was addressed by Lord Grenville to the Danish and Swedish ambassadors at the court of London, expressing an anxious desire that the circumstances which had rendered these measures necessary might cease, and that a return might be made to those relations between the courts of London, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, which had existed before their occurrence. A warm controversy ensued, but fruitless in its results. The Danish government, however, refused to be searched by the English frigate, the *Emerald*; but on complaint made to the Danish ministry by the British envoy at Copenhagen, the affair was satisfactorily adjusted.

\* When the embargo took place at Narva, on the 5th of November, the crews of two of the vessels, indignant at the arbitrary proceedings, resisted with pistols and cutlasses the military sent to put them under arrest, and weighing anchor, made off. Paul exasperated at this act of courage, ordered the remainder of the English ships in that harbour to be burned.

On the 30th of March, the King of Prussia invaded Hanover, laid an embargo on British shipping, and closed the Elbe and the Weser against the British flag; and on the 3rd of April, 15,000 Danish troops, under the Landgrave of Hesse, with the hypocritical plea of defending this neutral town, took possession of Hamburg. The British consul in the last-mentioned place had repeatedly advised the British vessels in the Elbe to accelerate their departure: those which had neglected the caution were seized. In circumstances so pressing, and to prevent the combination of the fleets of the confederated powers, the British government, with a degree of energy and promptitude which has few parallels in history, determined to send to Copenhagen negotiations for peace; and to give effect to their negotiations, to have a fleet in readiness on the spot to influence the parties, and should circumstances render it necessary, anticipate the operations of the confederacy by capturing their fleets before they could effect a junction with those of France, Holland, and Spain. Accordingly, on the 9th of March, a large squadron was assembled in Yarmouth Roads, consisting of fifty-three sail; and about a fortnight previous to the departure of the fleet, Mr. Vansittart was dispatched in the *Blanche* frigate as plenipotentiary extraordinary. On the 20th of March he arrived at Elsinore with a flag of truce, and despatches for the British minister at Copenhagen, Mr. Drummond. The terms offered by the court of London (namely, that Denmark should secede from the confederacy; that a free passage through the Sound should be granted to the English fleet; and that Danish vessels should no longer sail with convoy) being rejected, the *Blanche* returned to the fleet, having Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Drummond on board.

The English fleet, which consisted of seventeen sail-of-the-line, several frigates, gun-brigs, and fire-vessels, under the command of Admiral Sir Hyde Parker,\* with a train of heavy artillery, two rifle corps, and the 49th regiment on board, under Colonel Stewart, had sailed from the Yarmouth Roads on the 12th of March, on the 18th reached the Naze of Norway, and anchored

\* When Nelson, who was second in command, joined the fleet at Yarmouth, finding Sir Hyde Parker "a little nervous about dark nights and fields of ice" in the Baltic, Nelson cheered him with this consolatory remark, "We must brace up; these are not times for nervous systems. I hope we shall give our northern enemies that hail-storm of bullets which

at the entrance of the Sound on the 21st. Sir Hyde addressed a letter to the governor of Cronenburg Castle,—which stands upon the point of the island of Zealand, approaching nearly to the Swedish coast, but from which it is distant about three miles,—requesting to be informed whether the English fleet would be molested in passing the Sound. The governor replying that he should use his utmost endeavours to prevent the passage, the British admiral returned answer that he considered the reply a declaration of war.

The following letter, written by Lord Nelson March 30th, at half-past five in the morning, is characteristic. It is dated from the "*Elephant*," at anchor six miles from Cronenburg:—

"The aide-de-camp of the Prince Royal of Denmark has been on board Sir Hyde Parker, a young coxcomb, about twenty-three. In writing a note in the admiral's cabin, the pen was bad. He called out, 'Admiral, if your guns are no better than your pens, you may as well return to England.' On asking who commanded the different ships, among others he was told Lord Nelson, he exclaimed, 'What, is he here, I would give a hundred guineas to see him: then I suppose it is no joke if he is come.' He said, 'Aye, you will pass Cronenburg, that we expect, but we are well prepared at Copenhagen, there you will find a hard nut to crack.' I must have done, for breakfast is waiting, and I never give up a meal for a little fighting."

On the 30th, the British fleet weighed, and entering the Sound, bore up towards Copenhagen. The batteries of Cronenburg Castle opened their fire from 100 guns, but not a shot struck the ships; and observing no preparations for attack on the Swedish shore, they inclined in their progress to it. About noon, it anchored above the island of Huën, which is about fifteen miles distant from Copenhagen. The enemy's defences being reconnoitred, Nelson offered to conduct the attack; for which purpose twelve ships-of-the-line, all the frigates, bombs, and fire-ships, and all the gun-brigs, cutters, &c., were assigned him.† In the council of war, it had been agreed on that the remaining

gives our dear country the dominion of the sea. We have it, and all the devils in the north cannot take it from us, if our wooden-walls have fair play."—*Southey's Life of Nelson*.

† It is reported that, prior to Lord Nelson's departure for Copenhagen, while at the house of Mr. Alexander Davison, in St. James's-square, transact-

eight ships-of-the-line with Sir Hyde, should weigh at the same moment as Nelson's squadron did, and menace the Crown batteries and the five Danish ships-of-the-line which lay at the entrance of the arsenal, as also to cover the British disabled ships as they came out of the action.\*

In order to lay the fullest particulars of this important battle before the reader, we here subjoin the despatch from the admiralty addressed to Sir Hyde Parker, and Lord Nelson's remarks thereon, which he laid before Sir Hyde the day following that on which he had been consulted as to the plan to be pursued; and which bears upon it the impress of his genius, by the masterly manner in which he points out the best mode of attack, and the various difficulties in the way:—

“The right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, having, in his letter of yesterday's date, signified to us his majesty's pleasure, that whether the discussion, supposed to be now pending with the court of Denmark, should be terminated by an amicable arrangement, or by actual hostilities, the officer commanding the fleet in the Baltic should, in either case (as soon as the fleet can be withdrawn from before Copenhagen consistently with the attainment of one or the other of the objects for which he is now instructed to take that station), proceed to Revel; and if he should find the division of the Russian navy, usually stationed at that port, still there, to make an immediate and vigorous attack upon it, provided the measure should appear to him practicable, and such as, in his judgment, would afford a

reasonable prospect of success, in destroying the arsenals, or in capturing or destroying the ships, without exposing to too great a risk the fleet under his command.

“And Mr. Dundas having further signified to us his majesty's pleasure, that, consistently with this precaution, the said officer should be authorised and directed to proceed successively, and as the season and other operations will permit, against Cronstadt, and in general, by every means in his power to attack, and endeavour to capture or destroy any ships of war, or others belonging to Russia, wherever he can meet with them, and to annoy that power as far as his means will admit in every manner not incompatible with the fair and acknowledged usages of war. And that, with respect to Sweden, should the court of Stockholm persist in her hostile engagements with that of St. Petersburg against this country, the same general line of conduct, as hath been stated with respect to the ships and ports of the latter should govern the said officer commanding the fleet in his proceedings against those of Sweden; but that, in the contrary supposition (conceived not to be impossible) of this power relinquishing her present hostile plans against the rights and interests of this country, and of her renewing, either singly or in concert with Denmark, her ancient engagements with his majesty, it will, in such case, be the duty of the said officer to afford to Sweden every protection in his power against the resentment and attacks of Russia; and Mr. Dundas having also signified that his majesty, being no less desirous of bringing the existing dispute with Sweden to this latter issue, than he has shown him-

ing his own private affairs, he alluded to what he knew he would do, had he the chief command on this occasion, and observing that his knowledge of the *Cattegat* was rather imperfect, he desired a chart to be sent for from Faden's at Charing-cross. This done, he observed that government could spare only twelve ships for the purpose, and after examining the chart a very few minutes, he marked upon it the situation for those twelve ships, exactly as they were afterwards placed on that memorable occasion. This anecdote is given, upon the authority of Mr. Davison, as a proof of Nelson's wonderful promptness and decision, as well as of his ardent zeal for the service of his country.”—*Life of Nelson*, by T. J. Pettigrew, vol. i.

\* Colonel Stewart, in his *Narrative*, thus describes the proceedings of the council of war:—“Lord Nelson offered his services, requiring ten line-of-battle ships, and the whole of the smaller craft. The commander-in-chief, with sound discretion, and in a handsome manner, not only left everything to Lord Nelson for this detached service, but gave two more

line-of-battle ships than he demanded. During this council of war, the energy of Lord Nelson's character was remarked: certain difficulties had been started by some of the members, relative to each of the three powers, we shall either have to engage, in succession, or united in those seas. The number of the Russians was, in particular, represented as formidable. Lord Nelson kept pacing the cabin, mortified at everything which savoured either of alarm or irresolution. When the above remark was applied to the Swedes, he sharply observed, ‘The more numerous the better;’ and when to the Russians, he repeatedly said, ‘So much the better, I wish they were twice as many; the easier the victory, depend upon it.’ He alluded, as he afterwards explained in private, to the total want of *tactique* among the northern fleets; and to his intention, whenever he should bring either the Swedes or Russians to action, of attacking the head of their line, and confusing their movements as much as possible. He used to say, ‘Close with a Frenchman, but out-manœuvre a Russian.’”

self so disposed with respect to Denmark, and upon the same principles, it will therefore be requisite that the said officer commanding in the Baltic should make such a disposition of his force as may appear best adapted to facilitate and give weight to the arrangement in question, provided it should be concluded with the court of Denmark within the forty-eight hours allowed for this purpose, and the proposal of acceding to it, which will be made to that of Sweden, should be entertained by the latter. You are, in pursuance of his majesty's pleasure, signified as above mentioned, hereby required and directed to proceed, without a moment's loss of time, into the Baltic, and to govern yourself under the different circumstances before stated to the best of your judgment and discretion in the manner therein pointed out, transmitting from time to time to our secretary, for our information, an account of your proceedings, and such information as you may conceive to be proper for our knowledge. Given under our hands and seals, the 15th of March, 1801.

“ ST. VINCENT.

“ T. TROUBRIDGE.

“ J. MARKHAM.”

“ My dear Sir Hyde,—The conversation we had yesterday, has naturally, from its importance, been the subject of my thoughts; and the more I have reflected, the more confirmed I am in opinion, that not a moment should be lost in attacking the enemy. They will every day and hour be stronger; we never shall be so good a match for them as at this moment—the only consideration in my mind is, how to get at them with the least risk to our ships.

“ By Mr. Vansittart's account, the Danes have taken every means in their power to prevent our getting to attack Copenhagen by the passage of the Sound. Cronenburg has been strengthened, the Crown islands fortified (on the outermost twenty guns pointing mostly downwards), only 800 yards from very formidable batteries placed under the citadel, supported by five sail-of-the-line, seven floating batteries of fifty guns each, besides small craft, gun-boats, &c., &c.; also that the Revel squadron of twelve or fourteen sail-of-the-line are soon expected, as also five sail of Swedes. It would appear by what you have told me of your instructions, that government took for granted that you would find no difficulty in getting off Copenhagen, and that in the

event of a failure of a negotiation, that you might instantly attack, and that there would be scarcely a doubt but that the Danish fleet would be destroyed, and the capital made so hot, that Denmark would listen to reason and its true interest. By Mr. Vansittart's account, their state of preparation far exceeds what he conceives our government thought possible, and that the Danish government is hostile to us in the greatest possible degree; therefore, here you are, with almost the safety, certainly the honour of England, more entrusted to you than ever yet fell to the lot of any British officer. On your decision depends, whether our country shall be degraded in the eyes of Europe, or whether she shall rear her head higher than ever. Again do I repeat, never did our country depend so much on the success or defeat of any fleet as on this. How best to honour our country and abate the pride of our enemies by defeating their schemes, must be the subject of your deepest consideration, as commander-in-chief, and if what I have to offer can be the least useful in forming your decision, you are most heartily welcome.

“ I shall begin with supposing that you are determined to enter by the passage of the Sound, as there are those that think if you leave that passage open, that the Danish fleet may leave Copenhagen and join the Dutch or French. I own I have no fears on that subject, for it is not likely that whilst the capital is menaced with an attack, that 9,000 of her best men would be sent out of the kingdom. I will suppose that some damage may arise amongst our masts and yards, but perhaps not one but can be made serviceable again. You are now about Cronenburg, if the wind is fair, and you determine to attack the ships and Crown islands, you must expect the natural issue of such a battle—ships crippled—perhaps one or two lost, for the wind which carries you in will most probably not bring out a crippled ship. This mode I call taking the bull by the horns. This will not prevent the Revel ships or Swedes from coming down and forming a junction with the Danes. To prevent this from taking effect, in my humble opinion, a measure absolutely necessary, and still to attack Copenhagen, two mod are in my view—one to pass Cronenburg, taking the risk of damage, and to pass up the Channel, the deepest and the straitest up the middle grounds, and to come down the Gaspar, or King's Channel, to

attack their floating batteries, &c., &c., as we find it convenient. It must have the effect of preventing a junction between the Russians, Swedes, and Danes, and may give us an opportunity of bombarding Copenhagen. A passage also, I am pretty certain, could be found for all our ships to the north of Southolm; perhaps it might be necessary to warp a small distance in the very narrow part. Supposing this mode of attack ineligible, the passage of the Belt, I have no doubt, would be accomplished in four or five days, then the attack by Draco could be carried into effect, the junction of the Russians prevented, and every probability of success on the Danish floating batteries. What effect a bombardment might have I am not called upon to give an opinion, but I think the way would be cleared for the trial. Supposing us through the Belt, with the wind fresh westerly, would it not be feasible either to go with the fleet (or detach ten ships of two or three decks, with one bomb—two fire-ships, if they could be spared), to Revel, to destroy the Russian squadron of that place? I do not see the great risk of such a detachment, with the remainder to attempt the business of Copenhagen. The measure may be thought bold, but I am of opinion the boldest measures are the safest, and our country demands a most vigorous exertion of her forces directed with judgment. In supporting you through the arduous and important task you have undertaken, no exertion of head and heart shall be wanting, my dear Sir Hyde, from your most obedient and faithful servant,

“NELSON AND BRONTE.”

In another letter, dated March 30th, nine o'clock at night, Lord Nelson thus describes the gallant manner the fleet passed the fortress of Cronenburg—which, like Sebastopol and Cronstadt at the present time, were then looked on as impregnable:—

“My dearest Friend,—We this morning passed the fancied tremendous fortress of Cronenburg, mounted with 270 pieces of cannon. More powder and shot, I believe never were thrown away, for not one shot struck a single ship of the British fleet. Some of our ships fired; but the *Elephant* did not return a single shot. I hope to reserve them for a better occasion. I have just been reconnoitring the Danish line of defence. It looks formidable to those who are children at war, but to my judgment, with ten sail-of-the-line I think I can annihilate them; at all events, I hope to be allowed to try.”

On the 1st of April, Nelson's division removed to an anchorage about two leagues distant from Copenhagen, and off the north-west end of the shoal called the Middle Ground, which is about three-quarters of a mile distant from the city, and extends along its whole sea-front; between this shoal and the town there is a channel of deep water, denominated the “King's Channel;” and here the Danes had anchored their block-ships and other vessels forming their line of defence. Nelson spent the greater part of this day in company with Captain Riou, reconnoitring the enemy. When the vice-admiral returned to his squadron, the order was given to weigh anchor. The ships joyfully obeyed the signal from the *Elephant*, and about eight, P.M., of that day, just as it grew dark, the north-westernmost ship of Nelson's force anchored off Draco Point, two miles distant from the southernmost ship of the Danish line; which consisted of a formidable array of forts, ramparts, ships-of-the-line, gun-boats, and floating batteries. Six sail-of-the-line, eleven floating batteries, besides a number of bomb-ships and schooner gun-vessels, were moored in an external line, from a mile to a mile-and-a-half in length, to protect the entrance of the harbour, flanked by the two pile-formed Crown islands, on which 124 heavy cannon, nearly flush with the water, were mounted; and within the harbour, two sail-of-the-line, a 40-gun frigate, two 18-gun brigs, and several armed xebecs, with furnaces for heating shot, were moored across its mouth, which was also protected by a chain thrown across the entrance. In addition to the fire of these formidable defences, that of several gun and mortar batteries, along the shore of Amak Island, which lay a little to the southward of the floating line of defence, as also of the citadel, was concentric; thus presenting, in front of Copenhagen, a line of defence between three and four miles, supported by above 1,000 pieces of artillery. Neither was this the only obstacle the British fleet had to contend with: the approaches to the city were shoals, intricate and but little known; and to increase the difficulties, all the buoys had been removed. The garrison consisted of 10,000 men, and one spirit of defence and defiance animated the whole of Denmark. All ranks offered themselves for the defence of their country, and were formed into battalions; the university furnishing a corps of 1,200 youths. To buoy off the channel,

and ascertain the soundings, the boats of the fleet had been, under the special superintendence of Nelson, sedulously engaged during the preceding night and day.

The night of the 1st of April was an anxious and important one to Nelson. The Honourable Colonel Stewart relates, that "as soon as the fleet was at anchor, the gallant Nelson sat down to table with a large party of his comrades in arms. He was in the highest spirits, and drank to a leading wind, and to the success of the ensuing day. Captains Foley, Hardy, Fremantle, Riou, Inman; his lordship's second in command, Admiral Graves, and a few others to whom he was particularly attached, were of this interesting party; from which every man separated with feelings of admiration for their great leader, and with anxious impatience to follow him to the approaching battle. The signal to prepare for action had been made early in the evening. All the captains retired to their respective ships, Riou excepted, who with Lord Nelson and Foley arranged the order of battle, and those instructions that were to be issued to each ship on the succeeding day. These three officers retired between nine and ten to the after-cabin, and drew up those orders that have been generally published, and which ought to be referred to as the best proof of the arduous nature of the enterprise in which the fleet was about to be engaged. From the previous fatigue of this day, and of the two preceding, Lord Nelson was so much exhausted while dictating his instructions, that it was recommended to him by us all, and, indeed, insisted upon by his old servant Allen, who assumed much command on these occasions, that he should go to his cot. It was placed on the floor, but from it he still continued to dictate. Captain Hardy returned about eleven, and reported the practicability of the channel, and the depth of water up to the ships of the enemy's line. Had we abided by this report in lieu of confiding in our masters and pilots, we should have acted better. The orders were completed about one o'clock, when half-a-dozen clerks in the foremost cabin proceeded to transcribe them. Lord Nelson's impatience again showed itself; for instead of sleeping undisturbedly, as he might have done, he was every half-hour calling from his cot to these clerks to hasten their work, for that the wind was becoming fair. He was constantly receiving a report of this during the night. Their work being

finished about six in the morning, his lordship, who was previously up and dressed, breakfasted, and about seven, made the signal for all captains to come on board the flag-ship. The instructions were delivered to each by eight o'clock; and a special command was given to Captain Riou to act as circumstances might require. The land forces and a body of 500 seamen were to have been united under the command of Captain Fremantle and the Honourable Colonel Stewart; and as soon as the fire of the Crown battery should be silenced, they were to storm the work, and destroy it. The division under the commander-in-chief was to menace the ships at the entrance of the harbour; the intricacy of the channel would, however, have prevented their entering; Captain Murray in the *Edgar* was to lead."

The morning of the 2nd of April broke cheerfully on the British fleet. The wind was favourable for the attacking squadron, being from the south-east. As the clouds cleared away, the city of Copenhagen presented itself to the eye of the spectator in all its grandeur. The gothic towers on its buildings were seen rising majestically above the town, sparkling in the early sunlight, and rendered attractive by their beauty of ornament as well as by their great height. Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated on the east shore of the isle of Zealand, in a bay of the Baltic Sea, about 24 miles from the Sound, 160 miles N.E. of Hamburg, and 240 S.W. of Stockholm. It is one of the best built cities of the north; the palaces of the nobility are, in general, splendid, and ornamented after the Italian style. The new parts of the town, raised by Frederick V., in particular, are very handsome; they consist of an octagon, containing four uniform palaces, with two pavilions to each, occupied by the royal family; and of four broad streets leading to it in opposite directions; in the middle of this area is a noble equestrian statue of Frederick, in bronze. Among the numerous edifices and public establishments are distinguished the arsenal, the royal library, the university (founded in 1475), the royal college of surgeons, and the royal academy of sciences and fine arts. Its port, called Christianhaven, which can contain 500 vessels, is usually crowded, and the streets are intersected by canals, which bring the merchandise close to the warehouses that line the quays. Contiguous to the harbour, which is formed by an arm of the sea running between Zealand and the

island of Amak, are several islands called Holms, upon which are dock-yards, containing everything necessary for the building and equipment of ships of war. Its citadel is a strong fortification, has five bastions, a double ditch full of water, and several advanced works. At this time Copenhagen contained upwards of 80,000 inhabitants. By the time the light was sufficient for objects to be distinguished, the signal was hoisted on board the *Elephant* for all captains to repair on board the flag-ship, who, as soon as assembled, received their instructions for the attack. Each ship and vessel had a special duty assigned it. The *Amazon*, *Blanche*, *Alcmène*, *Arrow*, and *Dart*, with the two fire-ships under Captain Riou, were to co-operate in the attack on the ships stationed at the harbour's mouth. The bomb-vessels were to station themselves outside the British lines, so as to throw their shells over it into the town; and the *Jamaica*, with the brigs and gun-vessels, was to take a position for raking the southern extremity of the Danish line. A flat-bottomed boat, well-manned and armed, was stationed on the off-side of each ship, to act as occasion might require; another detachment of boats, from the ships not in action, was ordered to keep as near the *Elephant* as possible, but not within the line of fire. Four of the ships' launches, with anchors and cables in them, were in readiness to act and render assistance to ships grounding or getting on shore. The 49th regiment, under Colonel Stewart, and 500 seamen under Captain Fremantle, were to storm the batteries on the Crown islands the instant the cannonades from the ships had silenced them.

At half-past nine, A.M., the signal was made to weigh in succession. In consequence of the obstacles thrown in the way by the pilots, and their indecision about the shoals and the exact line of deep water, Mr. Briery took upon himself the important task of pilot, and went on board the *Edgar* for that purpose. Captain Riou had two frigates, two sloops, and two fire-ships placed under his command, to be used as circumstances might require. The *Edgar* led the van, the *Agamemnon* (Nelson's old ship) followed, but unfortunately could not weather the shoal, and was obliged to anchor. The *Polyphemus* and the *Isis* came next, and took their berths. The *Bellona* and *Russell*, in their way into action, took the ground, and lay exposed to the fire of the Crown batteries. Nelson's flag-ship next followed;

and the admiral, perceiving the condition of the two grounded ships which had just preceded him, ordered the *Elephant's* helm to starboard, and passed to the westward, or along the larboard beam; thus guiding the course of the consecutive ships, or those astern of the *Elephant*. Each ship, as she arrived nearly opposite to her appointed station, let her anchor go by the stern, and presented her broadside to the enemy. The distance of each ship from the others was about half a cable, and their line of battle was nearly a cable's length from the enemy. Admiral Parker's eight ships took up a position nearer to the mouth of the harbour, but too distant to do more than menace the northern defences.

At five minutes after ten, the cannonade began. In nearly the first half-hour, the principal British ships engaged were the *Polyphemus*, *Isis*, *Edgar*, *Ardent*, and *Monarch*. At about half-past eleven, the *Glatton*, *Elephant*, *Ganges*, and *Defiance* reached their stations, when the battle became general. On account of the strength of the current, the *Jamaica* and squadron of gun-brigs could not get near enough to be of any service; and, from this cause, only two of the bomb-vessels could reach their station. Riou, with his frigates, took his appointed post direct against the Crown batteries—a service in which three ships-of-the-line had been directed to co-operate; but the three vessels having grounded, he was deprived of their assistance.

Though Nelson was deeply agitated by the loss of the assistance of the grounded ships, the action no sooner commenced than his countenance brightened, and he appeared animated and joyous. The cannonade soon became tremendous.

The action was kept up, on both sides, with unabated vigour. At the end of three hours, the battle had not taken a decisive turn on either side. Sir Hyde Parker, now fearful of the result, from the loss of the grounded ships, and that the enemy's fire remained unslackened, made a signal for retreat. When this occurred, Nelson, in all the excitement of action, was pacing the quarter-deck. At that moment, the signal-lieutenant called out, that No. 39 (the signal for discontinuing the action) had been made by the commander-in-chief. Nelson, continuing to walk the deck, appeared not to notice the announcement. The signal-officer met him at the next turn, and asked if he should repeat it. "No," replied

Nelson; "acknowledge it." He now paced the deck, moving the stump of his lost arm in a manner which always indicated great emotion; when, addressing Captain Foley, "What think you, Foley?" said he: "the admiral has hung out No. 39." Then, shrugging his shoulders, he said, "Leave off action?" "damn me if I do! You know, Foley, as I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes." And then, putting the glass to his blind eye, in that mood of mind which sports with bitterness, he added: "I really don't see the signal. Keep mine for closer battle flying!—that's the way I answer such signals. Nail mine to the mast." Admiral Graves and the other ships—whether by fortunate mistake, or by a brave intention—looking only to Nelson's signal, continued the action.

About this time Lord Nelson was walking the starboard side of the quarter-deck, conversing with the Honourable Colonel Stewart: a shot passing through the mainmast, sent a number of splinters about, when, turning to his companion, Nelson remarked with a smile—"It is warm work, and this day may be the last to any of us in a moment; but mark me," he added, "I would not be elsewhere for thousands."

Riou's little squadron had bravely undertaken the service which the disabled line-of-battle ships were to have performed. When the signal to discontinue the action was made by Sir Hyde Parker, Riou reluctantly obeyed, exclaiming, as he withdrew, "What will Nelson think of us?" Captain Riou had received a wound in the head, and was seated on a gun encouraging his men, when just as the *Amazon* presented her stern to the battery, his clerk was shot by his side; another shot carried off several marines, and a third cut the brave Riou in two.\*

About half-past one the fire of the Danes slackened; and a little before two, it ceased along nearly the whole of their line. At this time the six sail-of-the-line, and the eleven floating batteries struck; but it was

\* The "gallant, good Riou," was one of the most chivalrous of Nelson's favourite captains. He obtained his lieutenancy in 1780. In 1791 he was promoted to the rank of commander, and made post-captain. In 1793 he commanded the *Rosc*, and afterwards was engaged in some distinguished service in the West Indies. From there he was sent home, in consequence of a severe illness, in 1795. Having recovered his health, he was appointed to the *Amazon* in 1799. He was killed by a shot from the *Trekroner* battery, off Copenhagen, and a monument is erected to his memory in St. Paul's cathedral. Captain Riou, having been wounded by a splinter,

difficult to take possession of them, because the Crown batteries, and those on Amak Island protected them, and an irregular fire was kept up from the ships and batteries themselves as the boats approached for the purpose. This unexpected renewal of hostilities compelled the English ships to renew their fire. To relieve the unhappy Danes from their forlorn condition, and prevent unnecessary slaughter, Nelson, who was as humane as he was brave, withdrew to his cabin, and wrote thus to the Crown Prince:—

"Vice-admiral Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when she no longer resists. The line of defence which covered her shores has struck to the British flag; but if firing is continued on the part of Denmark, he must set on fire all the prizes he has taken, without having the power of saving the men who have so nobly defended them. The brave Danes are the brothers, and should never be the enemies of the English."

Having finished his letter, an aide-de-camp presented him with a wafer. "No," said the hero, "this is no time to appear hurried and informal; they will think us afraid; let us have a candle, and seal it with wax."† Having affixed a larger seal than that ordinarily used, he dispatched his aide-de-camp with the letter and a flag of truce to the Crown Prince.

In the meantime, the destructive cannonade still kept up by the *Defiance*, *Monarch*, and *Ganges*, and the approach of the *Ramilles* and *Defence*, from Sir Hyde's division, which had been worked up near enough to alarm the enemy, silenced the remainder of the Danish line to the eastward of the Crown batteries. Those batteries, remaining comparatively uninjured, still continued their fire; but on the approach of the Danish adjutant-general, Lindholm, with a flag of truce, to Lord Nelson, the firing ceased. The message from the Crown Prince was—to inquire the object of the British admiral's note. The reply was:—"Lord Nelson's object in

was sitting on a gun encouraging the sailors. He was grieved at being obliged to retreat; and while he was sitting on the gun, a number of his men being shot by his side, he exclaimed—"Come, then, my boys, let us die altogether." The words had scarcely passed his lips, when a raking shot passing over his ship, nearly cut him in two. Nelson, writing of Riou's death, said—"A better officer or man never existed.

† He afterwards assigned as his reason,—“The wafer would have been still wet when presented to the Crown Prince, and he would have inferred we had reason for being in a hurry; the wax tells no tales.”

sending the flag of truce was humanity: he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. And Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the prince, will consider this the greatest victory he has ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the King of Denmark." On receipt of this reply, the Danish adjutant-general was again dispatched to the British admiral for a conference on this overture. In the meantime, as the British vessels were much crippled, and their course lay immediately under the guns of the Crown batteries, he issued orders to weigh and slip in succession, in order to remove

the fleet out of the shoal and intricate channel while the wind continued fair. The *Monarch*, which had received twenty-six shots between wind and water, and had not a shroud standing, led the way, and touched on a shoal; but the *Ganges*, taking her midships, pushed her over it; the *Glatton* went clear, but the *Defence* and the *Elephant* grounded about a mile from the Crown batteries. The *Désirée* frigate, also, at the other end of the line, became fast. With these exceptions the whole of the fleet effected a junction with Sir Hyde Parker in the middle of the Straits. When the *Elephant* grounded, Nelson proceeded in the *London* to meet Lindholm. As he quitted the *Elephant*, "Well," said he, "I have fought contrary to orders, and I shall perhaps be hanged. Never mind—let them."\* It was speedily agreed that there should be a suspension of

\* There can be no doubt that if Nelson had not possessed the boldness to disobey the signal of his admiral, the battle fought off Copenhagen would not have occupied the proud position it does in the naval annals of Great Britain. When Nelson returned home, in a conversation he had with Mr. Addington relative to this great victory, the prime minister remarked that he was a bold man to disregard the orders of his superior: to this Nelson replied, that any one might be depended on under ordinary circumstances; but that the man of real value was he that would persevere at all risks, and under the heaviest responsibility: but he added, "In the midst of it all I depended upon you; for I knew that, happen what might, if I did my duty, you would stand by me." Mr. Addington is said to have been highly pleased with this reply of Nelson, and to have remarked, "that he felt the confidence thus reposed in him, by such a man on such an occasion, as one of the highest compliments he had ever received." Nothing put Lord Nelson in such good spirits as hard fighting. In the heat of battle, an attempt to board, or in a chase, his countenance became animated, his eyes sparkled, he spoke in hurried short sentences; and whilst he strode up and down the quarter-deck, his manner bespoke the intense excitement and impatience of his mind. Lieutenant Parsons—who was one of Lord Nelson's officers, and was with him in several engagements—in a work of considerable spirit, entitled *Nelsonian Reminiscences*, gives the following lively account of Nelson's quick impatient manner when in chase of the *Généreux*, a 74-gun ship. In the course of the month of February, 1800, a squadron, consisting of the *Généreux*, a frigate, and several transports, having 4,000 troops on board, had sailed from Toulon, and approached Malta with the view of relieving the garrison, but being discovered by the *Foudroyant* and *Northumberland*, chase was immediately given.

"Deck there! the stranger is evidently a man-of-war—she is a line-of-battle-ship, my lord, and going large on the starboard tack."

"Ah! an enemy, Mr. Staines. I pray God it may be *Le Généreux*. The signal for a general chase, Sir Ed'ard (the Nelsonian pronunciation of

Edward, addressed to Sir Edward Berry), make the *Foudroyant* fly!"

"Thus spoke the heroic Nelson; and every exertion that emulation could inspire was used to crowd the canvas, the *Northumberland* taking the lead, with the flag-ship close on her quarter.

"This will not do, Sir Ed'ard; it is certainly *Le Généreux*, and to my flag-ship she can alone surrender. Sir Ed'ard, we must and shall beat the *Northumberland*."

"I will do the utmost, my lord; get the engine to work on the sails—hang butts of water to the stays—pipe the hammocks down, and each man place shot in them—slack the stays, knock up the wedges, and give the masts play—start off the water, Mr. James, and pump the ship. The *Foudroyant* is drawing ahead, and at last takes the lead in the chase. The admiral is working his fir (the stump of his right arm); do not cross his hawse, I advise you."

"The advice was good, for at that moment Nelson opened furiously on the quarter-master at the conn. 'I'll knock you off your perch, you rascal, if you are so inattentive. Sir Ed'ard, send your best quarter-master to the weather-wheel.'

"A strange sail ahead of the chase, called the look-out man."

"Youngster, to the mast-head. What! going without your glass, and be d—d to you? Let me know what she is immediately."

"A sloop-of-war, or frigate, my lord," shouted the young signal midshipman.

"Demand her number."

"The *Success*, my lord."

"Captain Peard; signal to cut off the flying enemy—great odds, though—thirty-two small guns to eighty large ones."

"The *Success* has hove to, athwart hawse of the *Généreux*, and is firing her larboard broadside. The Frenchman has hoisted his tri-colour with a rear-admiral's flag."

"Bravo! *Success* at her again!"

"She has wore round, my lord, and firing her starboard broadside. It has winged her, my lord—her flying kites are flying away altogether. The enemy is close on the *Success*, who must receive her

hostilities for twenty-four hours; that all prizes should be surrendered; and that the wounded Danes should be carried ashore. The boats of Sir Hyde's division, during the night following the battle, were employed in bringing out the prizes, and in floating the grounded British ships. By the morning of the 3rd, the whole of the latter were got off, except the *Désirée*.

The terms of the negotiation having been arranged, it was agreed that Nelson should have an interview with the Crown Prince on the following day. At this interview, the preliminaries of the negotiation having been adjusted, Nelson was invited to dine with the prince. At the repast, he told the prince, that he had been in 105 engagements, but that that with the Danes was the most tremendous. He spoke in raptures of the bravery of the Danes, and in particular of that of a stripling, whom he described to have performed wonders during

tremendous broadside.' The *Généreux* opens her fire on her little enemy, and every person stands aghast, afraid of the consequences. 'The smoke clears away, and there is the *Success* crippled, it is true, but bull-dog like, bearing up after the enemy.'

" 'The signal for the *Success* to discontinue the action, and come under my stern,' said Lord Nelson; 'she has done well for her size. Try a shot from the lower deck at her, Sir Ed'ard.'

" 'It goes over her.'

" 'Beat to quarters, and fire coolly and deliberately at her masts and yards.'

" *Le Généreux* at this moment opened her fire on the *Foudroyant*, and a shot passed through the mizen-stay-sail, when Lord Nelson, patting one of the youngsters on the head, asked him jocularly how he relished the music; and observing something like alarm depicted on his countenance, consoled him with the information, that Charles XII. ran away from the first shot he heard, though afterwards he was called 'The Great,' and deservedly, from his bravery. 'I, therefore,' said Nelson, 'hope much from you in future.' The *Northumberland* now opened her fire, and the tri-coloured ensign came down amid the thunder of the English cannon. A signal to discontinue firing was accordingly made, and Sir Edward Berry ordered to board the prize. Very shortly after, Captain Berry returned with Rear-admiral Perrée's sword, who, he stated, was then dying on his quarter-deck, with the loss of both legs, shot off by the raking broadsides of the little *Success*. This unfortunate Frenchman was under the imputation of having broken his parole, and was considered lucky in having redeemed his honour by dying in battle."

The same officer also gives the following graphic account of a dinner, in Lord Nelson's cabin, on the 14th of February of the same year (1800), to celebrate the anniversary of the battle of St. Vincent. Tom Allen, Lord Nelson's servant, was sent with the invitation. Between him and Lieutenant Parsons, the following colloquy ensued:—

the battle, by attacking his own ship immediately under her lower guns. He requested to be introduced to the gallant youth (who proved to be Villemoes) who, on a raft carrying six small cannon, and manned with twenty-four men, had, in the fury of the battle, placed themselves under the stern of Nelson's ship, and gallantly maintained the contest until twenty of them were killed, and their commander was surrounded by the dead and dying. On his introduction, the British admiral recognised him with the strongest emotions, and intimated to the prince he deserved to be made an admiral. To which proposal the prince happily replied:—"If, my lord, I were to make all my brave officers admirals, I should have no captains or lieutenants in my service."

The Danes fought on this occasion with the utmost valour and determination. The prince royal stationed himself at one of the batteries, from which he could behold the

" 'You (or as he in his Norfolk dialect pronounced it, *yow*) are to dine with my lord to-day.'

" 'I cannot, Tom, for I have no clean shirt; and we have been so long cruising off Malta, that my messmates are in the same plight.'

" 'But you must, for my lord insists on meeting all those that were at the battle of St. Vincent at dinner this day.'

" 'Make the best excuse you can for me, Tom, for I really cannot go.'

" 'Away waddled Tom, very much like a heavy laden ship before the wind, and the best excuse the simplicity of his mind suggested was the truth.'

" 'Muster so-and-so has no clean shirt, and he coon't dine with you to-day.'

" 'What ship was he in, Tom?'

" 'The *Barfleur*.'

" 'Then tell him to appear in my cabin in the one he now has on, and he may send the first clean one that comes into his possession for me to look at.'

" Nelson then discussed with his captain the position of affairs, and afterwards proceeded to adorn himself with the hard-won honours which were to decorate his person on this gala day. The tune of the 'Roast Beef of Old England' now struck or the young midshipman's ear, and he, being the youngest, was singled out by Nelson to sit on his right, and he took wine with him during the dinner. He afterwards observed to him: 'You entered the service at a very early age, to have been in the action off Cape St. Vincent?'

" 'Eleven years, my lord.'

" 'Much too young,' muttered his lordship.

" At this moment, honest Tom Allen pushed in his bullet head with an eager gaze at his master, and after a little consideration, approached the admiral, saying, 'You will be ill if you takes any more wine.'

" 'You are perfectly right, Tom, and I thank you for the hint. Hardy, do the honours. And, gentlemen, excuse me for retiring, for my battered old hulk is very crazy,—indeed, not sea-worthy.' Thus was Lord Nelson led from the table by his faithful servant, after drinking five glasses of wine."

action, and issue his orders. Captain Thura, of the Danish man-of-war *Infoedsretten*, fell early in the action, and all his officers, with the exception of one lieutenant and one marine officer, were killed or wounded. The colours were struck or shot away, but she was moored athwart one of the batteries, in such a situation, that the British made no attempt to board her. A boat was sent to make the prince royal acquainted with her situation. He turned to those near him, and said,—“Gentlemen, Thura is killed—which of you will take the command?” Captain Schroedersee, who had lately resigned on account of ill-health, answered in a feeble voice,—“I will,” and immediately hastened on board. The crew, when they saw a new commander coming, hoisted their colours again, and fired a broadside. Schroedersee, on reaching the deck, found himself surrounded by the dead and wounded, and called to those in the boat to come quickly on board, when he was struck by a ball.

The negotiation continued for five days; but a difficulty arising respecting the duration of the armistice, on account of the fears expressed by the Danish commissioners of provoking the enmity of Russia, Nelson frankly told them that his reason for demanding a long term was, that he might have time to act against the Russian fleet, and then return to Copenhagen. Neither party being willing to yield on this point, and one of the Danish commissioners hinting at the renewal of hostilities, Nelson spiritedly exclaimed,—“Tell him we are ready at a moment—ready to bombard this very night.” As an agreement on this point could not be effected between the British admiral and the Danish commissioners, Nelson was referred to the Crown Prince, with whom he concluded an armistice for fourteen weeks, by which it was stipulated that the Danes engaged to suspend all proceedings under the treaty of the armed neutrality; that their prisoners sent on shore should be accounted for in case of a renewal of hostilities; that the British fleet should have permission to provide itself at Copenhagen or along the coast; and that fourteen days’ notice should precede any commencement of hostilities.

The battle had been murderous; and, as Nelson expressed himself, the most dreadful which he had ever witnessed. In killed and mortally wounded, the British loss was 350; slightly wounded, 850: whilst that of the Danes was 1,800 in killed and

wounded, and 4,000 prisoners. Part of the British loss might have been spared. “The commanding officer,” says Mr. Southey, “of the troops on board one of our ships asked where his men should be stationed. He was told that they could be of no use; that they were not near enough for musketry, and were not wanted at the guns; they had, therefore, better go below. This, he said, was impossible—it would be a disgrace which never could be wiped away. They were, therefore, drawn up upon the gangway, to satisfy this cruel point of honour; and there, without the possibility of annoying the enemy, they were mowed down!” On the other hand, the vessels in the Danish line of defence were without masts; consequently, as their hulls could not be seen through the smoke, they fought to much greater advantage than their opponents did, and thus their loss was proportionately less than it would otherwise have been. Besides Captain Riou, Captain Mosse was killed, and Captain Thompson was wounded. Whilst undergoing amputation of the shattered limb, he amused himself with humming snatches from Dibdin’s sea-ballads. Captain Thompson was the son of the author of the sea-ballad, “Cease, rude Boreas, blustering railer,” &c. For this great victory, Nelson was raised to the rank of a viscount; an inadequate reward—if there be any merit in empty baubles of the kind—for services so splendid, and of so permanent importance.

Of the six line-of-battle ships and the eight prizes taken, the *Holstein*, a 64-gun ship, was the only one sent to England. Sir Hyde Parker directed the others to be burned, and their brass cannon to be sunk with the hulls in shoal water.\* Nelson, though he forbore from any public expression of displeasure at seeing the proofs and trophies of his victory destroyed, did not forget to represent to the admiralty the case of those who were deprived by Sir Hyde’s improvident and injudicious orders of their prize-money. “Whether,” said he to Lord St. Vincent, “Sir Hyde Parker may mention the subject to you, I know not; for he is rich and does not want it: nor is it, you will believe me, any desire to get a few hundred pounds that actuates me to address this letter to you; but justice to the brave officers and men who fought on that day.

\* When the fleet returned from Revel, they found the Danes, with craft over the wrecks, employed in getting up the guns.

It is true our opponents were in hulks and floats, only adapted for the position they were in; but that made our battle so much the harder, and victory so much the more difficult to obtain. Believe me, I have weighed all the circumstances, and, in my conscience, I think that the king should send a gracious message to the House of Commons for a gift to this fleet: for what must be the natural feelings of the officers and men belonging to it, to see their rich commander-in-chief burn all the fruits of their victory, which, if fitted up and sent to England (as many of them might have been by dismantling part of our fleet) would have sold for a good round sum."

The following anecdotes respecting the capture of two of the ships, the *Holstein* and the *Zealand*, are not uninteresting:—

"The *Holstein* had ceased firing long before the action was discontinued in other parts of the line: her colours were down; and she was, at the conclusion of the day, claimed as prize, but refused by the Danish officers to be given up, because her pendant was still at the mast-head. Nelson requested Sir Hyde Parker to send Captain Otway on this service. As the captain went alongside the *Holstein*, he ordered the coxswain of his boat—a bold, brazen-faced fellow—to go up into the main-top of the ship, and bring away the pendant with him, while he himself was in conversation with her commanding officer. The man punctually obeyed his order. He came down from the mast-head with the pendant in his bosom: he placed himself in his boat with the greatest composure. Neither Captain Otway nor the Danish officer being able to agree as to the point that the ship was a prize, the matter was referred to the Danish commodore, then in the arsenal, and close to the *Holstein*. The commodore, in reply to Captain Otway's demand, maintained that the ship had not struck her colours, and therefore was not a prize; for, though her ensign had been shot away, her pendant was still flying; and begged Captain Otway to look at it. Captain Otway, soon convincing the mortified and astonished commodore that the pendant was not flying, he was compelled to acknowledge that the ship was British property. At the same time, with the assistance of the *Ealing* schooner, he cut the *Holstein's* cables, and turned her out from under the Crown batteries."

"The *Zealand*, 74, the last ship which struck, had drifted in the shoal under the

Crown batteries; and relying on the protection thus afforded, refused to acknowledge herself captured; saying, that though her flag was not to be seen, her pendant was still flying. Nelson ordered one of the British brigs and three long-boats to approach her, and rowed up himself to one of the enemy's ships, to communicate with the commodore on the subject. That officer proved to be an old acquaintance, whom he had known in the West Indies. He invited himself on board; and, with that urbanity as well as decision which always characterised him, urged his claim to the *Zealand* so well, that it was admitted. The men from the boats lashed a cable round her bowsprit, and the gun-vessel towed her away."

An official account of the battle was published by Olfert Fischer,—the Danish commander-in-chief, whose ship, the *Dannebrog*, 64, after having sustained for two hours the terrible fire of Nelson's ship, and having had two successive captains and three-fourths of her crew swept away, took fire and drifted, while burning fiercely, through the enemy's line, spreading universal consternation. In describing the battle, Fischer asserted that the British force was greatly superior to the Danish; that two of the British ships-of-the-line had struck; that the others were so crippled—especially Nelson's own ship—as to fire only single shots for one hour before the action ceased; and that Nelson, in the middle and very heat of the conflict, had sent a flag of truce on shore, to propose a cessation of hostilities. Nelson, indignant at the statement, addressed a letter, in confutation of it, to the adjutant-general, Lindholm; thinking it incumbent on him to do so, for the information of the Crown Prince, who had been appealed to by Fischer as having been a witness of the battle, and consequently must be cognizant of the truth of his statement: "otherwise," said the indignant hero, "had Commodore Fischer confined himself to his own veracity, I should have treated his official letter with the contempt it deserved, and allowed the world to appreciate the merit of the two contending officers." After pointing out and detecting some of the misstatements in the account, he adds:—"As to his nonsense about victory, his royal highness will not much credit him. I sunk, burned, captured, or drove into the harbour the whole line of defence to the southward of the Crown islands. He says, that he is told that two British ships struck.

Why did he not take possession of them? I took possession of his as fast as they struck. The reason is clear, that he did not believe it: he must have known the falsity of the report. He states, that the ship in which I had the honour to hoist my flag, fired latterly only single guns. It is true; for steady and cool were my brave fellows, and did not wish to throw away a single shot. He seems to exult that I sent on shore a flag of truce. You know, and his royal highness knows, that the guns fired from the shore could only fire through the Danish ships which had surrendered; and that, if I fired at the shore, it could be only in the same manner. God forbid that I should destroy an unresisting Dane! When they became my prisoners, I became their protector."

To this letter, Lindholm replied in an honourable manner, disclaiming all idea of claiming as a victory, "what to every intent and purpose was a defeat," but not an inglorious one. "As to your lordship's motive," he added, "for sending a flag of truce, it never can be misconstrued; and your subsequent conduct has sufficiently shown that humanity is always the companion of true valour. You have done more: you have shown yourself a friend to the re-establishment of peace and harmony between Denmark and Great Britain. It is, therefore, with the sincerest esteem I shall always feel myself attached to your lordship." In his reply to this conciliatory apology, Nelson included a statement of the comparative force of the two fleets.

The official account of this memorable battle, as given in its heroic actor's own words, in a letter addressed to Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, is—

"*Elephant*—Off Copenhagen.

"April 3, 1801. :

"Sir,—In obedience to your directions to report the proceedings of the squadron which you did me the honour to place under my command, I beg leave to inform you, that having, with the assistance of that able officer, Captain Riou, and the unremitting exertions of Captain Brisbane and the masters of the *Amazon* and *Cruiser*, in particular, buoyed the channel of the Outer Deep and the position of the Middle Ground, the squadron passed in safety, and anchored off Draco on the evening of the 1st; and that yesterday morning I made the signal for the squadron to weigh, and to engage the Danish line—eleven floating batteries, mounting from

twenty-six 24-pounders to eighteen 18-pounders, and one bomb-ship, beside schooner gun-vessels.

"These were supported by the Crown islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail-of-the-line moored in the harbour's mouth, and some batteries on the island of Amak.

"The bomb-ship and schooner gun-vessels made their escape; the other seventeen sail are sunk, burnt, or taken, being the whole of the Danish line to the southward of the Crown islands, after a battle of four hours.

"From the very intricate navigation, the *Bellona* and *Russell* unfortunately grounded; but although not in the situation assigned them, yet so placed as to be of great service. The *Agamemnon* could not weather the shoal of the Middle Ground, and was obliged to anchor; but not the smallest blame can be attached to Captain Fancourt: it was an event to which all ships are liable. These accidents prevented the extension of our line by the three snips before mentioned, who would, I am confident, have silenced the Crown islands, the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth, and have prevented the heavy loss in the *Defiance* and *Monarch*; and which unhappily threw the gallant and good Captain Riou (to whom I had given the command of the frigates and sloops—namely, *Amazon*, *Désirée*, *Blanche*, *Alcmène*, *Dart*, *Arrow*, *Cruiser*, and *Harpy*, to assist in the attack of the ships in the harbour's mouth) under a very heavy fire; the consequence has been the death of Captain Riou, and many brave officers and men in the frigates and sloops. The bombs were directed and took their stations abreast the *Elephant*, and threw some shells into the arsenal.

"Captain Rose, who volunteered his services to direct the gun-brigs, did everything that was possible to get them forward, but the current was too strong for them to be of service during the action; but not the less merit is due to Captain Rose, and I believe, all the officers and crews of the gun-brigs, for their exertions. The boats of those ships of the fleet who were not ordered on the attack, afforded us every assistance; and the officers and men who were in them merit my warmest approbation. The *Désirée* took her station in raking the southernmost Danish ship-of-the-line, and performed the greatest service.

"The action began at five minutes past ten. The van was led by Captain George

Murray, of the *Edgar*, who set a noble example of intrepidity, which was well followed up by every captain, officer, and man in the squadron. It is my duty to state to you the high and distinguished merit and gallantry of Rear-admiral Graves. To Captain Foley, who permitted me the honour of hoisting my flag in the *Elephant*, I feel under the greatest obligation: his advice was necessary on many and important occasions during the battle.

"I beg leave to express how much I feel indebted to every captain, officer, and man, for their zeal and distinguished bravery on this occasion. The Honourable Colonel Stewart did me the favour to be on board the *Elephant*; and himself, with every officer and soldier under his orders, shared with pleasure the toils and dangers of the day.

"The loss in battle has naturally been very heavy. Amongst many brave officers and men who were killed, I have, with sorrow, to place the name of Captain Mosse, of the *Monarch*, who has left a wife and six children to lament his loss; and among the wounded, that of Captain Sir Thomas B. Thompson, of the *Bellona*.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,  
"NELSON AND BRONTE."

Three days after the signing of the armistice, Sir Hyde Parker sailed from Copenhagen Roads with the main body of the fleet for Revel, leaving Nelson in the *St. George*, with a few frigates, to follow as soon as the spars and rigging should be repaired. The *Holstein*, *Monarch*, and *Isis* were dispatched home with the wounded. The fleet directed its course along the channel called "the Grounds," between the islands of Amak and Saltholm. To enable them to pass this difficult and dangerous navigation, most of the men-of-war had to tranship their guns into merchant-vessels; and even then most of them touched the ground, and some of them stuck fast for a while: at length, by the skill and perseverance of the sailors, the ships effected their passage and entered the Baltic by this route, to the astonishment of the Danish, Swedish, Russian, and Prussian navigators acquainted with the nature of the locality. The object of proceeding to Revel was to attack the Russian fleet which was lying frozen-up there, waiting for a thaw, in order to put to sea to effect a junction with the Swedes; but Sir Hyde ascertaining, on his passage, that

the Swedish ships had put to sea to effect a junction with the Russian fleet, he altered his course, in hopes of intercepting the Swedish squadron.

The instant that Nelson received intelligence of the probability of an action between the British and Swedish fleets, though Sir Hyde was ten leagues distant, and both wind and current contrary, he embarked in a six-oared cutter; and though night was setting in—one of the cold spring nights of the north—and that in his haste he had left his boat-cloak behind, he ordered the crew to pull with all their might towards the expected scene of conflict. "His anxiety," says one of the boat's crew, "for nearly six hours, lest he should not reach the fleet, is beyond all conception. As it was extremely cold, I wished him to put on a great coat of mine which was in the boat. His reply was—'No, I am not cold; my anxiety for my country will keep me warm.' Presently he said, 'Do you think the fleet has sailed from Bornholm? If it has, we must follow to Carlsrona.'" About midnight he reached the fleet. On the following morning the Swedish squadron was discovered; but as soon as they perceived the British fleet, they took shelter behind the batteries of Carlsrona. Sir Hyde sent in a flag of truce, stating that Denmark had concluded an armistice, and requiring an explicit declaration from the court of Sweden whether she would adhere to or abandon the confederacy against the rights and interests of Great Britain. On the 22nd of April, a reply being received, that the king of Sweden "could not refuse to listen to equitable proposals made by deputies furnished with proper authority by the King of Great Britain to the united northern powers," Sir Hyde sailed for the gulf of Finland; but he had not proceeded far, before a despatch boat, from the Russian ambassador at Copenhagen, brought intelligence of the death of the Emperor Paul, and that his successor Alexander, had accepted the offer made by England to his father, of terminating the dispute by a convention. In consequence of this information, Sir Hyde returned to Kioge Bay, on the coast of Zealand; where, on the 5th of May, despatches arrived from London, recalling him, and appointing Lord Nelson commander-in-chief. Nelson, now left the unfettered master of his actions, determined to sail for the Gulf of Finland. Having by a flag of truce, informed the admiral at Cronstadt, that although Sir Hyde Parker

had consented not to interrupt the Swedish navigation, he should act against the Swedish fleet if he found it at sea. He, for the purpose, as he expressed himself, of "having all the English shipping and property restored," set sail with eleven sail-of-the-line, one frigate, and two brig-sloops, leaving Captain Murray with seven sail-of-the-line and a frigate to cruise off Carls-crona. The wind was fair, and carried him in four days to the Revel Roads. But when he arrived there, he found that the Russian squadron had, on the 3rd of May, sailed for Cronstadt, and were now safe under its cannon. Thither they were followed by Nelson, who, opening friendly communications with the governor, wrote to the emperor Alexander, proposing to wait on him personally, and urged the immediate release of British subjects, and the restoration of British property. The answer arrived on the 16th, in which the Russian ministry, while professing on the part of Russia the most friendly disposition towards Great Britain, expressed their surprise at the arrival of a British fleet in a Russian port, and their wish that it should return. To the distrust and suspicion implied in this communication, Nelson's reply was, that "the word of a British admiral, when given in explanation of any part of his conduct, was as sacred as that of any sovereign's in Europe." Having dispatched this rebuke, he immediately stood out to sea, and proceeded down the Baltic. In a letter to the British ambassador at Berlin, stating this transaction, "I hope all is right," he said, "but seamen are but bad negotiators; for we put to issue in five minutes what diplomatic forms would be five months doing." While at anchor off Rostock, he received a despatch from the Russian court, containing the intelligence that the British vessels and crews were ordered to be liberated. Thus were the amicable relations between Great Britain and Russia once more restored, a convention having been signed on the 17th at St. Petersburg, by Lord St. Helens and the Russian ministry, in which all disputes were adjusted. On the 6th of June, he returned to Kioge Bay; and on the 13th received the sanction of the admiralty to an application he had made, on account of bad health to return to England. On the 18th, Vice-admiral Sir Charles Maurice Pole arrived to take the command, and on the 19th Lord Nelson quitted the Baltic in the *Kite* frigate. Admiral Pole remained

on the station until the end of July, when there being no longer any occasion for a powerful fleet in the Baltic, the confederated powers having abandoned the principles of the armed neutrality, and acceded to the same terms as Russia had, he was ordered home. His command, though short, was memorable, he having on his return worked the fleet through the intricate channel of the Great Belt against adverse winds—a performance hitherto deemed impracticable for line-of-battle ships. In consequence of the dissolution of the northern confederacy, or armed neutrality, the Danish troops evacuated the city of Hamburg; the navigation of the Elbe and the other German rivers was re-opened to the British flag; and Prussia agreed to deliver up Bremen and the electorate of Hanover on the return of peace. On her part, Great Britain took off the embargo on all the ships of the Baltic powers, and, as far as Danish vessels were concerned, defrayed the expense of putting it on and taking it off out of her own treasury. During the rupture between England and Denmark and Sweden, the Swedish islands of St. Bartholomew, St. Martin, and the Dutch islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz, and their dependencies, surrendered to a British naval force under Admiral Duckworth and Lieutenant-general Trigg; but by virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg, they were restored to their owners on the return of peaceful relations between the belligerents.

Though Napoleon Buonaparte had been baffled in his schemes in respect of the northern confederacy, as the treaty of Luneville, entered into on the 9th of February with Austria relieved him from apprehensions of any serious struggle on the continent, he now devoted his whole attention to preparations for the invasion of England. "Tous les moyens propres à entretenir la haine de la nation contre la Grande-Bretagne," says the author of *Victoires et Conquêtes*, "fut employés avec activité et avec succès. Les autorités, les orateurs du gouvernement, les écrivains publicistes rivalisèrent de zèle pour prêcher cette espèce de croisade contre l'éternelle ennemie de la France." For this purpose, the first consul ordered camps to be formed between Bruges and Ostend, at Brest, St. Maloes, and other parts of the coast; but principally at Dunkirk and Boulogne, which last-mentioned port was to be the central rendezvous of the grand flotilla of gun-boats and flat-bottomed

prames, which had been prepared in various French and Dutch ports. Among many absurd fictions fabricated to terrify the people of England, it was pompously announced, that among other fearful preparations for the approaching invasion, a raft was to be used of an immense size, worked by a mechanical process; defended by a wooden parapet, behind which the troops could fight as in a castle or entrenchment; and supplied with furnaces, with which to pour red-hot balls on the British ships.

To meet these hostile demonstrations, corresponding preparations were made by the British government. Measures were immediately taken for calling out the military force of every description. The supplemental militias were embodied; parks of artillery were formed: measures were taken for protecting the mouths of the navigable rivers; for the removal of all guides to navigation, where descent was feasible: signals (both for day and night) were established; and every precaution was made for impeding the progress of the enemy, should he effect a landing. Among the other measures taken, Lord Nelson was invested with the command of the fleet destined to protect the coast from Orford Ness to Beachy Head. To forestal the enemy in his designs, he was appointed to the command of a powerful armament of bombs and light vessels, which had been collected in the Downs, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's flotilla at Boulogne. The force under his command, besides the bombs and light vessels, consisted of the ships of the line the *Leyden* and *De Ruyter*, the *Isis*, of 50 guns, and the *Harold* and *Brilliant* frigates—in all about forty sail. He afterwards hoisted his flag on board the *Medusa*. The enemy's flotilla in the harbour of Boulogne, consisted of four schooners and twenty-six gun-boats and luggers. On both sides of the town extensive encampments were formed. Nelson, on arriving off Boulogne, employed the following day in reconnoitring the fortifications, and concerting the plan of attack. The flotilla was ranged in a line along the beach on each side of the harbour's mouth, and about half-a-mile from the shore. Each vessel was defended by long poles, headed with iron spikes projecting from their sides: strong nettings were braced up to their lower-yards, these were chained by the bottom to the shore: the ships were strongly manned with soldiers, provided each with three loaded

muskets; and immediately under the protection of the batteries on the shore. On the 3rd of August, Lord Nelson stood close into Boulogne with some of the bomb-vessels, and threw several bombs to ascertain the best method of their reaching the enemy. Finding the proper range, they were recalled, and the whole armament anchored about four miles from the land. Orders were then issued to begin the attack at break of day next morning. At four o'clock, he stationed five bombs in an oblique line, stretching from the west end of the line of the enemy. The bombs came to anchor about five o'clock, and began firing. The other ships of war were stationed, under weigh, in another line behind the bombs, ready to render assistance. For the purpose of inducing the enemy to disclose his strong points, the ships of war were sent close to the shore in face of the batteries, where they fired one broadside, and tacking round, fired the other; then sailing away, they loaded for another similar attack. By this manœuvre, it was discovered that the batteries could not bear upon the bomb-vessels. Another object the British admiral had in view by this manœuvre, was to induce the enemy to draw all his vessels towards the mouth of the harbour, that being in a cluster, their destruction might be more readily effected in the night; but the wind shifting, the attack became impracticable, and the whole fleet was obliged to haul off without making the attempt. On the 6th, a sufficient force being left off Boulogne, Lord Nelson returned with part of his squadron to Margate, from which he returned on the 8th to Boulogne, with an additional force.

On the evening of the 15th, the armed boats of the squadron were formed into four divisions, under the respective commands of Captains Somerville, Parker, Cotgrave, and Jones, accompanied by a division of mortar-boats, under the command of Captain Conn. At about half-past eleven, P.M., the boats in their respective divisions put off from the *Medusa*, in perfect order; but the darkness of the night, and the rapidity of the tide, separated the divisions. Each division had its appropriate number of enemy's vessels to attack; the first beginning to the eastward, and so on in the order westward. The second division, under Captain Parker, closed with the enemy at half-past twelve, Sunday morning. Captain Parker ordered Captain Williams, with

the subdivision under his orders, to push on to attack the vessels to the northward of him, while he himself, with the others, ran alongside a larger brig off the mole-head, carrying the French commander's pendant. The boats were no sooner alongside of this ship, than they attempted to board. But the strong netting baffled all their endeavours; and an instantaneous discharge from about 200 soldiers on her gunwale, either killed or desperately wounded Captain Parker and two-thirds of his crew. Had not the *Medusa's* cutter carried off Captain Parker's boat, she must have fallen into the hands of the enemy. Captain Williams led his subdivision against the enemy with the utmost gallantry. He took one lugger, and had commenced an attack on a brig, when he was obliged to withdraw, together with Captain Parker's boat. Nearly the whole of his boat's crew had been killed or wounded. Captain Cotgrave's division was the next which came up. His own boat received so many shots from the enemy's batteries in her bottom, that she was soon in a sinking state; and the rest of his division were soon in a like condition. Captain Somerville's division being carried away by the rapidity of the tide, did not come up with the enemy's flotilla till a little before dawn. On reaching his destination, he soon carried a brig; but seeing no likelihood of getting her off, in consequence of the heavy fire of musketry and grapeshot from the shore and the enemy's vessels, he abandoned her and pushed out of the bay.

The fourth division, notwithstanding all their exertions, could not, on account of the rapidity of the returning tide, get to the westward of any part of the enemy's line until near daylight. On approaching the eastern part of the line, in order to assist

the first division then engaged, it met them returning. Under these circumstances, and the day breaking apace, the boats returned to their respective ships.

Captain Conn, with the mortars, advanced in support of Captain Parker's division, wards the pier, until he was aground in the headmost boat. He then opened his fire, and threw about eight shells into the harbour. From the strength of the ebb, he was not able to keep his station off the pier-head. He continued, however, his attack on the French camp, till the enemy's fire had slackened and almost totally failed, and Captain Parker's division had returned without him.

After four hours of gallant conduct, only one French lugger was brought off. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was 172; that of the enemy must have been considerable, not only from the havoc made by the British seamen and marines, but from the volleys of musketry poured upon them by their own countrymen, after their brigs and boats had been boarded, had fallen, or were likely to fall into the hands of their enemies. The conduct of the commander of one of the divisions of the enemy's flotilla, had been that of a generous enemy. As the British boats approached him, he called out in English, "Let me advise you, my brave Englishmen, to keep your distance: you can do nothing here; and it is only uselessly shedding the blood of brave men to make the attempt." On Sunday afternoon, Lord Nelson, with part of the fleet returned to the Downs. The remainder of the ships continued for some time to cruise on the French coast. During the action of the 3rd of August, the hills near Boulogne and the heights of Dover were crowded with thousands of spectators.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE ENGLISH ARMY IN EGYPT.

MENOU—who, on the assassination of General Kleber, succeeded to the command of the French army in Egypt—having refused to ratify the convention of El-Arisch for the evacuation of Egypt, the British government prepared for the expulsion of the French from that important settlement by force of arms. The troops intended for this service were those under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in the bay of Gibraltar; and an expeditionary force of 10,000 men, under General Baird.

The various divisions of the forces having reached their rendezvous in Malta, on the 20th of December, 1800, the fleet, with the first division on board, got under weigh, and set sail from Valetta for Marmorice Bay, which had been fixed on as the place of meeting of the English and Turkish contingent which was to co-operate with them. On the 29th it entered that bay, where, for the purpose of recruiting the health of the troops and re-victualling the ships, they stayed till the

22nd of February. On March the 2nd, the fleet anchored in the bay of Aboukir; but the sea ran so high, and the surf was so heavy, that there was no possibility of effecting a landing till the 7th; when the swell beginning to abate considerably, it was determined to attempt the landing on the following morning. Accordingly, orders were issued for the purpose, and at two o'clock a rocket was fired from the flag-ship as a signal for disembarking. Immediately the first division, consisting of the reserve under Major-general Moore; the brigade of guards, under Major-general Ludlow; part of the foot brigade, comprising the royals, the 1st battalion of the 54th, and 200 men of the 2nd battalion—in all 5,500 men, under the command of Major-general Coote, descended from their transports, and assembled in the boats; the remainder of the 1st and 2nd brigades of that division were placed in ships close to the shore, that a support might be promptly given as soon as the landing had been effected. The launches, containing the field-artillery, as well as a detachment of marines to co-operate with the army, moved under the direction of Sir Sidney Smith. At three o'clock, the signal was made for their proceeding to rendezvous round one of the brigs and two armed vessels, stationed in a line opposite the shore, and out of gun-shot, round which they were to form, and wait the order for pushing to the land. By eight o'clock, the line of boats being formed, the signal to advance was given, under cover of the fire of the *Tartarus* and *Fury* bomb-vessels, two gun-boats, and three armed launches. Suddenly the enemy's artillery, disposed in a concave semicircle on the sand-hills which lined the beach, and the guns of Aboukir Castle vomited a terrible shower of grape-shot, shells, and langridge, so ploughing up the water, that it foamed like surf rolling over breakers. But nowise daunted, though surrounded by death in its most appalling shapes, the boats continued steadily to advance, the troops cheering and huzzaing, and without returning a single shot.

As soon as the boats took ground the troops leaped out, and immediately forming, advanced against the enemy, who had come down to the water's edge to receive them. On the right, the four flank companies of the 40th and the 23rd, with fixed bayonets, immediately charging up a hill, the sand of which yielded under their feet as they climbed, drove the 61st French demi-brigade, which

was drawn up on the top, so precipitately before them, as to compel them to leave their guns behind them. On the right, the guards and the royals, as they came out of the water, were charged by a body of the enemy's cavalry; but they speedily repulsed them with considerable loss. After the contest had lasted about twenty minutes, the enemy retreated into the plain, leaving the possession of the sand-hills in the hands of their opponents, with 400 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, besides six pieces of cannon. In this affair, the diminution of the British troops was 124 killed, 585 wounded, and thirty-eight missing; seamen and marines—twenty-two killed, seventy wounded, and seven missing. The loss of the enemy on this occasion could not be accurately ascertained, as they removed, according to their usual custom, many of the dead. When the British reached the position which the enemy had taken up in the plain, they drew up opposite to them; and in this situation both armies remained cannonading each other till about eleven o'clock, when the French were observed in retreat. At this juncture the second division came up, and took their ground in front of Aboukir Castle, which had refused to surrender on being summoned. An adequate force being left for the reduction of that fort, the united divisions, on the 9th, advanced towards Alexandria; and on the 12th reached a small village where the troops encamped. In the meantime, the enemy had, with 6,000 men, under Generals Friaut and Lanusse, taken a firmly entrenched position on the heights of Nicopolis, which are in front of Alexandria, and extend from the sea-coast to the canal of Alexandria. The hostile armies were now in sight of each other. Early on the morning of the following day, the British army advanced against the enemy, already in march to meet their opponents. As soon as they came in collision, a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry made an impetuous charge on the 90th, who receiving them on the points of their bayonets, compelled them to make a precipitate retreat, with considerable loss from a well-timed volley. Their attack on every other part of the line was equally unsuccessful. The 92nd advanced to the very mouths of two field-pieces, which, though destructive discharges of grape were poured from them, they compelled the enemy to abandon. As the British artillery, from want of horses, moved but slowly, being dragged by men

with great difficulty through the heavy sands, the enemy, in his retreat, repeatedly halted, and taking up a new position with their flying artillery, bitterly galled their pursuers until they came within musket-range of them, when wheeling about, they again resumed their retreat until they reached their strongly-entrenched position on the heights of Nicopolis. The British commander, desirous of following up his success, and by a *coup-de-main* carrying the enemy's position, advanced across the plain; and it was determined that General Hutchinson, with some brigades which had been but little engaged in the action, should attack the French on the right; and that the left should be attacked near the sea by the corps of reserve, supported by the guards. On reconnoitring, however, it was found that the French occupied so favourable a position on the heights, that it would be impossible to dislodge them without a very heavy loss. The attack not being considered practicable, it was abandoned, and the army took possession of the camp which the French had occupied in the morning. In this battle, the seamen under Sir Sidney Smith, and the marines under Lieutenant-colonel Smith, emulated the conduct of the army. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was 1,100\* men; that of the French above half that number, with five cannon and one howitzer. The inequality of the loss was occasioned by the enemy's superiority in artillery and cavalry; he having had nearly 700 well-mounted cavalry, and forty pieces of artillery (generally consisting of curriole guns) in the field; whereas, the British had scarcely 250 wretchedly mounted horsemen, and but few guns, which were dragged up the heights by sailors and soldiers.

Sir Ralph Abercromby was highly pleased with the conduct of the men under his command, both on the occasion of their landing, and in the battle fought on the 13th. The day after the first engagement, the following general order was issued:—"The gallant behaviour of the troops yesterday claims from the commander-in-chief the warmest praise that he can bestow; and it is with particular satisfaction that he observed their conduct, marked equally for ardent bravery, as by coolness, regularity, and order. Major-generals Coote, Ludlow, and Moore, and Brigadier-general Oakes, who led the troops

that effected the landing, and were engaged, will be pleased to accept Sir Ralph Abercromby's thanks for the able manner in which they conducted the whole operation. The commander-in-chief has much pleasure in acknowledging the effectual assistance received from the navy on this occasion, in consequence of the judicious arrangements directed by Admiral Lord Keith; and it is his intention to request his lordship to communicate the same to Captain Cochrane, of the *Ajax*, who superintended the disembarkation; as well as the officers employed under him on that service, and officers and men in the gun-boats and armed launches that covered the landing. Sir Sidney Smith, the captains, officers, and men from the ships of war who acted with the army on shore, will be pleased to accept Sir Ralph Abercromby's thanks, for the activity with which they brought forward the field-artillery, and for the intrepidity and zeal with which they acquitted themselves of the service entrusted to them."

On the 14th, Sir Ralph again issued a general order, expressing his approbation of the conduct of the troops under his command. The order ran as follows:—"The commander-in-chief has the greatest satisfaction in thanking the troops for their soldierlike and intrepid conduct in the action of yesterday. He feels it particularly incumbent on him to express his most perfect satisfaction at the steady and gallant behaviour of Major-general Craddock's brigade; and he desires that Major-general Craddock will assure them, that their meritorious conduct commands his approbation. To the 90th and 92nd regiments, and Dillon's, an equal share of praise is due; and when it has been well-earned, the commander-in-chief has the greatest pleasure in bestowing it."

On the 17th, the castle of Aboukir being reduced to nearly a heap of ruins, surrendered. In the course of the evening of the 19th, 500 Turks, the advanced guard of the forces which had landed in Marep, in the bay of Aboukir, under the Capoutan Pasha, joined the army. In the meantime Menou had concentrated the French forces in a very strong position on the ridge of hills which extend from the sea to the canals of Alexandria, and almost under the walls of that famous city. The French army consisted of 11,000 men (1,400 of whom were cavalry, well-mounted), and forty-six pieces of cannon. The British army occu-

\* The precise loss was 156 killed and 946 wounded. Of the seamen, 27 were killed and 54 wounded. The marines had been detached to Aboukir.

pied a line about a mile in extent, nearly four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in the front, the sea on their right, and the lake Maadieh and the canal of Alexandria (at that time dry) on their left. Their right rested on the ruins of Cæsar's Camp, and a small redoubt was thrown up in front. Their flanks were covered by gun-boats and redoubts. In this position Menou resolved to attack them; and proclaimed a *louis-d'or* as a re-

ward for each man who would volunteer to commence the action, by turning the right of his enemy. The 21st demi-brigade, amounting to 900 men (termed *the invincibles*, for their success in the recent Italian campaigns), undertook the task. Sir Sidney Smith, on the 20th, apprised Sir Ralph Abercromby, that he had obtained intelligence that the enemy intended to attack the British army on the following morning.

#### BATTLE OF ALEXANDRIA, MARCH 21st.

As mentioned above, the right wing of the British was the farthest advanced: Menou observing this, resolved to attack it and the centre; and, in order to cover this design, at the same time to make a false attack on the left wing. After defeating the right, his orders were to drive the British into the lake Maadieh, on which their left rested. On the 20th, General Moore was the general of the day, and continued with the troops until four o'clock in the morning of the 21st. Everything had been apparently quiet in the enemy's camp during the night. About half-past three the British troops were getting under arms, preparing for the attack which the movements of the enemy the previous evening, and the information they had received, led them to expect. The plain which stretched between the two camps, and the heights occupied by the French, were enveloped in mist, which every eye was endeavouring to pierce, when the sharp report of a musket-shot was heard, and then the boom of two cannon-shots on the left. This was immediately followed by a smart fire of musketry being opened on the farthest *fleche*, on the left of the British position, and Brigadier-general Stuart marched his forage-brigade to the support of the point attacked. At the same moment a heavy fire, both of artillery and musketry, was commenced on the right of the British army. In their false attack on the left, the enemy rapidly advanced, and entered a small *fleche* which had been in possession of the British; the camp-sentinels turned the 12-pounder which was mounted in it on our men, and had actually fired one shot from it, when a redoubt in the rear of the *fleche* opening their fire on them, they quickly retreated, carrying off with them three officers, one serjeant, and

ten rank and file of the 5th brigade. The enemy thinking he had drawn all the attention of the British to the left, and having easily driven in their pickets, hastily advanced with his whole force.

His object now was, by a sudden and spirited attack, to turn and overwhelm the reserve, which, by its advanced position, was separated from the rest of the army. Having accomplished this, his next aim was to force the British centre with his united troops; and while the attention of the left was occupied by the false attack, the whole force of his cavalry was to avail itself of a favourable opportunity, and by an impetuous charge, to drive the British army into Lake Aboukir; thus, at a blow, deciding the contest.

For this purpose Lanusse's division, forming the left wing, advanced boldly against the British right; at the same time Syllly's brigade marched direct on the redoubt which had been thrown up in the Roman ruins; while Valentine's brigade proceeded along the sea-side to penetrate between it and the eminence of the Castle of the Cæsars. Syllly's brigade took possession of a small redan; but staggered by the heavy fire from the redoubt, it was obliged to fall back. Valentine's brigade, while moving along the sea-shore, was stopped in its progress by the fire from the ruins, which were defended by the 23rd and 58th regiments, and the flank companies of the 40th. Still attempting to force its way between them and the redoubt, the 69th demi-brigade was taken in flank by a discharge of grapeshot, and suffered considerable loss. On this, the remainder of the corps refusing to advance, Lanusse, in his endeavour to rally them, had his thigh carried off by a cannon-

shot. Confusion ensuing, the corps took to flight.

Sylly's troops, not being able to clear the ditch of the redoubt, attempted to turn it, but were repulsed, with great loss, by the 28th regiment, who were there posted. Being assailed both in front and rear at the same moment, the rear rank faced about, and thus, both ranks standing back to back, repelled their assailants. While this was passing on the right of the British line, Rampon's division made an attack on the centre. In an attempt to turn the brigade of guards, which was a little in advance, they were received with so warm and well-sustained a fire from the third regiment of this corps, whose left was thrown back, and from the royals, that they were obliged, after a sharp contest, to retreat with considerable loss.

Destin's division leaving the redoubt on the left, endeavoured to reach the ruins, but they were so warmly received by the 42nd, that in their attempt to retreat, a battalion of the 21st brigade, surnamed the "Invincibles," was surrounded by the 42nd and 58th regiments, and compelled to lay down its arms, having lost two-thirds of its numbers. Its standard,\* on which were blazoned its exploits—namely, *Le Passage de Scriveria*, *Le Passage du Tagliamento*, *Le Passage de l'Isonzo*, *La Prise de Gratz*, *Le Pont de Lodi*—being taken by the British.

At this juncture, Menou having been foiled in all his attempts to penetrate the British line, determined to make a last

\* The circumstances attending the capture of this standard were :—The left wing of the 42nd, under the command of Major Stirling, was ordered to advance to the support of the left of the 28th. On taking up their position, hearing in their rear some persons speaking French in a low tone of voice, and supposing that the parties were some of General Stuart's foreign brigade advancing to their assistance, no further notice was taken. On closer approach, however, the parties being discovered to be a French battalion, marching in open column in the rear of the left wing of the 42nd, an instant charge was made, by which the enemy being thrown into confusion, and having sustained great loss, took shelter in an old ruin, having been prevented from getting further into the rear by the right wing of the 42nd coming up to the assistance of the left. To Major Stirling, who at this time entered the ruins close on the heels of the fleeing enemy, two French officers presented themselves, and begged the lives of their corps. This having been granted, the corps was ordered to lay down their arms, and Major Stirling having immediately advanced to the officer who carried the standard, seized it from him. Major Stirling committed the charge of the standard to Serjeant Sinclair, who was standing by him, ordering him to carry it into the rear, under a guard of twelve men. The right

effort to carry their position. For this purpose, he ordered the main body of the cavalry, under Roize, to charge; and Regnier, at the head of the divisions of Lanusse, Rampon, Friant, and the 85th demi-brigade, to support it.

Accordingly, the 3rd and 14th dragoons, under Broussart, impetuously rushed forward, and charged through the 42nd regiment. The regiment having been broken by the fierce attack, the men, forming themselves into little knots, stood back to back, to resist the endeavours of the cavalry to cut them down. The hostile cavalry continued its impetuous course as far as the tents; but getting entangled there, many of the horses and men were destroyed. At this juncture, the Minorca regiment came up to the support of the 42nd, and drew up in the vacant space between the redoubt and the guards. The second line of French cavalry, composed of the 15th, 18th, and 20th dragoons, under the command of Roize, made another desperate charge on these regiments. As it was impossible to withstand the shock, they opened line and let them pass; then facing about, they poured on them so destructive volleys, that numbers of men and horses were brought to the ground. The cavalry then endeavoured to force its way back, but this they were unable to effect, and the greater part of them was either killed or wounded in the attempt. Roize himself had fallen on the spot. When the broken remains of the cavalry reformed on the rear of their infantry, not a wing of the 42nd having by this time been formed, both that and the left regained the ground which they had previously occupied. There, being attacked by two strong columns of the enemy, an immediate charge was made, by which the enemy was driven back 200 yards. At this moment, when all their ammunition had been nearly expended, they were furiously assaulted by a powerful body of French cavalry, and having been broken by that charge, they retired through the files of the Minorca regiment, which opportunely arrived to their support. In this *melee*, Serjeant Sinclair, having been wounded by a sabre-cut in the head, fell stunned upon the field; he still, however, retained possession of the standard. In the course of a few minutes, a private of the Minorca regiment coming up, picked up the standard, and, on delivering it to the proper officer, received twenty dollars as a reward. As a grateful acknowledgment and an appropriate commemoration of the valour of their countrymen, the Highland Society presented the 42nd regiment with a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas, inscribed with an appropriate motto and design. A silver medal, bearing the same motto and design, was also presented to each officer and private of the regiment who had been present in the action, or, if killed or dead, to their nearest surviving relatives.

fourth of those who had charged could be collected.

After the last effort of the cavalry, the French contented themselves in keeping up a heavy cannonade, which was as warmly returned by the British. The riflemen

\* The following account of the battle of Alexandria, from the notes of an officer who was engaged in it, will be interesting to the reader. After describing the plan of the false attack on the left, the narrative proceeds to state that "loud acclamations were heard on the right, to which a roar of musketry instantly succeeded, and the enemy's attack in that quarter was now no longer doubtful. The enemy advanced upon, and continued to push in, all the videttes and pickets upon the main body, but Colonel Houston of the 58th, faintly perceiving a French column advancing upon him, and dreading lest the English pickets should be between them and his men, suffered it to come so near him, that he could plainly see the enemy's glazed hats before he ordered his grenadiers to fire. Their discharge was followed by that of the whole regiment, and being rapidly repeated, made the French retire to a hollow some distance in their rear. Soon after they wheeled to the right, and attempted to pass a redoubt opposite to its left, in conjunction with another column; but the 28th regiment seeing them approach the battery, with a heavy fire checked those who attempted to storm the redoubt where they were stationed. But now the main body of the two columns joined a third, and forced in behind the redoubt, while others were to attack it in front; when Colonel Crowdjye commanding the left of the 58th, wheeled back two companies, and, after firing two or three rounds, ordered a charge with the bayonet, and being at this instant joined by the 23rd, while the 42nd were also advancing, the French troops that had entered the rear of the redoubt, after sustaining a very severe loss, were obliged to surrender. Here both the 58th and 28th had been attacked in front, flank, and rear. It is allowed, that the 28th experienced a momentary relief from the advance of the 42nd; but, during the time they were engaged, the first line of the enemy's cavalry, passing the left of the redoubt, attacked, and, charging in a mass, for a while overwhelmed that gallant corps, but which, though broken, was not defeated. In fact, such was the dilemma in which they were placed during this contest, that Colonel Spencer, with a part of the 40th, having taken a station in the avenues of the ruins, was, for some moments, afraid to fire lest they should destroy the 42nd, then intermingled with the enemy. But even when he began to fire, which in some measure checked the progress of the French cavalry, he must certainly have been overpowered, if General Stuart had not advanced with the foreign brigade, pouring in such a heavy and well-directed fire; which, as nothing could withstand, the enemy, from destruction and flight, was no longer visible. In this furious charge of cavalry, General Abercromby received his mortal wound. He was alone, near the redoubts just spoken of, when some French dragoons penetrating to the spot, he was thrown from his horse. From the tassel of his sword, the man that rode at him, and endeavoured to cut him down, must have been an officer. This sword, however, the veteran general seized, and wrested from him before he could effect his destruction; and, at the same instant, this daring assailant was bayoneted by a private of the 42nd.

quartered along the fronts of both armies also kept up an incessant fire. Each side sustained considerable loss from the artillery. About half-past nine the enemy began their retreat; and about ten o'clock the firing ceased on both sides.\*

Sir Ralph only complained of a contusion in his breast, supposed to have been given in the scuffle by the hilt of the sword, but was entirely ignorant of the moment he received the wound in the thigh, which occasioned his death. After this wound Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer that came to the general, and from him received that sword which the latter had so gloriously acquired from the French officer. The cause of this present was the general's observation, that Sir Sidney's sword had been broken. As soon as the French cavalry were driven out of the camp, Sir Ralph walked to a redoubt, where he could take a view of the whole field of battle. Then to the right it appeared, the reserve of the French cavalry had attempted another charge against the foreign brigade, without success. After this their infantry, one battalion excepted, no longer acting in a body, fired only in scattered parties. As the ammunition of the British was exhausted, several of the regiments of the reserve not only remained some time without firing a shot, but even the guns in the battery had but one cartridge left. But while this was the state of affairs on the right, it was found the centre had been attacked. At daybreak, a body of French grenadiers had advanced upon it, supported by a heavy line of infantry. The guards were posted there, and at first threw out their flankers to oppose the enemy; but these being driven in, and, as the enemy's columns had approached very close, General Ludlow ordering the brigade to fire, they did so with the utmost precision; and, after some little local manœuvring, the advance of General Coote with his brigade determined the enemy to retire, and separate themselves as sharpshooters; and thus, while the French cannon played without intermission, the former kept up a very destructive fire: consequently the left of the British was never engaged any farther than being exposed to a distant cannonade, and a partial discharge of musketry. During the interval the British were without ammunition, the French on the right, advancing close to the redoubt, were pelted with stones by the 28th; and returning the same measures of offence, they killed a serjeant of that regiment, by beating in his forehead. But as these troops, as well as the British, were without ammunition, they were very easily driven away by the grenadiers, who moved out after them; and, soon after, the whole of the enemy's force moved off the ground. Thus, unable to make the impression expected upon the British lines, General Menou made a retreat in very good order, but this was principally owing to the want of ammunition among the British; otherwise the batteries, as well as the cannon on the left, and the king's cutters on the right, must have done great execution. About ten in the forenoon the action had everywhere terminated, while Sir Ralph Abercromby never quitted the battery he retired to; and, as he continued walking about, many officers had no suspicion of his being wounded, but from the blood trickling down his clothes. At length, getting faint, he was put on a hammock and conveyed to a boat, which carried him on board Lord Keith's ship, being accompanied by his friend, Sir Thomas Dwyer."

In the accounts of the casualties of the contending armies by Wilson and Regnier, a great variance exists. According to the official return, the loss of the British was 1,472\* in killed, wounded, and missing: that of the enemy must have exceeded 4,000; for no less than 1,160 were counted by the provost-marshal dead upon the field of battle, exclusive of those within the line of the French videttes, which of course he was not able to ascertain. Three French generals were killed, and as many wounded. On the side of the English, the commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who had been wounded in the charge of the French cavalry, died a few days after the battle. Major-general Moore, and Brigadier-generals Hope, Oakes, and Lawson were wounded. The effective British force in the field was less than 12,000 men, inclusive of artillery; that of the French was between twelve and thirteen thousand men, exclusive of artillery. The 500 Turks who had joined previous to the battle, remained in the rear during the whole action. Of the British force there was but little more than one-half who actually engaged in the contest with the whole force of the French. There being some reason to apprehend that the enemy intended to renew the attack during the night, the troops remained under arms and at their alarm-posts till the morning. The command of the army now devolved on Major-general Hutchinson, who transmitted the following despatch, detailing the operations of the battle of Alexandria, to Lord Hawkesbury, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs:—

“Camp before Alexandria, April 5, 1801.

Sir,—I have the honour to inform you, that after the affair of the 13th of March, the army took a position about four miles from Alexandria, having a sandy plain in their front, the sea on their right, and the Canal of Alexandria (at present dry) and the Lake of Aboukir on their left. In this position we remained without any material occurrence taking place till the 21st of March, when the enemy attacked us with nearly the whole of their collected force, amounting probably to eleven or twelve thousand men. Of fourteen demi-brigades of infantry, which the French have in this country, twelve appear to have been engaged, and all their cavalry, with the exception of one regiment.

\* The precise loss was 234 killed and 1,193 wounded. The casualties of the seamen were—four killed, fifty wounded, and thirty-four missing.

“The enemy made the following disposition of their army:—General Lanusse was on their left, with four demi-brigades of infantry, and a considerable body of cavalry, commanded by General Roize: Generals Friant and Rampon were in the centre, with five demi-brigades; General Regnier on the right, with two demi-brigades and two regiments of cavalry; General d’Estaing commanded the advanced guard, consisting of one demi-brigade, some light troops, and a detachment of cavalry.

“The action commenced about an hour before daylight, by a false attack on our left, which was under Major-general Craddock’s command, where they were soon repulsed. The most vigorous efforts of the enemy were however directed against our right, which they used every possible exertion to turn. The attack on that point was begun with great impetuosity by the French infantry, sustained by a strong body of cavalry, who charged in column. They were received by our troops with equal ardour, and the utmost steadiness and discipline. The contest was unusually obstinate; the enemy were twice repulsed, and their cavalry were repeatedly mixed with our infantry. They at length retired, leaving a prodigious number of dead and wounded on the field.

“While this was passing on the right, they attempted to penetrate our centre with a column of infantry, who were also repulsed, and obliged to retreat with loss. The French, during the whole action, refused their right. They pushed forward, however, a corps of light troops, supported by a body of infantry and cavalry, to keep our left in check, which certainly was, at that time, the weakest part of our line.

“We have taken about 200 prisoners (not wounded), but it was impossible to pursue our victory, on account of our inferiority in cavalry, and because the French had lined the opposite hills with cannon, under which they retired. We also have suffered considerably; few more severe actions have ever been fought, considering the numbers engaged on both sides.

“We have sustained an irreparable loss in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander-in-chief, Sir Ralph Abercromby, who was mortally wounded in the action, and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early; but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders

with that coolness and perspicuity which have ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so was his death glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country—will be sacred to every British soldier—and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity.

“It is impossible for me to do justice to the zeal of the officers, and to the gallantry of the soldiers of the army. The reserve, against whom the principal attack of the enemy was directed, conducted themselves with unexampled spirit. They resisted the impetuosity of the French infantry, and repulsed several charges of cavalry. Major-general Moore was wounded at their head, though not dangerously. I regret, however, the temporary absence from the army of this highly valuable and meritorious officer, whose counsel and co-operation would be so highly necessary to me at this moment. Brigadier-general Oakes was wounded nearly at the same time, and the army has been deprived of the service of an excellent officer. The 28th and 42nd regiments acted in the most distinguished and brilliant manner. Colonel Paget, an officer of great promise, was wounded at the head of the former regiment; he has since, though not quite recovered, returned to his duty.

“Brigadier-general Stuart and the foreign brigade supported the reserve with much promptness and spirit; indeed, it is but justice to this corps to say, that they have, on all occasions, endeavoured to emulate the zeal and spirit exhibited by the British troops, and have perfectly succeeded. Major-general Ludlow deserves much approbation for his conduct when the centre of the army was attacked: under his guidance, the guards conducted themselves in the most cool, intrepid, and soldierlike manner; they received very effectual support by a movement of the right of General Coote's brigade. Brigadier-general Hope was wounded in the hand; the army has been deprived of the services of a most active, zealous, and judicious officer.

“The loss of the enemy has been great; it is calculated at upwards of 3,000 killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Roize,

who commanded the cavalry, which suffered considerably, was killed in the field. Generals Lanusse and Rodet are since dead of their wounds. I have been informed that several other general officers, whose names I do not know, have been either killed or wounded.

“I cannot conclude this letter without solemnly assuring you, that in the arduous contest in which we are at present engaged, his majesty's troops in Egypt have faithfully discharged their duty to their country, and nobly upheld the fame of the British name and nation.

(Signed) “J. H. HUTCHINSON.”

A gloom was thrown over the joyous intelligence of this important victory by the loss which the country sustained by the death of the brave General Abercromby. He was in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was much endeared to his soldiers by his undaunted bravery as well as his humanity, and the solicitude he always evinced in providing for the comfort of his troops. During the early part of the engagement he was attacked by a dragoon, whom he disarmed; and, in the tremendous charge of the French cavalry, he was wounded in the hip. This proved fatal; and, on the 28th, Sir Ralph breathed his last. Writing in his diary, Sir John (then General Moore) declares him to have been a truly upright, honourable, and judicious man: his great sagacity, which had been directed all his life to military matters, made him an excellent officer. The disadvantage he laboured under was being extremely short-sighted. He therefore stood in need of good executive generals under him. In his military character he was strictly uniform and regular, preserving order and discipline among all under his command. In action he invariably exhibited the greatest coolness, intrepidity, and presence of mind. In his private character he was a pattern to those about him, being modest and unassuming, disinterested and upright; in his morals he was circumspect, and free from licentious vices. Sir Ralph had the honour of being the first military commander, from the commencement of the war, who had made the French feel that they were not invincible, and destroyed the *prestige* which had hitherto been attached to the eagles of the republic.

On the 23rd of March, General Hutchinson sent a flag of truce to Alexandria, with an offer to the French, that if they at once

surrendered, they should be sent to France, with their small arms, private property, and colours, leaving their artillery and ships. To this proposal the French general replied, that the French army could not listen to such ignoble terms; and that any future propositions of a similar nature would not even be received.

General Hutchinson, aware of the advantages which would result from the possession of Rosetta, as the Nile would be thereby opened, and supplies insured for the army, dispatched Colonel Spencer, with 1,000 British troops, and 4,000 of the 5,000 Turkish troops which had joined the British army on the 25th, to possess himself of Rosetta, which the French garrison having abandoned and retreated across the Nile, was taken possession of on the 14th of April. Fort Julian, situated near Rosetta, after a gallant defence, surrendered five days afterwards.

Having left Major-general Coote in command of the troops in the entrenched position before Alexandria, General Hutchinson, on the 24th of April, left the camp to carry the war into the central parts of Egypt, and commence operations with that part of the army which was posted near El-Hamed, against the French under the command of Lagrange, and who occupied a strong entrenched position in front of the village of El-Ast. On the 5th of May he advanced against the enemy, who, having abandoned his position on the 6th, El-Ast was taken possession of by the British on the following day. Pursuing the French under Lagrange to Rahmanieh, that fort surrendered on the 9th. By the fall of this place, all connexion between Cairo and Alexandria was cut off. The grand vizier, about this time, effected a junction with the British army, with about 25,000 disorderly, ill-disciplined troops. On the same day, a detachment of French cavalry, consisting of three officers and forty men, escorting one of General Belliard's aides-de-camp, charged with despatches from Menou, was captured on their route from Alexandria to Cairo; and on the 17th a corps of the enemy, consisting of 200 of the dromedary corps, 69 artillerymen, and 330 infantry, with one cannon, a stand of colours, and a train of 460 camels, sent from Alexandria to collect provisions and forage in the province of Bahiveh, surrendered to Brigadier-general Doyle, who had been dispatched in pursuit of them. Since General Hutchinson's departure from El-Hamed,

nearly 1,000 of the enemy had fallen into the hands of their pursuers. The French now began to concentrate their forces. Lagrange's division reached Cairo, to which place the garrisons of Salahieh, Belbeis, and Birket-el-Hadge directed their march. These troops, with the garrison of Cairo under Belliard and Dongelot's divisions from Upper Egypt, formed a body of 9,000 men, exclusive of Greeks and Copts.

General Hutchinson having determined to lay siege to Cairo, on the 21st of June invested it and one of its dependencies, Gizeh (a town on the opposite bank of the Nile), while the necessary materials for the siege were sent up the Nile. The Capoutan Pasha was posted at Gizeh, and the grand vizier took a position within cannon-shot of Cairo, on the same side of the Nile as the Capoutan Pasha. On the 22nd, General Belliard, the governor of Cairo, finding himself surrounded on all sides, and his communication with the interior part of the country cut off, sent a flag of truce to General Hutchinson's advanced posts, requesting a conference between a French and an English officer, for the purpose of treating for the evacuation of Cairo and its dependencies. To this request General Hutchinson assented, and Brigadier-general Hope was appointed to meet a French general of brigade, by whom a *coup des conférences* was arranged for the settlement of the conditions of the convention to be agreed on. On the 28th the convention by which Cairo and its dependencies (Boulah and Gizeh) were to be surrendered was ratified. By the terms of the capitulation, the French garrison was to be conveyed to some French port, at latest within fifty days from the ratification. Shortly after (viz., August 10th) the capitulation of Cairo was signed, the Indian contingent, consisting of 6,400 men, of whom 2,800 were sepoys, under Major-general Baird, arrived on the banks of the Nile. They had sailed from Ceylon in February, and after a passage of twenty weeks, arrived (July 8th) at Cosseir, on the Red Sea. After a toilsome march of 400 miles across the desert of Thebes, during which not a particle of herbage and scarcely any kind of vegetation was seen, they reached Kinneh, on the banks of the Nile, whence they were conveyed down the river in boats to Cairo. After halting there four weeks, they were marched to Rosetta, and encamped before that town.

On the capitulation of Cairo, General

Hutchinson summoned Menou to surrender Alexandria, with which demand the French general, having received information of the approach to the coast of Egypt of Admiral Gantheaume,\* with seven sail-of-the-line and 4,000 men, peremptorily refused to accede. General Hutchinson, therefore, after the embarkation of the garrison of Cairo, according to the stipulations of the convention, commenced active operations against Alexandria. A flotilla, protected by fifty gun-boats, was rapidly collected on the lake Maræotis: the fort of Marabout, situated on a long area of land which unites Alexandria to the opposite side of the lake, and protects the entrance of the western or great harbour of that city, was, on the 17th, invested, and being soon reduced to ruins, it capitulated on the 21st. On the 22nd the allies entered the harbour of the old port, and opening their trenches, soon breached Fort le Turc. Menou now received intelligence that Gantheaume, after remaining two days within thirty leagues of Alexandria, had, on being discovered by the English fleet under Lord Keith, been obliged to bear away. In consequence of this he now forgot his declaration of conquering or burying himself under the ruins of Alexandria, and requested a capitulation. The conditions granted to Belliard were not refused to Menou. An attempt was made to include the collection of antiquities and the drawings which had been made by the scavans and artists who had accompanied the French expedition among the articles of confiscation, and had even been agreed to by the military commanders on both sides; but on the scavans threatening to destroy them rather than resign them to the victors, the claim was relinquished. A cargo of Egyptian antiquities (among which was the sarcophagus of Alexander, which they could neither conceal nor consume by fire) was retained by the victors, and when brought to England was deposited in the British Museum.

\* The endeavours of Gantheaume to effect a landing were energetic. He had sailed from Brest in the beginning of January, and having eluded the two squadrons of Sir John Boscawen and Sir Richard Bickerton, who had been sent in pursuit of him, he was almost within sight of the Pharos of Alexandria, when, discouraged by the presence of the English fleet under Lord Keith, he returned to Toulon. On the 20th of March he again sailed from Toulon, and passing Sir John Warren's squadron of four ships off Sardinia, he arrived off Alexandria on the 23rd of April; but again discouraged by the presence of Lord Keith's fleet, he resailed to Toulon. On the 20th of May he set sail a third time for

In consequence of these events, the British army was in entire possession of Egypt; and by its prowess (although it was chiefly composed of recruits who had never before been engaged in actual warfare), dissipated the infatuated notion which had become prevalent throughout Europe, of French invincibility and unequalled military talent.

The trophies of the victors, besides imperishable renown, were 320 pieces of artillery captured in Cairo, and 312 in Alexandria, together with six ships in the port of Alexandria—namely, one 64, three frigates, and two ex-Venetian frigates. From the first-mentioned city they had conveyed to the shores of France as prisoners, 13,672 soldiers, besides the civil servants attached to that force, and 10,011 soldiers, 517 sailors, and 615 civilians attached to them. On the complete pacification of the country, the greater part of the army, together with General Hutchinson, returned to England; but 12,000 men, including those from India, were left under the command of the Earl of Cavan, to secure the country till a general peace occurred. The total loss of the British army during the campaign had been 550 killed, 3,068 wounded, and 84 missing. Considering the nature of the service, and the very inefficient and hitherto inexperienced state of the army, perhaps never had a more brilliant exploit been performed with so small a loss. Marshal Marmont, in his work entitled *Voyage du Duc de Raguse*, says:—"Never was a force worse provided. The English army was wanting in means of draught, of carriage, and of cavalry."

The British regiments at the battle of Alexandria were:—Coldstream guards and 3rd regiment of guards, brigaded under Major-general Ludlow; royals, 1st and 2nd battalions, 54th and 92nd, brigaded under Major-general Coote; 90th, 8th, 13th, and 18th, brigaded under Major-general Cradock; 50th and 79th, brigaded under Major-

the relief of the French army in Egypt, with three additional frigates, and was within sight of Alexandria on the 8th of June; but while making preparations for landing, the British fleet appearing, he again made sail for the coast of France; and in his route thither, fell in with the *Swiftsure*, Captain Hallowell, who, after a gallant defence which lasted an hour and-a-half, was compelled to surrender—an event which afforded unbounded exultation to the editors of the French press. In his last attempt the brig *Heliopolis* succeeded in evading the English shipping and entered Alexandria; as did also the frigate *Régénére*, in his second attempt.

general the Earl of Cavan; queen's, 30th, 44th, and 89th, brigaded under Brigadier-general Doyle; Stuart's or Minorca regiment, De Roll's and Dillon's, brigaded under Brigadier-general Stuart; 23rd, 28th, 42nd, and 58th, brigaded under Major-general Moore; and Corsican rangers, flank companies 40th regiment, and staff corps, brigaded under Brigadier-general Oakes. The total amounted to 14,950 men.

The grand seignor, to perpetuate the remembrance of the services of the Anglo-Egyptian army which had served in Egypt, established an order of knighthood, which he named the order of the Crescent. In the first class were General Hutchinson, Sir Eyre Coote, Admirals Keith and Sir Richard Bickerton, and the British ambassador to the Ottoman court, the Earl of Elgin. In the second class were the general officers and naval officers of equal rank. Gold medals, of different sizes, bearing a crescent and a star in the centre, with a suitable inscription, were also given to all the officers of the army who had served in Egypt, according to their respective ranks. A magnificent palace was erected at Pera, and dedicated to be the residence of the English ambassador at the Ottoman Porte.

No sooner were the French expelled from Egypt, than the Turks endeavoured to avail themselves of the presence of the British army to seize the country.

From the commencement of the war, the Porte had formed a secret resolution to seize the country, and to change its form of government; though all the while the grand vizier and the capitan-pasha were holding out to the beys and Mamelukes the most unequivocal assurances that their authority would be supported on the destruction of the infidels. To commence with the design, no sooner were the French expelled, than seven of the beys were invited to Alexandria, to hold a conference with the capitan-pasha on the subject of certain arrangements necessary to be made for their re-establishment. On their arrival there, it was proposed that they should pay a visit of ceremony to the English commander, who was then on board a ship of war; but the real intention was to put them on board of a Turkish vessel, and convey them to Constantinople. But they had no sooner entered the boats which were to take them to the ship, than, calling to mind the repeated warnings and advice of General Hutchinson, not to trust themselves on board Turkish vessels, and

now being satisfied that such was their destination, they required of the officers to be reconducted to the shore. A compliance with their request being refused, a struggle ensued, in which three of the beys were killed, and four wounded. The grand vizier too, at the same time, attempted to secure by force or fraud as many of the beys as he could. Some fell into his hands; others made their escape into Upper Egypt. General Hutchinson, apprised of this violation of public faith, immediately put his troops under arms; and, remonstrating severely with both the grand vizier and the capitan-pasha, compelled them to surrender the four wounded beys and the bodies of the slain ones, who were buried with military honours at Alexandria. The Porte being thus disappointed in its forcible endeavours to possess Egypt, had now recourse to more conciliatory measures. By promise of protection, favour, and preferment, the beys were induced to relinquish their pretensions to any authority in Egypt in favour of the Porte, by whom the system of government by pashas was introduced.

The expulsion of the French from Egypt caused great joy in Britain. While the capitulation of Cairo was being prepared, the commander-in-chief received his majesty's orders to communicate to the troops under his command his royal thanks for their conduct and services in Egypt. On the termination of the war, General Hutchinson was created a peer, and a pension of £2,000 per annum settled on him. Admiral Keith was also raised to the peerage, and General Coote was invested with the order of the Bath. The regiments who had been engaged in this expedition, and who had so nobly sustained the lustre of the British arms, were allowed to carry a sphinx on their colours, and the word "Egypt" inscribed. The remains of the gallant Sir Ralph Abercromby were carried to Malta, and buried with military honours in one of the bastions of La Valette. His widow was raised to the peerage, and a pension granted to her of £2,000 a-year.

Lord Hutchinson soon after returned to Britain, in consequence of the state of his health, having resigned the command to Lord Cavan, who remained in Egypt with the troops, to the number of 5,000, besides the Indian army of 7,000; being, in all, an army of 12,000 men, who were left to secure the country until a general peace.

The loss of Egypt was the cause of much

regret to Napoleon. Junot states, that on being informed of the event, he experienced the most cruel agony, and exclaimed—"Junot, we have lost Egypt!" It was from this point that he expected to be able to strike the blow at our possessions in the East, which he thought would completely cripple the British power. The Duchess d'Abrantes relates:—"The first consu. never let those around know to what a degree he was afflicted by the stroke which he received from England on that occasion. Junot alone was fully acquainted with it; it was only to the eyes of those who had enjoyed his early intimacy that he raised the veil which concealed the anguish of his heart. Junot wept like a child when he recounted what the first consul had said during the two hours he was with him after he received intelligence of the disastrous event. 'My projects,' he remarked, 'alike with my dreams, have been destroyed by England.'"

Thus terminated the French invasion of Egypt; and though Napoleon failed in accomplishing the object for which it was undertaken, still much knowledge was acquired of that ancient and celebrated country,

by the learned and scientific men who accompanied the French army. In reviewing the circumstances of the Egyptian expedition, Napoleon remarked, "that the army of the East had left in Egypt an immortal memory, which would, perhaps, one day revive there the arts and institutions of society; and that history, at least, would not pass over in silence all that the French had done to introduce into that country the arts and improvements of Europe."

Before closing the history of the attempt to establish French power in the East, we may mention that on the surrender of Alexandria, the French frigate, *La Justice*, fell into the hands of the English. This was the last of the four ships of the fleet of Admiral Brueys which had escaped; so that the capture of this frigate completed the total annihilation of that squadron, which had so proudly entered the port of Alexandria. Of the four sail-of-the-line, under Admiral Gantheaume, which escaped on that memorable 2nd of October, the *Genereux*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *Diane* frigate had already been captured, and now *La Justice* completed the number.

#### NAVAL ENGAGEMENTS.

WITH the design of detaching Portugal from its alliance with England, Napoleon Buonaparte induced the court of Madrid to declare war against Portugal. To aid Spain a French army crossed the Bidassoa; and a French fleet, uniting with that lying in the port of Cadiz, was to enter the Tagus and sack Lisbon; by which enterprise, as the French admiral Kerguelin expressed himself, "France would be enriched with British merchandise, and England would receive a terrible shock, which would produce bankruptcies and a general consternation." In pursuance of this arrangement, under the command of the Prince of Peace, a Spanish army invaded the Alentejo, and the French army of observation, at the same moment, entered Portugal. To conciliate the cabinets of France and Spain, Portugal agreed to close her ports against the English, to cede one half of Portuguese Guiana to France, and to pay 20,000,000 francs for the evacuation of Portugal by the French troops. The British government, in retaliation, took possession of the island of Madeira.

In the month of June of this year, the

Dutch settlement of Ternate, the principal of the Molucca islands, had surrendered, after an obstinate resistance of fifty-two days, to a military and naval force under the command of Colonel Burr and Captain Hayes of the East India Company's service.

We shall here give a short account of the capture of the *Swiftsure*, Captain Hallowell, already alluded to. Admiral Gantheaume, having sailed from Toulon with reinforcements to the French army in the East, and having found it impossible to land the troops and stores which were on board the ships of his squadron, owing to the determined opposition of the Turks, he again sailed from Alexandria for Toulon. Gantheaume's squadron consisted of four ships-of-the-line and a large frigate named the *Créole*. The *Swiftsure*, having parted from her convoy, was returning to Malta to join the squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren, when, on the morning of the 24th of June, she descried the French squadron. The superior sailing powers of the French ships rendered all attempts at escape, on the part of the *Swiftsure*, unavailable. By two o'clock in

the afternoon two of the fastest-sailing of the ships, and the frigate, had approached almost within gunshot. Captain Hallowell determined to bear *dawn* and engage the three ships, hoping, by disabling one before the others could be brought into action, he might then be able to make his escape. The *Swiftsure*, accordingly, under all sail, bore down, and endeavoured to pass astern of the rearmost of her three antagonists. In a short time the two line-of-battle ships, being within half gunshot, opened their fire. A spirited engagement then ensued, which lasted upwards of two hours. The superiority of the French ships, however, prevented Hallowell from getting to leeward, as he had expected, and the other two line-of-battle ships having taken up their position within gunshot, on the larboard bow and quarter, the *Swiftsure* was obliged to strike her colours. Of the two ships which the *Swiftsure* engaged, one carried eighty, and the other seventy-four guns; the larger ship carrying the flag of the commander. The masts, sails, and rigging of the British ship were a complete wreck; but her loss in killed and wounded was very small; the object of the French being to prevent her escape. M. Gantheaume's loss, in the two ships, was eight men killed and twenty-five wounded, and considerable damage done to the ships from the severe cannonading of the *Swiftsure*. The French admiral, much rejoicing at his good luck, manned his prize, and conveyed her to the harbour of Toulon.

The blockading squadrons on the Spanish coast, under Sir John Borlase Warren and Sir Richard Bickerton, having left their stations off the harbours of Ferrol and Cadiz in search of Gantheaume, Sir James Saumarez was dispatched in June from England with six sail-of-the-line and two frigates to maintain the blockade of Cadiz. On the 5th of July, receiving intelligence that three sail-of-the-line and one frigate, with some smaller vessels, under Admiral Linois, had anchored at Algeiras, a port immediately opposite Gibraltar, and within four miles of that place, the British admiral immediately went in pursuit, hoping to be able to capture them and resume

his station off Cadiz before the Spanish squadron in that port could be ready for sea. He arrived on the 6th in presence of the enemy, and having laid his ships close to his opponents, the action soon became general; but on account of the difficult navigation of the harbour, which was surrounded by reefs of sunken rocks, and the cross-fire of the heavy land-batteries and that of a number of gun-boats, and that the wind as soon as two of the British vessels got into action fell so as to prevent the remainder of the squadron from joining, the *Hannibal* grounded on the rocks, where she was exposed to the shot of the enemy's squadron on one side, and the land-batteries on the other, while fourteen gun-boats, securely posted under her stern, plied her with a destructive, raking fire. After several gallant attempts of the rest of the squadron to throw themselves between the batteries and the grounded vessel, they hauled off to the wall of Gibraltar, leaving the *Hannibal*, now completely dismantled and almost destroyed, to strike her colours, having sustained a loss of 360 men in killed and wounded: that of the enemy was, according to the Spanish account, 800.\* The French vessels had been completely disabled. On the following morning the squadron was employed in removing the wounded to the hospitals, and repairing their damages. In the course of a few days Cadiz was blockaded: the Spanish squadron, consisting of five ships-of-the-line, with a French ship-of-the-line and three frigates, together formed a junction with Linois. On Sunday, the 12th, their united force, consisting of ten ships-of-the-line, three frigates, and an immense number of gun-boats, loosened sails, and at one o'clock were nearly all under weigh. While working round Cabareta Point to get into the Straits, the British squadron, consisting of five ships-of-the-line, one frigate, a polacca, and a hired armed brig, which had just worked out of the harbour of Gibraltar, in their pursuit, descried them. As the British ships cleared out of the harbour (eight o'clock, P. M.), anxious multitudes took their place on the cliff to witness the ap-

\* The capture of the *Swiftsure*—though that capture had been effected by a whole squadron—had afforded an opportunity of great triumph to the French. The repulse at Algeiras was considered as the summit of naval glory. It was announced by an official note from the government to all the theatres of Paris, that six English ships-of-the-line had been either taken or beaten back into the harbour of Gibraltar by three French ships. The same news

was circulated by the telegraph throughout the whole of France; but not a word was said about the batteries on shore, though the *Madrid Gazette* had claimed the repulse of the English squadron, and particularly the surrender of the *Hannibal* to the batteries on shore. The 6th of July was termed by the French journal the *Naval Marengo*. The same prophets predicted the destruction of the modern *Carthage*, because it had lost its *Hannibal*.

proaching conflict; the military bands of the garrison making the rock re-echo with the notes of "Britons Strike Home," while the and of the flag-ship replied, "'Tis to glory we steer."

As darkness set in, the enemy, with all sail, made towards Cadiz. About eleven, P.M., being then off Cape Trafalgar, the *Sup b*, Captain Keats, being a superior sailer, was ordered to bring the enemy's northernmost ship to action, and to keep between them and the Spanish shore, to prevent the possibility of their running for their own harbours. Being, at about five minutes past eleven, three cables' length from the *Don Carlos*, a Spanish three-decker, the *Superb* poured in a broadside, which brought down part of the masts and rigging of the enemy; and with a second broadside setting the sails (which had been recently tarred) on fire, the remaining masts and rigging were in a few moments in a blaze. The *Superb* having disabled the *Don Carlos* on her starboard, poured a broadside on the larboard into the *San Hermenegildo*, another three-decker; and then extinguishing her lights and ceasing firing, she contrived to evade both her enemies, who, in the belief that their opponent was present, continued to fire on each other in the dark. In the meantime the *Superb* had moved on, and coming up with the *San Antonio*, a 74, in the course of half-an-hour compelled her to strike her colours. The *Venerable* and the *Spencer* having at this instant come up, the English admiral bore after the enemy, who were carrying a press of sail and standing out of the Straits. The chase continued with great spirit, when all of a sudden, and in the midst of a tempestuous gale, the *Real Carlos* and *San Hermenegildo* were observed furiously burning, and about midnight blew up, only 250 of their crews (amounting to 2,000 men) being saved by the English boats. It blew excessively hard the whole night; and when morning dawned, the only ships of the British squadron in company, were the *Venerable* and *Thames*, ahead of the *Cæsar*, and one of the French ships at some distance from them, standing towards the shoals of Conil, besides the *Spencer* coming up astern. A fresh breeze arising, all the British vessels made sail towards the enemy; but as they approached, the wind suddenly failed, and the *Venerable* alone was able to bring the French ship to action, which she did in the most gallant manner, and had nearly silenced her, when

her own mainmast, which had been before wounded, was shot away, and thus the enemy's ship was enabled to escape without the possibility of her being pursued. The whole of the enemy's fleet now availed themselves of a breeze, crowded all sail, and stood in for the harbour of Cadiz. The trophy of this victory was the *San Antonio*. The loss of the enemy amounted to 2,400 men, who had perished in the burning ships, besides those killed and taken prisoners. The escape of the French ship (the *Formidable*) from the *Venerable*, was boasted of by the French journals and the government as a great naval victory, and a signal instance of the reviving glory of the French marine. Its captain (Tronde) said that his ship had been attacked by no less than three English ships-of-the-line and a frigate, all of which he had, by well-pointed broadsides, obliged to sheer off. They left him, he said, in possession of the field of battle, when he wanted to give them an opportunity of renewing the contest, which, as they deemed it prudent to decline, he made sail for Cadiz, where he arrived on the 13th of July, covered (as he wished to have it inferred) with glory.

The enemy's force consisted of two ships of 112 guns, one of 90 guns, two of 84, one of 80, three of 74; one frigate of 40 guns, and three frigates of 36 guns. The names of the combined French and Spanish squadrons were:—Spanish—The *Real Carlos* and *Hermenegildo*, each 112 guns; *Neptuno*, 90; *San Fernando*, *Argonauta*, 80; *San Antonio* and *St. Augustine*, each 74; and three frigates, each of 36 guns. French.—The *Formidable*, 80 guns; *Indomptable*, 80; *Dessaix*, 74; and the *Meuron* frigate, 40 guns. The designations of the English ships were—the *Cæsar*, 80 guns; the *Superb*, *Venerable*, *Audacious*, and *Spencer*, each 74; the *Thames* frigate, 32 guns; and the polacca (*Calpe*), of 14 guns.

"An incident highly characteristic of English sailors occurred in this action. In its voyage through the Mediterranean, the French fleet had fallen in with and captured the *Speedy* brig, of 14 guns, commanded by Captain Lord Cochrane; and that gallant officer, with his little crew, was on board the *Formidable* when the action took place in the bay of Algesiras. At every broadside the vessel received from the English, those brave men gave three cheers, regardless alike of the threats of instant death from the French if they continued so unseemly an interruption, and the obvious

danger that they themselves might be sent to the bottom by the discharges of their friends."\*

The principal other naval exploits of this year were :—On the 11th of June, the boats of Sir John Borlase Warren's squadron cut out from the harbour of St. Croix eleven French ships laden with provisions and stores intended for the combined fleets in the harbour of Brest. By the boats of the same squadron, a number of the enemy's vessels were destroyed, on the 22nd of June, in Quimper Bay.

The 14-gun brig, *Speedy*, commanded by Lord Cochrane, during one of her cruises in the Mediterranean, had been so annoying to the Spanish coasting-trade, that the government had dispatched several armed vessels in pursuit of her from different ports. In the month of April she fell in with the 32-gun zebeck *Gamo*, one of the vessels which had been sent in search of her. The *Speedy* was decoyed almost within hail of her antagonist, from the zebeck being disguised by means of hanging or closed ports, which were immediately drawn up as the brig neared. Lord Cochrane's presence of mind did not forsake him in this emergency, and he very cleverly extricated himself from the ambuscade laid for him by the Spaniard. He immediately hoisted Danish colours; and, in addition to this, a man stood in a conspicuous position on the gangway, dressed in the uniform of a Danish officer, and when the vessel was hailed by the zebeck, the conversation which passed was carried on in the Danish language; and thus the brig passed for a Danish war vessel. The Spanish commander was, however, doubtful of the character of the *Speedy*, and sent an officer in her boat, to ascertain the correctness of the statement. Before he got alongside, however, he was informed by the Danish officer that the brig had only lately left one of the Barbary ports, and that a visit on board would subject the Spanish ship to a long quarantine. The ruse had the desired effect, and the Spanish officer departed, well pleased with being saved the trouble of the visit and the risk of catching the plague. The *Speedy* and the *Gamo*, however, were not thus to part company. Lord Cochrane's officers had been anxious to engage the

Spaniard, and their commander promised that if ever they should meet again their wish should be gratified. They had not long to wait for this opportunity; as, on the 6th of May, the *Speedy*, being off the coast of Barcelona, the look-out observed a sail in the distance, bearing towards the brig. All sail was set, and the two vessels gradually approached each other. About nine o'clock they were within gunshot, when it was discovered that the strange sail was their old friend the Spanish zebeck, *Gamo*. Immediately a warm action was commenced. The zebeck twice attempted to board the brig, but the latter having penetrated the design, sheered off. After a cannonade of three-quarters of an hour, the *Speedy* found it would be impossible for her much longer to stand the heavy broadsides of her powerful antagonist, who was more than four times her size; Lord Cochrane therefore determined to make the attempt of boarding her. Laying his ship alongside the *Gamo*, this gallant officer, followed by his crew, rushed on board the zebeck, and after a furious contest for ten minutes, the Spanish colours were struck, and the *Gamo* became the prize of the *Speedy*.† The loss of the *Speedy* in killed was three; in wounded, eight: that of the *Gamo* was fifteen killed and forty-one wounded. The *Speedy's* gun force was fourteen long 4-pounders; her crew consisted of fifty-four men. The *Gamo* numbered twenty-two long 12-pounders, eight long eights, and two 24-pounder caronades; the crew amounted to 319 men, of whom forty-five were marines. Broadside weight of metal in lbs., *Gamo*, 190; *Speedy*, 28. Accustomed as the British navy had been to deeds of daring, none bore any similitude to this achievement, except those of the *Surprise* and *Hermione*, the *Dart* and *Désirée*, and the *Viper* and *Cerbère*.

The *Speedy*, having carried her prize and prisoners into Mahon, in Minorca, joined company with the 18-gun brig, *Kangaroo*; and setting sail, on the 9th of June discovered a Spanish convoy lying at anchor under the battery of Oropeso, a small seaport of Old Castile, protected by a zebeck of twenty guns, three gun-boats, and a heavy battery mounted on a large square tower.

\* Alison's *History of Europe*.

† The commander of the zebeck, requesting Lord Cochrane to give him a certificate that he had done his duty, the gallant Englishman immediately wrote the following *équivoque* :—"I do hereby certify that

Don— (mentioning the many high-sounding names of his prisoner), *conducted himself like a real Spaniard.*" This equivocal testimonial was received with every mark of gratitude and indication of self-respect by the grave Spaniard.

The two British vessels immediately cast anchor within half gunshot of the enemy, when a brisk cannonade ensued; and though a polacca of twelve guns, and two additional gun-boats, came to their assistance, in the course of an hour and-a-half, the zebeck and three of the gun-boats having been sunk, the boats of the two English brigs entered the harbour, and succeeded in bringing out three brigs laden with wine, rice, and bread. The boats again returning under the personal command of Lord Cochrane, with the intention of bringing away more prizes, found the whole either sunk or driven on the beach.

The career of the *Speedy* was closed by her capture a few days after these gallant exploits. Falling in with the French squadron under Linois, she was taken possession of, and carried into Algeiras bay, though she had had recourse to every possible device and manœuvre to evade the pursuit.

In the month of February had occurred a contest between the *Phæbe*, of 36 guns, Captain Barlow, and the *Africaine*, 44 guns, commanded by Commodore Majendie, and bound to Egypt, in which the slaughter that took place on board the French ship, in proportion, greatly exceeded that which occurred on board the *Ca-ira* and the *Censeur*, which has been before stated in this work. On the 19th, the *Phæbe*, while off Gibraltar, discovered the *Africaine* on the Barbary shore, under Ceuta. After a close contest during two hours, in which the *Africaine* was reduced to a complete wreck, with five feet of water in her hold, and her decks covered with 200 dead and 143 wounded, out of a crew of 315 seamen and 400 soldiers, besides officers, she struck her colours. The loss of the *Phæbe* was only two killed and twelve wounded.

On the 21st of July, the boats of the *Doris*, *Beaulieu*, and *Ūrania*, which composed part of the in-shore squadron off Brest, entirely manned by volunteers under the direction of Lieutenant Lusach, boarded and carried a French corvette, *La Chevette*, mounting 20 guns, and manned with 360 men, while lying under the powerful batteries in the Bay of Camarat, and that, too, in the presence of the combined fleets of France and Spain. The attack was made in the night; but as soon as the approach of the English boats was observed, a heavy fire was opened from the *Chevette*, and the batteries. The contest lasted two hours and a-half, during which a dreadful carnage took

place on each side. The French ship's deck, when she struck, was covered with the mingled bodies of the combatants.

In the night of the 20th of August, the boats of the *Fishguard*, *Diamond*, and *Boadicea*, under the direction of Lieutenant Pipon, cut out of the harbour of Corunna a ship pierced for twenty-two guns, a gun-boat mounting a long 32-pounder, and a merchantman, though they were all moored under the range of the strong batteries which protect that port; and that the prizes were towed out of the port under a heavy fire.

Among the naval transactions of this year, the following exploit is not undeserving of notice. A pilot on board the *Immortalité* (one of the ships of the squadron stationed off Brest harbour to watch that port), and who spoke French with a native accent, requested his captain to allow him to go on shore, to endeavour to obtain some information respecting the Brest fleet. His captain consented; it having been previously arranged that a boat should, in the course of the night, be detached to the shore to bring him back. For five successive nights the boat went to the French shore, but without seeing anything of the pilot. At length, on the eighth day of his absence, he came alongside the *Immortalité* in a boat rowed by two Frenchmen; and on getting on board the vessel, gave the following account of himself:—"Being apprehensive I should be detected, I gave up all idea of getting on board in the manner and at the time agreed on, and therefore came to the resolution of hiring a boat to go into Camarat Bay. I accordingly hired a boat, and when we came near Camarat Bay I told the men I did not mean that bay, but Bertheaume Bay, which was much nearer the ship; the men rowed me towards that place, and when we came near it, I again told them I wished to go to Point St. Matthew, only within two gunshots of the frigate: on hearing this, the men flew into a violent passion, telling me they would take me back to Brest. I immediately took a brace of pistols from my pocket, and pointing one at each of them, exclaimed,—'I am an Englishman; if you do not put me on board my ship, I will blow your brains out.' The Frenchmen judged it best to comply with my request." The narrator of this story had been on board several of the French ships in the harbour, and obtained an account of their force and condition.

## DEFENCE OF PORTO-FERRAJO, AND PEACE OF AMIENS.

AN event took place about this time, which, though trifling in importance, is memorable for its occurrence. While the whole of Italy had crouched before the power of the French republic, a small garrison in the town and fortress of Porto-Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, defied their utmost efforts for its reduction, and bravely held out till the war was concluded by a peace between France and England.

When the French troops entered Tuscany, in October, 1800, a party of Englishmen who were at Leghorn, took refuge at Porto-Ferrajo, under the conduct of Mr. Grant, who was English vice-consul at Leghorn at the time of the French forces taking possession of that port. At the instigation of that gentleman and the English who accompanied him, the inhabitants of Porto-Ferrajo formed the resolution of defending themselves against the French. The whole of the inhabitants of the place took up arms, and they were joined by 300 soldiers from the English squadron, under Sir John Borslase Warren, 400 Corsicans, and a number of Neapolitan deserters in the pay of England. The place was quickly invested by a French force amounting to 5,000 men. Batteries were raised, and the town and fortress were bombarded. Attempts were twice made to storm it; but the assailants were repulsed with great loss. A sally was made by the besieged under Mr. Grant, and the principal battery of the French was destroyed. The besieging army was reinforced, and new batteries being constructed, the bombardment was recommenced with great fury and considerable damage to the besieged. At this moment (September 14th) Warren returned and effected a junction with the division of his squadron which he had left to cover Porto-Ferrajo while he had proceeded to watch the enemy's motions at Toulon, having on board 3,000 troops for the relief of Porto-Ferrajo. The ships of war being prevented by the enemy's batteries from entering the harbour, the troops were landed at different points as near Porto-Ferrajo as possible. At the same instant, the garrison making a sally, obtained possession of the battery which had contributed principally to prevent the English squadron from entering the harbour. The English had advanced about a mile and-a-half from

the beach, when the French general, seizing a favourable opportunity, attacked them with the bayonet. After an obstinate engagement, the English were forced to retire to their vessels. The English frigates, which on the capture of the French battery, had entered the harbour, were now under the necessity of quitting it for the purpose of receiving their countrymen who were on the beach on board. The attack which had also been made on Marciana, in the meantime, proved equally unsuccessful. In these untoward affairs, the loss of the English in endeavouring to gain their boats, through rocks and precipices, was 800 in killed, wounded, and drowned, together with 200 prisoners. In November, just a few days previous to the confirmation of peace between England and France, the garrison of Porto-Ferrajo, in a sally, headed by Mr. Grant, captured the outer entrenchments of the French camp.

M. Dumas, speaking of the successful resistance of a handful of men in this fort to the troops who had vanquished the greatest armies of Europe, says:—"It was an extraordinary spectacle, in the midst of triumphal songs and in the bosom of a continental peace [France, at the time, in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, &c., being in amity with all the European continental nations], to see an island of easy access, and almost touching the continent, the scene of a long and doubtful strife; and Europe beheld with amazement, in this island, a single fortress arrest the arms which the forces of the coalition had been unable to subdue."

In the midst of all the hostile transactions of this year, negotiations had been carried on between the two belligerent governments of France and Great Britain. Flags of truce were continually passing amidst the vessels of war, between Calais and Dover, and couriers between London and Paris. The negotiation was managed in London by M. Otto, who remained in that city to superintend the arrangements for the exchange of prisoners, on the part of the French government; and Lord Hawkesbury, on behalf of that of Great Britain. On the 1st of October, the preliminary articles of peace were signed in London; on the 10th, the ratification; and on the 12th a proclamation was issued,

ordering a cessation of arms by sea and land. According to the preliminary articles, five months from the date of ratification was the longest period during which hostilities could legally exist in the most distant part of the globe. The definitive treaty between all the belligerents was not finally concluded until the 25th of March, 1802, at Amiens. Thus was concluded a peace which, as Mr. Sheridan said, "all men were glad of, and of which no man could be proud."

By that treaty, England surrendered up all her conquests, with the exception of the

islands of Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to be restored to the Dutch as a free port; and the island of Malta and its dependencies to its order; and their independence was placed under the guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia; its port being rendered free to all nations. The republic of the Seven Islands was acknowledged. The French troops were to evacuate Naples and the Roman territory; and the British all the islands and ports which they occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic.

#### CAMPAIGNS OF REPUBLICAN FRANCE.—1800—1801.

IN order to improve the advantage gained by the victory of Hohenlinden, on the 3rd of December, 1800, General Moreau, keeping his face towards the capital of the Austrian dominions, and from which he was distant only 150 miles, pushed on with the greatest rapidity to Salzburg; by the occupancy of which he would cut off from the main army of the imperialists in Germany the corps in the valley of the Inn, menace the direct roads from Vienna to Italy, and with the co-operation of the army under Brune, on the Adige and the Mincio, drive the Austrians into Hungary. Passing the Inn on the 9th of December, and the Salza on the following day, he advanced against the Austrian army, which was posted on the immediate ground between Laufen and Salzburg. On the 14th, after a sharp action, the Austrians retreated, and on the day following, Moreau entered Salzburg. On the same day Richepanse, with the left division of the army, pursuing the imperialists, entered Neumark, the last post in Bavaria, on the frontier of the hereditary states of Austria. By this manœuvre, the Archduke John's army at Brunau, on the Lower Inn, was cut off from all communication with the Austrian general in the Tyrol. By this masterly manœuvre, the Tyrol was now threatened on the north side by a division of the French army under Lecourbe; on the west by another under Mollitor; and on the south-west by Macdonald, with the army of the Grisons.

Macdonald had already passed the Rhetian Alps, by the defiles of the Splügen, in order to support the left wing of the Italian army

under Brune. The difficulties and dangers of penetrating these defiles would have interrupted the passage of the troops, at different times, had it not been for the intrepid perseverance of the general. He led in person the pioneers to the tracts of the road, near the summit of the Splügen, which were filled up and totally effaced by the drifted snow. The foremost party had not advanced far, when the path was again covered, and the poles, which had been set up as marks, entirely hid from view. But the general, animating all with his voice and example, and heading the pioneers in their exertions, the French army at last overcame the obstructions of the Splügen, and on the 11th of December, gained the valley of the Adda, in the Valtelline, which opened a communication with Brune's army of Italy. He was, at the same time, master of both banks of the Upper Inn, and of the Grison country of the Upper Engadine. Thus were communications opened with all the French armies.

In the meantime, the Gallo-Batavian army, under Augereau, whose right wing was to protect and co-operate with the left of Moreau's army, had gained important advantages in Franconia. Having driven the imperialists under d'Albini beyond the Rednitz, on the 18th of December a bloody battle took place, which lasted from nine in the morning till the close of the day, between Nuremberg and Lauf. After a fierce combat, the assailants were forced to fall back, both sides having sustained great loss.

In this situation of affairs, the chief command of the Austrian army of the Danube, which had moved from Brunau to Schwau

nenstadt, had, on the preceding 17th of December, been assumed by the Archduke Charles. That prince, on his taking the command, ordered defensive dispositions; but before they were finished, the centre of the French army of the Rhine, under Moreau, reached the circle of Traun in five divisions, commanded severally by Legrand, Grandjeau, Richepanse, and Grouchy. On the 18th a bloody battle ensued, in which the Austrians sustained considerable loss. In their retreat to Linz, which was within ninety-two miles of Vienna, being again defeated, they continued their flight towards that city. On the 24th, Richepanse, with the advanced guard, entered Steyer, in which town he took 4,000 prisoners. On the 25th, the Austrians were preparing to retire behind the Traun, the last river of any note within fifty miles of Vienna. The capital was struck with consternation and terror. The imperial family prepared for flight to Ofen. The gallery of paintings, with the imperial and city treasures, were about being transported from the capital at the moment the Archduke Charles arrived with the intelligence that an armistice had been concluded at Steyer, on the 26th, with General Moreau, for thirty days. The Gallo-Batavian army was included in the treaty; and pressing invitations were, with

the utmost dispatch, sent to the generals-in-chief of the armies of the Grisons and Italy, to conclude, on their part, a suspension of hostilities.

The successes of the army of Italy against the Austrians having been commensurate with those of the other French armies, peace was concluded between Naples and France on the 9th of February, 1802; and on the same day, similar relations were established between France and Austria, by the treaty of Luneville; by which treaties the pacification of the whole of the European continent had been effected. During the wars which had been the cause of those treaties, the armies of revolutionary France had, like the Goths of former days (ferocious in spirit and reckless in crime), ransacked the vanquished states, devoured their subsistence, and, by their outrages and violence, reduced the inhabitants to misery and despair: enormous requisitions and contributions were in constant exaction. By the treaty of Luneville, France had secured to herself an enormous amount of territory and strength. The countries which had been ceded to France by Austria on the left bank of the Rhine, were formed into four new departments: those of the Roër, the Sarre, the Rhine and Moselle, and Mont Tonnerre.

#### TRTATY OF AMIENS—YEAR OF TRUCE OR ARMISTICE.

THE prospect of peace which the treaty of Luneville, between France and Austria, had seemed to augur on behalf of the whole of the other European powers, having been confirmed by the preliminary articles of peace between England and France, signed at London in October, 1801, nothing remained wanting for the restoration of relations of amity between those two powers, but the authentic and solemn ratification of the terms of peace by a definitive treaty, in which the minor points of difference between them might be decisively settled. For this purpose the city of Amiens, being nearly equidistant from London and Paris, and midway between those cities, was fixed on for holding the congress which was finally to settle all matters between England on the one part, and France and her allies, Spain and the Batavian republic, on the other. For this purpose, on the 1st of November, the Marquis Cornwallis left

London, and on the 1st of December reached Amiens, where he found Joseph Buonaparte, on behalf of France, already arrived. The Dutch minister, Schimmelpenninck, did not arrive till the 7th. As by the general terms of the treaty, Spain was to be the only loser in point of territory, she was not over-anxious to sign the treaty, and therefore was slow in appointing her minister. At length, however, the Chevalier d'Azare arriving at the congress on her behalf, at four o'clock of the 27th of March, the plenipotentiaries of the different powers, parties to the definitive treaty of peace, signed the document at Amiens. The leading articles of the treaty were:—Art. III. Great Britain restored to France, Spain, and Holland all the possessions and colonies she had taken from those powers during the war, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon, which Spain and Holland severally ceded to Great Britain. Art. VI. The Batavian republic agreed that

the ships belonging to the other contracting parties should be allowed to enter the port of the Cape of Good Hope, and purchase provisions thereof on payment of the same imposts as those to which the Batavian ships were subject. Art. VII. That portion of Portuguese Guiana which had been ceded to France, was to remain in the possession of the French republic, and Spain was to retain the territories on the frontiers of Portugal, which had been yielded to her by the treaty of Olivenza. Art. IX. A Veneto-Greek republic in the Ionian Islands was acknowledged. Art. X. Malta, with its dependencies, Gozo and Comino, was to be restored to the knights of the order of St. John of Jerusalem; and that within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, the British troops should evacuate the island, with its dependencies, when it should be garrisoned by Neapolitan troops. Art. XI. The French were to keep possession of the Roman states which had been annexed to the Cisalpine republic, and the British were to evacuate all the ports and islands which they occupied in the Mediterranean and the Adriatic. Peace was proclaimed the next day at Paris, after the signing of the treaty, and on the 29th of April, in London and Westminster.\* A few days after the arrival of the announcement of the conclusion of the treaty of peace, an official letter reached London from Lord St. Helens, the British minister at St. Petersburg, announcing that the courts of Sweden and Denmark acceded to the convention signed with Russia respecting the rights of neutral powers, and which had annulled and abandoned the northern confederacy or system of armed neutrality.

During the negotiations which led to the general peace, Napoleon Buonaparte had not been inactive. Among the other grand projects and splendid visions which occupied his mind, the vast system of colonisation which had engaged the attention of French statesmen during the reign of Louis XVI., flitted before his imagination. He had already compelled Spain to yield up Louisiana and the Spanish portion of St. Domingo, and Portugal a large portion of Guiana. These he deemed keys to the conquest of the West Indies and North and South America. By the cession of the

\* In the course of the general illumination which took place on this event, the mob, taking notice that the word *concord* was put in coloured lamps over the door of M. Otto, the French minister in Portman-square, and inferring that it was an equivoque of the Frenchman for *conquered*—namely, that England

Cape of Good Hope to his ally the Batavian republic, and the restoration of the French factories and counting-houses in India, he hoped to possess himself of Hindostan and all the richest regions of the East. Sebastiani's mission to the Levant was for the purpose of ascertaining the feasibility of the recovery of Egypt. Buonaparte's second great project was to place the Cisalpine republic, which the treaty of Luneville had declared independent, absolutely in his power. The reorganisation of the government of France, and prosecution of plans for his ultimate assumption of despotic power, were his unwearied occupation and object.

In furtherance of his system of colonisation, his first object was the recovery of the colonies of St. Domingo and Guadeloupe. His great solicitude for the recovery of St. Domingo, was the intrinsic value and importance of that colony. The part of it which belonged to France before the war, which was barely one-third of its extent, and by far the least fertile, was more productive and profitable than the whole of the British West Indies: the value of its annual exports was above £7,000,000 sterling, and it employed 1,640 ships, and 26,770 seamen. When to this possession should be added the Spanish part of the island, it would be a moderate calculation to state the probable value of the whole at thrice that which the French part alone produced before the war. Even when the whole island should be brought to the state in which the French part was formerly, it would not then be half peopled or half cultivated, and would still hold out the fairest prospects of increasing wealth and resources. It was therefore clear, should all the other colonial visions of the first consul prove unreal, that if France could only hold St. Domingo as a colony, she would at once lay the firm foundation of a commerce and a navy, which eventually would prove superior to that of any other nation. Considerations which so materially involved the future destinies of France, pointed out the policy of dispatching the expedition to St. Domingo, which had been long preparing, and which was completely equipped within a very short time after the signing of the preliminaries of peace, and had been conquered by France,—that gentleman, to avoid disturbance and riot, was obliged to substitute the word *amity*. Some sailors, also, finding that G.R. was not surmounted as usual by a crown, to appease their offended patriotism, a lamp-formed diadem was put up.

ready to proceed to its destination. A brief account of the state of the island and its antecedent revolutionary history, seems necessary.

The cry of liberty and equality which had been raised in the mother-country, was warmly and vehemently re-echoed from the shores of its offspring, St. Domingo. A vast conspiracy was entered into by the slaves, at the head of which Jean François appeared, with Toussaint L'Ouverture as his lieutenant. The object was the establishment of a black republic in imitation of that of the parent state. The whole negro population of the island rose in rebellion against the planters, and secretly attacking them, massacred all on whom they could lay hands, and threw their mutilated bodies into the flames to which they had consigned all their movable property. Instead of colours, the negroes marched with spiked infants on their spears. Scenes of terrible slaughter and devastation ensued. Neither age nor sex was spared: the females were violated on the dead bodies of their husbands; infants were thrown into the flames; and above 30,000 of the white population were massacred. On June 3rd, 1793, a negro republic was proclaimed; but the English, fearful of the consequences of this explosion, and invited to the assistance of the surviving planters, landed in the following year, and took possession of the mole of St. Nicholas, the principal harbour and stronghold of the island. Toussaint (who, on account of his great prowess, which had made an *opening* everywhere in the ranks of his enemies, had acquired the surname of *L'Ouverture*), now sought an alliance with the French republic, and was appointed commander-in-chief of the black forces in the island. He immediately employed his arms in the reduction of the Spanish part of the island, and which had been ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, and quickly reducing it to subjection, he became entire master of St. Domingo by the end of 1800.

At first he made a constitution for the negro population like that which the Directory had made in France; but when the revolution of Brumaire established the consulship, Toussaint proclaimed himself first consul of St. Domingo. When this intelligence reached Napoleon Buonaparte, "This comedy of government," said he, "must cease! We must not permit military honours to be worn by apes and monkey!" He immediately resolved to

subdue the colony and restore it to France. For this purpose he fitted out a numerous fleet, consisting of thirty-five ships-of-the-line, twenty-one frigates, and above eighty smaller vessels and transports, having on board 21,000 troops, consisting of the demi-brigades, both officers and men, who were devoted to Moreau and republicanism. The command of the army was given to General Leclerc, the brother-in-law of Napoleon Buonaparte; that of the fleet, to Villaret Joyeuse. The expedition sailed for its destination on the 14th of December, 1801.

After a voyage of forty-six days, the fleet arrived, January 29th, off Cape Samana, where the squadron under the Spanish admiral Gravina joined it. At this time Toussaint was absent from Cape François, but Christophe, his lieutenant, who was left in command, sent to inform Leclerc, that an immediate conflagration of the town would take place if the French attempted its attack. In reply, Leclerc forwarded Napoleon Buonaparte's letter to Toussaint, overflowing with terms of blandishment and assurances of favour on condition of submission. Not receiving a satisfactory answer, Leclerc disembarked his forces. Fort Dauphin quickly surrendered; but when Leclerc approached Cape François, he found it in a state of conflagration, and that Christophe had retired with 3,000 armed negroes to join Toussaint. Port-au-Prince, the principal military posts, and chief seaports, soon falling into the possession of the French, they advanced into the interior of the island. Here Toussaint, availing himself of the wooded mountain-ridges and impenetrable fastnesses, determined to stand on his defence; but Leclerc, transmitting Napoleon Buonaparte's letter to the negro chief, in which, on condition of submission, he offered him the command of the colony, Toussaint, seeing through the artifice, declined submission. At this time the French general, receiving a reinforcement of 6,000 men brought by the Toulon squadron, prepared for a concentric attack on the wooded fastnesses of the enemy. After alternate successes and reverses, and both parties being exhausted with the deadly strife, as also that Christophe, Dessalines, and Maurepas had deserted their chief and gone over with their forces to the French service, Toussaint agreed, May 8th, 1801, to the termination of hostilities, and retired to his farm of Ennery, and the occupations of rural life, where, in the dead of the night

on the 9th of the following June, he was seized while asleep, and being conveyed on board the *Creole* frigate, was transported to France. On his arrival at Brest, he was hurried, under a strong escort of cavalry, to the castle of Joux, on the Jura mountains, in a damp dungeon, "where either the midnight cord or dagger, or the wasting influence of confinement and hopeless misery," ere long put an end to his life.

In their subjugation of St. Domingo, the cruelty of the French soldiers was atrocious; but their bloody deeds were avenged by disease breaking out in their camp, of which many thousands perished, among whom was Leclerc. Rochambeau, who succeeded to the command of the French, being reduced to the utmost extremity of hunger, was compelled to abandon the colony and surrender himself to a British squadron, in order to escape from the fresh insurrection which had broken out under Christophe and Dessalines. On the recommencement of the war in 1803, St. Domingo fell into the hands of the English; but its independence, under the title of Hayti, was acknowledged on the 1st of January, 1804. While these events were in progress in St. Domingo, Guadeloupe was in a state of excitement. The mulattoes, who had risen in insurrection in October, 1801, against the French governor Lacrosse, and displaced him, were now exposed to a formidable conspiracy of the negroes. To quell the outbreak, General Richepanse, with 3,500 men, arrived from France. The expedition reached Guadeloupe on the 5th of May, 1802. After several bloody conflicts the revolt was extinguished, and slavery re-established.

While the French in their West India islands were alternately suffering the evils arising out of the crimes and errors of the founders of the French revolution, the British settlements were not exempt from the bad consequences of the same system. In Tobago, when intelligence was received that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour, mustering to the number of 7,000, were preparing to attack Brigadier-general Carmichael, who had only 200 men under his command; but the general, by the prompt display of vigorous measures, restored order. On April 9th, the 8th West India regiment, consisting entirely of negroes, having, in a state of mutiny, killed several of their officers, and being ready drawn up to resist all opposition, the

colonel of the regiment (Cochrane Johnstone), collecting the militia and all the European troops he could muster, advanced against them; and after a smart conflict, in which sixty of the mutineers were killed, and forty wounded, reduced them to subjection.

Though the British government felt disquietude at the preparation of the armament for St. Domingo, on receiving express assurances from France that the only object was to recover their revolted colonies, consent was given for its departure, notwithstanding the definitive treaty was not concluded; but as a precautionary measure, a fleet was assembled in Bantry Bay for the purpose of reinforcing the naval force in the West Indies, and thus form a fleet of observation to watch the motions of the French armament, and prevent any attack on the British West India possessions. When the fleet was about to set sail from Bantry Bay, a spirit of mutiny appeared among the crews, who expressed an unwillingness to proceed on that destination, as the war was at an end. The mutiny being, however, soon subdued by the decided and spirited conduct of the officers, and fourteen of the ringleaders being executed, the fleet proceeded on its destination.

No sooner had the preliminaries of peace been signed, than Napoleon Buonaparte began to put his ambitious designs into execution. Though, by the treaty of Luneville, it had been provided that the Batavian, Helvetian, Cisalpine, and Ligurian republics, though affiliated with France, should be free, and entitled to adopt the form of government which the people who inhabited them should think fit, Napoleon Buonaparte remodelled their governments so as to render them submissive to his authority. Though the mountaineers of the canton of Soleure, Oberland, and other districts embodied themselves under the command of De Watteville and d'Erlach, and were successful in their early resistance, they were finally compelled to submit to Ney, who entered Switzerland with an army of 20,000 men. By secret treaties with Spain, the first consul added Louisiana, Parma, Placentia, and the island of Elba, to France.

Nor were the efforts of Napoleon Buonaparte less active with regard to the internal interests of France, and the advancement of its commercial interests. Chambers of commerce and agriculture were established in the chief cities and towns of the French

republic; societies for the encouragement of the arts and manufactures were established; and an ordinance was published enacting public exhibitions of the productions of French industry and ingenuity from the 17th to the 22nd of September in each year. But his exertions were not thus limited: he manifested, both directly and through his influence with Spain, Holland, Genoa, and the other subjugated powers, the most determined hostility to British commerce. Our intercourse with Piedmont was completely cut off; and our trade with Genoa, Tuscany, and Spain, was interdicted under severe prohibitions. British goods were excluded all transit through the Batavian republic under the severest penalties; and the same was likely soon to be the case throughout the north of Europe, particularly Germany.

Though the people of France had submitted to be the instrument of the designs of every party which, in its turn, had ruled the destinies of that country during the revolution, the great majority of them, particularly the peasantry, were dissatisfied at the abolition of their ancient religion, and wished to see it restored in its former splendour. Napoleon Buonaparte was aware of this predominant inclination, and deeming the measure necessary to secure the tranquillity of the state and the security of the government, he entered, during the war, into a convention with the pope, for the purpose of establishing a religious system for the Gallican church. That convention—or, as it was styled, *concordat*—bore date October 10th, 1801, and was published in Paris on Easter Sunday, which was a fortnight after the ratification of the treaty of Amiens. The new religious code was announced to the French people by the first consul's proclamation, dated April 17th; and a solemn celebration of the establishment of the Roman catholic religion in France took place on the 15th of August; the festival of the Assumption being held in the church of Nôtre-Dame, the metropolitan church of Paris. The *fête* was celebrated with the utmost splendour and magnificence. Among the ceremonies, the consecrating the military standards had been intended, but the clergy gave much umbrage to the military, particularly Moreau, Lannes, Victor, Oudinot, &c. "The standards of the French army," said they, "had never been so crowned with glory as when they were not consecrated;" or, as another version has it,

"since they had ceased to receive the benediction of priests." When the ceremony was over, Napoleon Buonaparte asked Augereau what he thought of it? "It was a fine piece of mummery," was the reply; "nothing was wanting but the million of men who have perished in the destruction of what has since been re-established;" and it being understood that if the ceremony was performed, the soldiers would trample the standards under their feet, the design was abandoned.

By the concordat, the Roman catholic religion was declared that of the French people. Ten archbishops, fifty bishops, and 8,000 cures and parish priests were established. The annual salary of an archbishop was 15,000 francs; that of a bishop, 10,000; that of the priests of the larger parishes was 1,500, and that of the smaller, 1,200: the state had the right of promotion to all ecclesiastical appointments, and of compelling the nominees to reveal any plots which they might hear against the state. In the preceding April, the priests, availing themselves of the general amnesty to all emigrants who took the oath of fidelity to the existing government, had returned to France; and in priestly gratitude to their benefactor, styled him in their sermons, pastoral letters, charges, and catechisms, the envoy of God, the instrument of his decrees, and his representative on earth.

When the disposition to re-establish a national religion in France was first indicated, it was debated what kind of religion it would be best to establish. Many desired to throw off the papal yoke and establish a Gallican church, similar to that of England. Napoleon Buonaparte's reply was: "I am aware that a part of France would become protestants; but the majority would remain catholic, and struggle, with the fervour of sectarian zeal, against the schism of their fellow-citizens. Religious contests, dissensions in families, would ensue." To those who argued that the spirit of the age was opposed to relapsing to the old order of things in religious matters—"Religion," said he, "is a principle inherent in the heart of man, and necessary to satisfy his mind with *that something* undefined and marvellous, which it requires, and which religion offers him, My reason," added he, "keeps me in unbelief concerning many things; but the impressions of childhood, and the feelings of early youth, throw

me back into uncertainty. My incredulity does not proceed from perverseness or licentiousness of mind; but how is it possible that conviction can find its way to my heart, when I hear the absurd language, and witness the iniquitous acts, of those whose business it is to preach to us the pure and sublime precepts of Christ—who incessantly tell us that their reign is not of this world, and yet lay hands on everything they can get? The pope—the head of religion—thinks only of this world and his secular power as a prince. Nevertheless, I consider religion as the basis and support of sound principles and good morality. The popularity of governments is enhanced by its respect for religion. It was this respect which gained me the affections of the Italians and the confidence of the ulemahs of Egypt.” To those who argued the impolicy of religious institutions and the materiality of nature—“Yesterday evening,” said he, “when walking alone in the woods, amidst the solitude of nature, the distant bells of the church of Rueil struck upon my ear, and recalled the first years I passed at Brienne. Involuntarily I felt emotion—so powerful is the influence of early habits and associations. I said to myself—if I feel thus, what must be the influence of such impressions on simple and credulous men? Let your philosophers, your *idéologues*, answer that if they can. It is absolutely necessary to have a religion for the people, to ensure the safety of the government. They will say I am a papist: I am not. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt; I will become a catholic here, for the good of my country. I am no believer in particular creeds; but if there be not a Deity”—extending his hands to the sky, which was thickly studded with stars—“look to the heavens, and say who made all that. Everything proclaims the eternal truth—that there is a God!”

Before the passing of the concordat, Napoleon Buonaparte was, by a *senatus consultum*, created first consul for ten additional years beyond the ten fixed at his original appointment; and by the qualified suffrages of more than three millions and a-half of the four millions of citizens entitled to vote, he was (August 2nd)—namely, thirteen days before the inauguration of the concordat in Nôtre-Dame, proclaimed consul for life; and on that occasion, the senate waiting on him to present the decree establishing his authority, he thus addressed them:—“Senators! the life of

a citizen belongs to his country. The people have required that mine should be devoted to their service. I obey their will. Through my efforts, and the concurrence of all the authorities, aided by the confidence and wishes of this great people—liberty and equality, and the prosperity of France, shall be established beyond the vicissitudes of chance and the uncertainties of the future. The best of nations will be the happiest; and the felicity of the French people will contribute to that of all Europe. Then, satisfied with having been called by the fiat of Him from whom all emanates, to bring back to earth justice, order, and equality, I will hear the stroke of my last hour without regret, and without inquietude as to the opinions of the generations to come.”

For the purpose of the reception of the senate, Napoleon Buonaparte held a *levée*, distinguished with all the magnificence and splendour of the court of the old *régime*. In the evening a brilliant ball was given at the Tuileries, bearing all the aspect and pretensions of regality. On the inauguration of the concordat, Napoleon Buonaparte went in the state carriage of Louis XVI., and his servants appeared in livery.

To prepare the public eye and tastes for the restoration of the gradations of ranks in society, and the resumption of royalty on the ancient model, a grand military order was now projected, to be entitled the *Legion of Honour*. On the 15th of May, Rœderer, one of the councillors of state, proposed it to the legislative body, as the best means of supporting the grandeur of the French nation, and of guarding its dominions. The project was, that the order should be composed of fifteen cohorts and a council of administration. Each cohort to consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and 350 legionaries; the first consul always to be the chief, and the members to be appointed for life, with appropriate annual salaries—namely, each grand officer, 5,000 francs; each commandant, 2,000; each subordinate officer, 1,000; and each legionary, 250. Every individual was sworn, on his admission, that he would devote his life and services to the well-being of the republic; to the preservation of its territorial indivisibility; to the defence of its government, its laws, and the property by them consecrated; to oppose, by all the means which justice, reason, and the laws authorised, every under-

taking which tended to the restoration of the ancient forms and government, and of the titles and privileges attached to them; and to exert his best and most strenuous efforts for the maintenance of the present order of things. All military men who had received honorary distinctions of arms from the first consul were members of the legion, or who had rendered essential service in the defence of liberty in the late war, either in the field or in the council; and citizens, who by their abilities, knowledge, or talents, had contributed to establish the principles of the republic, or who had been eminent in the administration of justice, or who by their virtues had caused it to be respected, were qualified to be nominated candidates. Though the rules limited the number of members, the order gradually embraced many thousands more than the original number. Fiddlers and opera-singers were in its ranks. The order was established with great pomp, and proclaimed a law of the state on the 19th of May, 1802.

This invidious revival of the emblems of faded nobility did not, however, take place without much opposition to the design of the first consul. General Dumas maintained that the order should be limited to military men. "Ideas of the kind," said Napoleon Buonaparte, "might be well adapted to the feudal ages, when merit was founded solely on military prowess; when the strength of a man six feet high, and not the *coup-d'œil*, the habit of foresight, the power of thought and calculation, constituted the general. But now the case is different. The general who can now achieve great things is he who is possessed of shining civil abilities; and it is their perception of the strength of his talents which makes the soldiers obey him. Listen to them at their bivouacs; you will invariably find them award the preference to mental over physical qualities. In all civil states, force yields to civil qualities. Bayonets sink before the man of science, who has gained an ascendancy by his knowledge. We must not reason from ages of barbarity to these times. France consists of 30,000,000 of men, united by intelligence, property, and commerce. Three or four hundred thousand soldiers are nothing in such a mass. The tendency of military men is to do everything by force; the enlightened man subserves his views to the perception of his duty towards God. The first would rule without love or pity; the last subjects

everything to the test of discussion, truth, and reason. I have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that if a preference is to be awarded to the one or the other, it belongs by preference to the civilian. If you divide society into soldiers and citizens, you establish two orders in what should be one nation. If you confine honours to military men, you do what is still worse—you sink the people into nothing."

To the arguments of Thibaudeau and others, that the institution of the order had a tendency to originate a patrician class, and re-establish a monarchical form of government—that "crosses and ribbons were the pillars and 'child's playthings' of an hereditary throne, and unknown to the Romans who conquered the world;" he replied:—"It is singular, that in an argument against distinctions, reference should be made to that nation in which, among all that ever existed, they were most firmly established. The Romans had patricians, the equestrian order, citizens, and slaves; for each class they had a separate costume—different habits. To reward achievements, they awarded all sorts of distinctions—surnames recalling great services, mural crowns, triumphs. Superstition was called in to lend her aid to the general impression. Take away the religion of Rome, and nothing remains. When that fine body of patricians was destroyed, Rome was torn in pieces; then successively arose the fury of Marius, the proscriptions of Sylla, the tyranny of the emperors. I defy you to show me a republic, ancient or modern, where distinctions among men have not prevailed. They call them baubles. Well, it is with baubles that you govern mankind. The French have but one prevailing sentiment, and that is honour; everything should be done, therefore, to foster and encourage that principle. Voltaire called soldiers, Alexanders at five sous a-day. He was right: they really are so. Do you believe that you would ever make a man fight by abstract principles? Never; such views are fit only for the scholar in his study. For the soldier, as for all men in active life, you must have glory and distinction: recompenses are the food which nourish military virtue. In the great actions performed by the armies of the republic, the officers of the army have been animated by the same sentiments of honour as those of the old *régime* were. It was the same principle which led to the triumphs of

Louis XIV.; and if you wish to preserve that principle, you must create the means of giving it direction."

At this time one of the greatest of Napoleon Buonaparte's undertakings was commenced—the preparation of a code of laws.

In the beginning of the year 1800, he had directed a commission of lawyers, under the presidency of Cambacérès, to frame a code forming the concentration of the heterogeneous laws of the monarchy and the republic into one consistent whole. The codification commission consisted of the ablest and most experienced lawyers of the old *régime*—namely, Cambacérès, Tronchet, Portales, Lebrun, Roederer, and Thibaudeau. Napoleon Buonaparte presided at all the meetings of the commission, and took an active interest in the debates. In the compilation of the code, material assistance was derived from the works of Pothier, the juriconsult of Orleans under the ancient *régime*, on the elements and principles of general jurisprudence. The sketch or project of the first code was printed in 1801, and submitted to the different courts of justice in France for their observations and suggestions; and when those observations and suggestions were printed, the whole was laid before the council of legislation of the council of state. By the beginning of 1804, the entire code, having passed both the tribunate and the legislative body, was promulgated as the "Civil Code of Frenchmen" (*Code Civile des Français*); but a few months after its promulgation, declaring himself emperor, he changed its name to that of "Code Napoléon." This code, with its subsequent imitations, has become the code of the half of Europe.

In the beginning of the year he organised a national system of education. The primary object of the system was utilitarian; all speculative and metaphysical subjects were discouraged. While the topic of education was in debate, the metaphysicians of the revolution, said Napoleon Buonaparte, were the men to whom France owes all her misfortunes, "These ideologists" [a term he employed to designate those whose doctrines had a tendency to the notion of indefinite perfectability], said he, "know nothing of men, and can never get a practical idea into

their heads. I will have none of your ideologists!" He also reorganised the provincial or local administration, and made it entirely dependent on the central power or executive at Paris. He caused roads to be constructed over the Simplon, and Monts Cenis and Genevre, for the purpose of connecting Piedmont and the Valais with France; and in the event of the renewal of war, facilitating the passage of the French armies, by spreading a net-work of roads throughout Europe. By virtue of the new constitution which he had devised for France, he invested himself with the right of making war or peace, ratifying treaties, granting pardons, nominating public officers, appointing forty out of the 120 members composing the senate, and prescribing to that assembly the subjects of its deliberations. Desirous of imparting to his ultimate intention of assuming imperial sway the *prestige* of something like a title to the throne of France, he employed M. Meyer, president of the regency of Warsaw, to open a negotiation with the head of the house of Bourbon, then resident in Poland. He proposed that Louis should execute a formal deed, resigning for himself and his family all pretensions to the throne of France; and offered, in return, to put the Bourbon princes in possession of independent dominions in Italy. In reply, the heir of the king of France said: "I do not confound Monsieur Buonaparte with those who preceded him. I esteem his bravery and military genius: I owe him good-will for many of the acts of his government; for benefits done to my people, I will always consider as done to myself. But he is mistaken if he supposes that my rights can be made the subject of bargain and compromise. Could they have been called in question, this very application would have established them. What the designs of God may be for me and my house, I know not; but of the duties imposed on me by the rank in which it was his pleasure I should be born, I am not wholly ignorant. As a Christian, I will perform those duties while life remains. As a descendant of St. Louis, I will know how to respect myself, were I in fetters. As the successor of Francis I., I will at least say with him—'All is lost, except honour!'"

## RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS, AND RENEWAL OF THE WAR.

MANY causes conduced to the rupture of the peace of Amiens. Napoleon Buonaparte, irritated at the asperity with which his government and acts had been canvassed, and his encroachments in continental Europe stigmatised, instructed his minister (M. Otto) at the court of London to make the following demands:—1. That the English government should adopt measures for the suppression of certain libellous publications. 2. That French emigrants resident in Jersey should be sent out of that island. 3. That the Vendéan chief, Georges, and his adherents, should be transported to Canada. 4. That the Bourbon princes, then resident in Great Britain, should repair to Warsaw; and 5. That the French emigrants who continued to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, should be required to quit the territory of the British empire. To these requisitions the reply of our government was, that while the English nation was sincerely disposed for the preservation of peace, no representative of a foreign power would ever induce them to consent to a violation of those rights on which the liberties of the people of England were founded. Napoleon Buonaparte's grand reason of discontent was his ambition and his desire of conquest, which he gave forcible expression to in his assertion, that "a government like that of France, in order to maintain itself, required to dazzle and astonish; that it must either be the first of all, or be overpowered." To accomplish this object,

\* In addition to many other acts of bad faith on the part of France, the following outrages were committed on British shipping:—"The *Fame*, a packet from Southampton to Guernsey, was forced by stress of weather into Cherbourg, and, in pursuance of a decree of Robespierre—by which it was enacted, that vessels under 100 tons burden, carrying British merchandise and approaching within four leagues of France, should be forfeited—was, on the very day on which the French fleet, by permission of the British government, had been allowed to sail for St. Domingo, confiscated, and the captain condemned to six months' imprisonment, although his entry into the port was from distress of weather. In January, 1802, another vessel, the *Jennies*, freighted in England with coal for Charente, and other merchandise for Spain, was, on her arrival at Rochefort, seized and confiscated on the same ground—namely, having on board prohibited or British merchandise. In July following—namely, three months after the definitive treaty of peace had

the conquest of England was necessary; and, for this purpose, he devoted all the energies of his mind. "The destruction of England," said Mr. Sheridan, in the course of the parliamentary debate on the necessity of resisting the restless and insatiable ambition of the ruler of France, "is the first vision which breaks on the French consul through the gleam of the morning; this is his last prayer at night, to whatever deity he may address it, whether to Jupiter or to Mahomet, to the goddess of battles, or to the goddess of reason. Look at the map of Europe, from which France was said to be expunged, and now see nothing but France. If the ambition of Napoleon Buonaparte be immeasurable, there are abundant reasons why it should be progressive."

The causes of dissatisfaction on the part of England were, in addition to the attempts to embarrass and injure British commerce,\* that a privileged spy, under the denomination of "a commercial agent," was stationed in every port, with secret instructions to obtain "plans of the ports of his district, with a specification of the soundings, for mooring vessels;" and, if no such plan could be procured, "to point out the winds necessary for vessels to enter and depart; and what the greatest draught of water with which they could enter therein deeply laden." On missions of this kind, military men, engineers, and members of the secret police † were dispatched to London; and two of the most active, Chepy and Fauvelet, actually commenced their functions at Guernsey and

been signed—the *Nancy* (an English vessel, bound to Rotterdam with a cargo of foreign merchandise, which had been made prize of during the war, and legally condemned and sold), was driven by stress of weather into Flushing, where she was seized by the French and confiscated. Among other similar violations, was the case of the brig *George*, which arrived in ballast at Charente on the 25th of October, with the purpose of returning with a cargo of brandy: this ship was seized under pretence of having English goods on board—namely, the plates, knives, and forks of the captain's mess. To the representations of Lord Whitworth of the hardships and injustice of these proceedings, Napoleon Buonaparte's reply was, that "justice must take its course."

† Capefigue (*Le Consulat et l'Empire*) says, that they had taken soundings of the roadsteads; had obtained access to the dockyards and arsenals; and had tampered with the chiefs of the Irish malcontents.

Dublin; but a providential accident revealing the design, the British government prohibited the others proceeding to their places of destination, on pain of being ordered to quit the kingdom.

Influenced by these causes, as also by the demonstration of the ambitious designs of the first consul on continental Europe, the English government sent orders to delay the evacuation of Malta, Alexandria, and the Cape of Good Hope,\* until some satisfactory information could be obtained of the French designs.

In this unsettled and threatening state of affairs, a message from the king to parliament announced, that as very considerable naval and military preparations were being made in the ports of France and Holland, additional aid was required for the defence of the British dominions, in case of an encroachment on the part of France. The militia were called out, and preparations made for the re-equipment of the fleets.

These measures, together with the resolution of the British ministry not to evacuate Malta, Alexandria, and the Cape of Good Hope, so excited the anger of Napoleon Buonaparte and disarranged his plans, that no sooner had Lord Whitworth made his appearance at a *levée*, held in the Tuileries for giving audience to the foreign ambassadors, than the first consul, fixing his eye on him, exclaimed loudly and fiercely: "You are, then, determined on war!" On Lord Whitworth denying the charge, Napoleon Buonaparte rejoined: "We have been at war for fifteen years: you are resolved to have fifteen years more of it—you force me to it. If you arm, I will arm too. You may destroy France, but you cannot intimidate her." "We desire neither to injure nor intimidate her, but to live on terms of good intelligence," replied Lord Whitworth. "Respect treaties, then," said Napoleon Buonaparte. "Woe to those by whom they are not respected!—they shall be responsible for the result." He immediately quitted the *levée*, leaving the assembled ministers astonished at his unseemly conduct. Lord Whitworth quitted Paris on the night of the 12th of May; and passports were soon after granted to the French ambassador in London. Letters of

marque were issued by the British government on the 16th; and on the 18th, war was declared against France and Holland. Previous to the announcement in the *London Gazette* of the renewal of hostilities, orders had been issued for the seizure of all shipping of France, and of the states subject to her power, in British ports; and in retaliation, Napoleon Buonaparte ordered all English subjects, between the ages of eighteen and sixty, residing or travelling in the dominions of France, to be arrested and detained. A close blockade of the harbours of France and Holland was immediately enforced. Lord Nelson was appointed to the command of the Mediterranean fleet; and on reaching his destination took his station off Toulon, to watch the fleet and expedition preparing there for Corsica. The army, both regular, militia, and volunteer, was increased to an unexampled extent. Three hundred and fifty thousand volunteers and yeomanry enrolled themselves. Entrenched camps were formed along the English coast opposite France, at Chatham, and on the banks of the Thames. By night, beacons blazed on every hill-top throughout the island. Block-ships, consisting of old hulks, colliers, or other almost unserviceable vessels, were fitted up to bear guns, and placed on the river Thames, as high as Gravesend; others down the channel of the Severn, off Harwich; and some were stationed off Margate. "On a sudden," says Sir Walter Scott, "the whole island seemed converted into a vast camp—the whole nation into soldiers."

The war was opened vigorously on both sides. Napoleon Buonaparte ordered Mortier to advance with the French army which had been collected on the frontiers of Holland, and seize the electorate of Hanover. When the French general had reached the heart of the electorate, the governor (the Duke of Cambridge) considering resistance hopeless, agreed to evacuate the country, provided his army was permitted to retire behind the Elbe; but the treaty was no sooner completed than Mortier compelled General Walmoden, the commander-in-chief, to surrender his arms and horses, and disband and dismiss the men. At the same time, Napoleon Buonaparte issued a decree, that all neutral vessels which had touched at a harbour of Great Britain should be liable to seizure; and that all colonial produce and merchandise brought in neutral vessels direct from England, should be confiscated.

\* The following conquests had already been surrendered: Pondicherry, in the East Indies; Martinique, St. Lucia, and Tobago, in the West Indies; Demerara, Berbice, Essequibo, and Surinam, in South America; and Cochin.

Napoleon Buonaparte now recurred to his favourite scheme of invading England. Camps were formed along the French and Dutch coasts, and vast flotillas, for the purpose of conveying the troops across the channel, were prepared, and constantly manœuvred in all the harbours from Brest to the Texel; the harbour of Boulogne being appointed the central point for the assemblage. The fleets of Spain and Holland were to co-operate with those of France in the undertaking. While these designs were in operation, a Roman hatchet and a Norman medal being found while the harbour of Boulogne was being enlarged and deepened, were considered by the French soldiery as omens of their being about to tread in the footsteps of Julius Cæsar and William the Norman.

As a diversion to distract the attention of his opponents, 20,000 men and a large store of arms were to be landed in Ireland. For the prosecution of this design, Napoleon Buonaparte invited to Paris all the fugitive and disaffected Irish on the continent, and organised them as the Irish legion, under the command of Macshea, who had been aide-de-camp to General Hoche in the invasion of Ireland in 1793. Through the medium of the clubbists in Dublin, Cork, and other towns, he carried on an active correspondence with the leaders of the disaffected Irish. His most active emissaries were Quigley, or O'Quigley; Robert Emmett, the brother of Thomas Emmett, who had been concerned in the rebellion of 1798; and Russell, an officer on half-pay. In the abortive attempt at insurrection made by these men, Lord Kilwarden, lord chief justice of Ireland, was massacred.

The triumph of French power had not been of long duration in St. Domingo. The black population, assisted by a British squadron, at length regained their freedom. The frequent and atrocious acts of horror which the French practised on the negroes, hurried the consummation of their overthrow. Frequently were the unhappy negroes, when barely suspected of being likely to rebel, carried out to sea and thrown overboard, or having been stowed away in the ship's hold, the hatches were closed, and light being set to sulphur, they were suffocated with its fumes. Sometimes the unhappy victims were burned at slow fires. The French generals had the audacious inhumanity to propose to Dessalines and the other negro leaders, to exterminate the whole population, and recolonise the island with the natives of France.

Shortly after the arrest and deportation of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the yellow-fever broke out with the most destructive fury among the French. Their hospitals were crowded with sick, and their ranks were thinned; the consequence was, they were disabled from pursuing effectually active operations against the revolted slaves, who still remained unsubdued; and whose courage and activity increasing, as the force and enterprise of the French decreased, a renewed insurrection and warfare ensued. All that the fiery breath of the pestilence had now spared of the French, were 9,000 sickly soldiers, besides a national guard, consisting of the white inhabitants and some faithful blacks and mulattoes; but the impolicy of Rochambeau (who had, on the death of Leclerc, succeeded to the command of the French army), in causing Bardet and his associates, who had been faithful adherents of the French, to be carried out to sea and drowned, caused a fresh and terrible insurrection to break out in the northern and southern districts of the island. Aux Cayes, Port-au-Paix, Port-au-Prince, Leoganes, and St. Marc, fell successively before the negro forces under Dessalines and Christophe; and their garrisons would have fallen victims to the vengeance of the captors, had they not been humanely carried off by the English cruisers. Cape François, which Rochambeau had made his head-quarters, was the only spot now in possession of the French; and this at length being completely invested, and daily menaced with assaults, Rochambeau, to obviate the revengeful fury of his opponents, proposed to evacuate that town, on condition of being allowed to carry off the garrison to France. A negotiation was entered into with Dessalines to that effect; and the French troops were already on board their ships in the harbour, when the British squadron, under Commodore Loring, appearing in the road, the French entered into a capitulation to put themselves under British protection, to prevent the black general putting his threat into execution—that he would, after the expiration of twelve hours, without regard to winds and tides, fire on them. In pursuance of the capitulation, the French ships (consisting of three frigates and several vessels laden with colonial produce) surrendered. Cape St. Nicholas Mole and St. Domingo still held out; but the former was evacuated on the following December. Thus, after the slaughter of nearly half a

million of people, the northern part of the island was in the possession of the negroes; and by a proclamation of Dessalines and Christophe, the island was declared a free and independent state, under the title of

the "Republic of Hayti." The loss of the French, in their ill-omened attempt, had been frightful. M. Dupin says, that out of 60,000 troops, 57,500 had died of fever alone.

#### WAR IN INDIA—BATTLES OF ASSYE, DELHI, LASWAREE, AND ARGAAUM.

DURING the short-lived peace of Amiens, or the year of truce or armistice between England and France, the first-mentioned state had carried on war in India on an extensive scale, and with signal success. In this portion of our work we shall, for the sake of preserving a connective narrative and unity of design and detail, merely give a sketch of those memorable events, reserving the full and comprehensive detail of military operations in that quarter of the world for that Division of ENGLAND'S BATTLES BY SEA AND LAND, entitled "*The Campaigns and Battle-Fields of India*," from the first establishment of British power in India, to the time of the final completion of this work.

Among the military events of the preceding year, it has been stated that the power of Mysore had been annihilated by the capture of Seringapatam, and the transfer of that state to the East India Company and its allies. While that event was in operation, a new and formidable enemy had risen up, in the confederacy of the Mahratta states, under the guidance and command of M. Perron and other French adventurers. The chief of the Mahratta confederates were Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar. In 1802, the former had, with the assistance of Perron and his associates, dispossessed the Peishwa, or Mahratta sovereign of Poonah. In December of that year the Peishwa solicited the assistance of the East India Company to aid him in the recovery of his kingdom; and, as the Company were desirous to curb Scindiah, and dispossess him of his European officers, a subsidiary treaty was concluded at Bassein with the dispossessed sovereign of Poonah. In the prosecution of this purpose, General Lake took the field with an army of 16,000 men. The force of the confederates, under Perron's command, was 17,000 infantry, disciplined in the European manner, and officered by Europeans, and about 20,000 Mahratta horse. The Nizam of the Deccan had effected an alliance with the Company and the Peishwa. In

the interim, Major-general Wellesley had, by a rapid and brilliant movement, advanced on Poonah, and, driving out Holkar and his forces, reinstated the Peishwa in his capital. From Poonah Wellesley marched northwards, and beleaguering the strong fortress of Ahmednuggur, about eight miles distant from Poonah, he took it by escalade. Crossing the Godavery, he advanced against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, who were invading with an immense body of cavalry the Nizam's territory, with the intention of plundering and ravaging it and the important city of Hyderabad. Wellesley determined to intercept the enemy, and place himself between them and Hyderabad. Receiving information that the enemy's forces were assembled on the northern banks of the Kaitna, he advanced with two British and five sepoy battalions, the 19th light dragoons, and three regiments of native cavalry to encounter the Mahratta force, consisting of 50,000 men, with nearly one hundred pieces of artillery, and officered by Europeans, amounting in number to nearly his own force, and which the treaty of Amiens (by virtue of which the French had recovered their Indian possessions) had presented a facility for entering the military service of the native princes. Leaving the Mysore and other irregular cavalry to watch the enemy's horse, he rapidly passed his little army over a ford to the enemy's left, and formed them in three lines, two of infantry and the third of the 19th dragoons. The first line consisted of two battalions of sepoys and the 78th regiment; the second, of the 74th regiment and two battalions of sepoys. Immediately the battle began, and the numerous and well-served artillery of the enemy made a terrible slaughter in Wellesley's advancing lines: at one moment, so wide was the gap that the Mahratta cavalry attempted to charge through it, but were driven back by the 19th dragoons. Finding his scanty and inefficient artillery of little or no use, as the greater part of the guns could not be brought up for lack of bullocks, he ordered

a charge of bayonets. The Mahratta infantry, unwilling to meet the collision, took to flight, leaving their murderous artillery behind them; but the artillerymen, having thrown themselves down among the carriages of the guns, no sooner had their opponents passed over them than they regained their feet, and discharged their cannon in the rear of the pursuers. This inspired a body of the fleeing enemy to re-form and oppose a front of resistance; but the 19th dragoons impetuously rushing on them, they were quickly broken and driven headlong from the field, on which they left the whole of their artillery. In the achievement of this brilliant victory the loss of the Anglo-Indian army was one moiety of its force; that of the enemy 1,200 slain, besides the wounded, with whom the country was covered. The English general had two horses killed under him; every officer of his staff had one or two horses killed; and his orderly's head was carried off by a cannon-ball, as he rode close by his side in the passage of the river. The trophies of the victors were ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, and the stores, ammunition, and camp equipage of the enemy.

While these operations were in movement in the north, in the south General Lake, in his advance on Delhi for the liberation of the Mogul emperor (Schah Alum) from the tutelage and power of Perron—who, while executing for Scindiah the task of gaoler of that unfortunate phantom of power, had assumed the sovereignty of an oriental potentate in his kingdom—took, after a desperate resistance, Alli-Ghur, Perron's principal military depôt and usual residence. A few days after the storming of Alli-Ghur, Perron entered into an agreement with General Lake, on condition of the receipt of a large sum of money and permission to pass through the Company's territory with his effects to Lucknow, to quit Scindiah's service. As soon as the agreement was ratified, Lake resumed his march on Delhi. On the 11th of September, the English general, receiving intelligence that the army of Scindiah, consisting of 6,000 men, under the command of Louis Bourquien, who had succeeded Perron, were strongly posted for the defence of the capital, marched forward to oppose them and liberate the captive monarch, then a prisoner in that city. On reaching the ground of encampment, the Anglo-Indian force had scarcely pitched their tents when their outposts were at-

tacked. Lake, for the purpose of inducing the enemy to leave his intrenchments, and descend from the rising ground on which he was posted, assumed the feint or appearance of taking to flight; but no sooner had the enemy descended into the plain, shouting and displaying confidence in his approaching triumph, than Lake turned upon him, and delivering a prompt volley, he made a bayonet-charge. Instantly the enemy wheeled about and retreated to his guns, which opened with a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain shot on Lake's little army of 4,500, of whom the only Europeans were the 27th dragoons, the 76th foot, and the artillery. Nowise discouraged, Lake's men rushed forward, and reaching the batteries, delivered a second volley, and made so effective a bayonet-charge, that the enemy deserted his artillery. A charge of Lake's cavalry, and some rounds from his flying artillery, so completely disorganised the enemy, that he fled in confusion to the banks of the Jumna, leaving between three and four thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners, his military chest, and the whole of his artillery and ammunition, in the hands of the victors. This celebrated battle having been fought (September 12th) within sight of the minarets of Delhi, is designated from the name of that city. Two days after the battle, Bourquien and some other French officers in Scindiah's service, surrendered themselves prisoners of war; and on the 16th, General Lake entering Delhi, congratulated the poor old Mogul sovereign on his release from the bondage in which he had been held by Scindiah and the French faction.

Having made the requisite arrangements for the security of Delhi, General Lake proceeded in pursuit of the enemy towards Agra, where, arriving on the 4th of October, he summoned the fort to surrender. No answer being returned to the summons, the siege was commenced, and on the 17th, the garrison capitulated. While Lake had been engaged in the siege of Agra, Scindiah had reorganised the battalions which had escaped from the battle of Agra, and uniting them to the fifteen battalions (called the "Deccan Invincibles"), under the command of M. Dodernaigue and other French officers, began to prepare for the recovery of Delhi. To frustrate his design, Lake marched from Agra on the 27th of October. On the 31st, leaving the infantry to push forward, he rapidly advanced with the cavalry, and after

a night march of twenty-five miles, came up with his opponents about seven o'clock on the following morning, when he found the enemy advantageously posted—their right upon a stream, their left on the village which has given its name to the battle. Lake's foremost brigade drove in the enemy's horse, and penetrated to the village, but being exposed to a destructive fire of artillery and musketry, were compelled to withdraw. The other brigades were equally unsuccessful in their points of attack. At the critical moment, the Anglo-Indian infantry and artillery, after a march of twenty-five miles in less than eight hours, appeared in sight. The enemy, discouraged at the appearance of this force, offered to surrender their guns and retire. Lake acceded to the proposal, but not finding them disposed to fulfil the conditions, the battle began. The 76th regiment, with a battalion and five companies of native infantry, headed the attack. As soon as "this handful of heroes" (as Lake termed them) arrived within reach of the enemy's canister-shot, a tremendous fire was opened on them; but, undismayed, they stood firm, and repulsed a charge of the enemy's horse, and hurled against it to take advantage of the destructive effect of the cannonade. To sweep away that numerous cavalry which still hovered round the devoted little band, the 29th regiment of dragoons were dispatched. The remainder of the infantry advancing to the encounter at the same moment, that terrible bayonet-charge was made which determined the fate of the battle; the 27th dragoons and a regiment of native cavalry, making a brilliant charge, which put the finishing-stroke to the discomfiture. In the same moment, flight, cry for quarter and surrender, were seen and heard over the whole area of the battle-field. With the exception of 2,000, who surrendered, the whole of the seventeen battalions, and the 5,000 cavalry which had entered the battle ground, were annihilated. The loss of the conquerors was 172 killed and 652 wounded: their trophies were the whole of the enemy's artillery, baggage, camp equipage, elephants, camels, &c. Thus terminated, at four o'clock of the evening of the 1st of November, the battle of Laswaree; and thus were the operations of the British arms on the north-western frontier of Oude gloriously concluded.

The campaign in the Deccan had been also successfully conducted. Wellesley had executed his task with equal ability and

promptitude. Towards the end of November, in the plains of Argaum (about twenty miles north of the Poohna river), he had routed the army of the Rajah of Berar and Scindiah's cavalry, with the loss of their cannon, ammunition, elephants, and baggage. In the middle of December, Gawil-Ghur, one of the strongest fortresses in India, and situated upon a lofty rock, among a range of mountains between the sources of the rivers Poorna and Taptee, fell before his conquering arms. Thus the power of the Mahratta confederacy being, before the end of the year, utterly shattered by the combined services of Wellesley and Lake, the Rajah of Berar signed the conditions of peace dictated by Wellesley, ceding to the Company the province of Cuttack, with the district of Balasore, and dismissing all the French and other European officers from his service—a condition to which Scindiah a few days afterwards acceded, together with the cession to the Company of all the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, besides numerous forts, territories, and interests.

The news of these glorious events was received in every town and settlement of the Company's Indian dominions with enthusiastic joy and public rejoicing. The inhabitants of Calcutta presented swords to Generals Wellesley and Lake, as testimonials of their sense of the distinguished merit displayed by those officers in the late campaign.

In the course of the same year, other operations besides those by Wellesley and Lake, were undertaken against the Mahratta confederacy. Colonel Powell, with a force belonging to the Bengal presidency marched from Allahabad. Among other strong fortresses he reduced Gwalior, and established the authority of the Company in the province of Bundelcund. Colonel Harcourt, with a division of the Madras army, took possession of the fortress and province of Cuttack. Thus, in the space of four months, the territories of the Company had, besides the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges, received the acquisition of other rich and flourishing provinces, and had obtained a navigation along an immense extent of coast from the mouths of the Ganges to the mouth of the Indus.

In the course of that campaign, the immense improvements which had been made in the economy and discipline of the Anglo-

Indian army had been mainly due to the practice and example of Arthur Wellesley, and strongly foreshadowed those qualities he so eminently displayed in the war of the Peninsula. "The operations of this war," said the consummate soldier, in a letter to one of his brothers (Hon. H. Wellesley), "have afforded numerous instances of improvement in our means of communication, of obtaining intelligence, and, above all, of movement. Marches such as I have made in this war, were never known

or thought of before. In the last eight days of the month of October, I marched above 120 miles, and passed through two ghauts with heavy guns and all the equipments of the troops, and this without injury to the efficiency of the army; and in the few days previous to this battle (Argaum), when I had determined to go into Berar, I never moved less than between seventeen and twenty miles, and I marched twenty-six miles on the day on which it was fought."

#### NAVAL AND MILITARY OPERATIONS IN 1803.

ON the renewal of the war, every French port in the channel was blockaded by divisions of the British fleet, and cruisers were stationed in front of all the ports along the channel frontier of France, from Ostend to Cape La Hogue, and thence to Granville, at which divisions of gun-vessels were known to be constructing or fitting out for the projected invasion of England. These cruisers often stood in and cannonaded the fortresses of the enemy, or bombarded those towns where a large number of gun-boats were assembled, or in a state of construction. Parties of seamen and marines occasionally landed, cut out vessels, destroyed signal-posts, and dismantled batteries. Havre, Dieppe, Granville, Calais, Etaples, and Boulogne, were successively bombarded, and some of the gun-boats in each port were either destroyed or injured. The Dutch ports, from Zandvoort to Scheveningen, were also severely bombarded and many gun-ships destroyed. Blockading squadrons were also stationed off the French ports in the Mediterranean, and those of Spain and Holland. During this year, several French frigates were taken. The most distinguished performance attending these transactions was the following. While the *Blanche* frigate was lying at anchor off the entrance of Mancenille Bay, St. Domingo, midshipman Edward Henry A'Court, with eight men, was dispatched in the cutter to collect articles for the use of the ship. Before the little party pushed off from the frigate, they contrived to stow away five or six muskets. In the dusk of the evening, falling in with a schooner, nearly becalmed, the little party resolutely pulled towards her, and to escape injury as much as possible should she open a cannonade on them, they

kept in her wake. Just as they approached her stern, a fire of musketry wounded two of the gallant little party. Nowise intimidated, they pulled straight up alongside their opponent, and resolutely boarding, carried her, though she had, in addition to her crew and passengers, between thirty and forty soldiers and a colonel on board. Gallant, however, as the achievement had been, the captain (Mudge) of the *Blanche*, made no mention of the affair publicly, and consequently young A'Court was unnoticed.

In June of this year, the island of St. Lucia was recaptured by General Grinfield and Commodore Hood, with the loss of twenty killed and 110 wounded. Eight days after Tobago surrendered to the same force; and in the course of September, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice capitulated. The fishing islands of St. Pierre and Miguelon, off Newfoundland, surrendered to an English ship of war. As has been already stated, General Rochambeau and about 8,000 French, had surrendered themselves prisoners of war at St. Domingo, or off that island. General Noailles, in command of the mole of St. Nicholas, effected his escape from that port with his garrison, in seven small vessels, to Cuba; and on his voyage to that island, is said (according to the report of the author of *Victoires et Conquêtes*) to have made the singular capture of "*une corvette Anglaise*" which crossed the path of his brig—though the British navy lost no corvette or even a 4-gun schooner by capture in those seas during the year of the French general's marvellous exploit. According to the general's version of the story, his brig, on meeting the "*corvette Anglaise*," concealed

her numerous crew, and hoisting English colours, declared that she had been dispatched to intercept him and his garrison. The two vessels then steered together in friendly company; when, in the night, M. Noailles, at the head of thirty of his

grenadiers, leaping on board the "corvette," gloriously carried her. St. Domingo and St. Jago, in the Spanish part of the island, were the only towns now occupied by the French. Guadeloupe was still held by a strong French garrison.

#### CAMPAIGNS, BATTLES, AND EVENTS OF 1804.

THOUGH it had been the proud boast of the Addington ministry, that while they waved "the olive-branch of peace," by the conclusion of the temporary truce of Amiens, "the nation might avert any threatening storm by the terrors of a naval war, and thus always humble the arrogance of France, and produce in her a desire of continuing the peace," on the recommencement of hostilities, experience proved that the country had never been in a more incompetent condition for naval warfare. During the ill-starred truce or armistice which they had concluded, from injudicious notions of economy they had suspended the completion of ships of war on the stocks; they had even sold the naval stores, such as hemp, &c.—of which the agents of France had been the principal purchasers—had acted in so harsh a manner towards the seamen of the royal service, that many of them, in disgust, had taken refuge in that of foreign states; and had sold or broken up the gun-boats, brigs, and vessels of war which had been constructed during Earl Spencer's naval administration, for the purpose of protecting our own coast and annoying that of the enemy. These evils were remedied by the return of Mr. Pitt to the head of the government, and the displacement of the Earl of St. Vincent from the naval administration. As soon as the exhausted arsenals could be replenished, and the dilapidated ships repaired, fleets were dispatched to blockade the enemy's ports, or, in the phrase adopted by the admiralty, to "hermetically seal up the harbours and trade of the enemy;" though experience had, by the continual escape of the enemy's vessels from the blockaded ports, proved the fallacy of that expression.

The first military operation of any consequence which occurred in the course of this year, was the capture of the English settlement of Goree, on the coast of Africa, by a small French force under the command of Mahé, which effected a landing on the rocks on the east side of the town, on

the morning of the 18th of January; and having overcome the force posted there, compelled the English commandant to capitulate. On the 7th of March, however, Captain Dixon appearing with the *Inconstant* frigate and some sloops before the town, Goree was retaken; and thus the island returned under the power of the English. In the early part of May, the Dutch colony of Surinam surrendered. By this conquest, 2,000 prisoners, an immense quantity of ordnance, stores, and ammunition, with the *Proserpine* frigate, of 32 guns, and the *Pylades* sloop of war fell into the hands of the captors; while their own loss did not amount to sixty men in killed and wounded.

On the 6th of March, 1803, a French squadron, consisting of the *Marengo* line-of-battle ship, of 74 guns, with three frigates and two transports, under Admiral Linois, with 1,350 troops on board, sailed from Brest for the purpose of taking possession of Pondicherry, ceded to France by the treaty of Amiens. On the 16th of June, one of the frigates (*La Belle Poule*), having parted company from the squadron in a violent gale of wind, arrived at Pondicherry on the 26th of June, and demanded of the commanding officers of the different factories the restoration of the settlement, agreeably to the article of the treaty; but either in consequence of want of orders, or of the informality of the application, a compliance with the demand was declined. While the discussion between the parties was in progress, Vice-admiral Peter Rainier arrived from Bombay with a squadron, consisting of three ships-of-the-line and four frigates (in consequence of information from England that the peace was not likely to be durable), and anchored in the road of Cuddalore, which is situated about twenty miles to the south-west of Pondicherry. On the morning of the 11th of July, Linois appeared with his squadron. On the following day he was joined by a transport and a brig-corvette, which brought despatches from France, directing Linois to

proceed forthwith to the Isle of France, and there refit and provision his ships for the purpose of recommencing hostilities. On the 13th, to the surprise of the British, nothing was to be seen of Linois and his ships. He had set sail for his destination, where he arrived in the middle of August. Having effected his repairs, he cruised about the Indian Archipelago, captured several richly-laden ships, and plundered the English factory (Fort Marlborough) at Bencoolen. About the beginning of this year, he cruised with his whole force near the entrance of the Straits of Malacca, in hopes of capturing the homeward-bound China fleet. On the 5th of February, this fleet, consisting of fifteen East India Company's ships, eleven country ships, one Botany Bay and one Portuguese ship, passed Macao Roads, when the Portuguese and one country ship parted company. On the 14th (Pulo Auro in sight), signal was made by the *Royal George*, was the headmost of the Company's ships, of four strange sail in the south-west, which, on reconnoitring, were discovered to be an enemy's squadron, consisting of a line-of-battle ship, three heavy frigates, and a brig. Signal was immediately made by Commodore Dance, the senior captain, for the fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sunset the enemy was close up with the English rear. The Indian ships lay-to in line of battle all night, with the men at their quarters ready to engage at a moment's notice; the country ships being placed on the lee-bow for their protection. At break of day next morning, the enemy being about three miles to windward, Dance hoisted his colours, and offered battle. At one in the afternoon, Dance perceiving that the strange ships were preparing to cut off his rear, made the signal to tack and bear down on the hostile force, and engage the line in succession. The whole of the Company's fleet immediately bore down on Linois's squadron under a press of sail. Linois closed his line, and opened fire on Dance's headmost ships, which did not return their fire till they were at close

quarters. But before the three leading English ships could well get into action, the enemy's squadron hauled round, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two, P.M., Dance made a signal for a general chase, and pursued his foe for two hours. On account of the large property (one million and-a-half sterling) at stake, and fearing a longer pursuit would carry him too far from the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, he made the signal to tack and anchor, for the purpose of entering the Straits on the following morning. One of the Company's ships (the *Royal George*) was in action forty minutes, and delivered nine broadsides. The *Ganges*, *Earl Camden*, and *Warley* were in action about thirty minutes, and fired each eight broadsides. The loss on board the *Royal George* was one man killed and one wounded. Neither of the other ships sustained any loss in killed and wounded. Dance was knighted, and among other rewards, received £5,000 from the Bombay Insurance Company. The commanders, officers, and crews of the respective ships, and the representatives of the killed and wounded, were liberally rewarded by the East India Company and the committee of the patriotic fund formed by the subscribers to Lloyd's coffee-house.

In the following September, Linois met an equally disgraceful repulse by the *Centurion*, a British 50-gun ship, commanded by Lieutenant Phillips, acting in the absence of Captain Lind on service on shore. That ship, while refitting in Vizagapatam Roads, was attacked by Linois with the *Marengo* and two frigates of 40 and 36 guns. After a close and severe action of two hours, the *Centurion* succeeded in obliging her formidable antagonist to sheer off, with considerable damage in rigging, and loss in men—an action deservedly designated by Admiral Rainier, commander-in-chief in the Indian seas, as “ranking with the most famous of the defensive kind ever recorded in the annals of the British navy.”

#### MILITARY OPERATIONS IN INDIA.

EARLY in the spring of 1804, General Wellesley crossed the Godavery, for the purpose of suppressing the numerous and formidable bands of freebooters and banditti who were plundering and devastating

the Western Deccan. By a forced march over eighty miles of exceedingly rough country, with a column of cavalry, he advanced to the spot where they were chiefly encamped, with the intention of surprising

them; but his intentions having been betrayed by some of the natives in his own force, the marauders took to flight, though greatly superior to him in numbers, and being also in possession of field-pieces, of which he was totally deficient; but he continued his pursuit of the fugitives, until he had entirely dispersed and destroyed them, and captured the whole of their baggage, ammunition, and artillery.

This flying campaign concluded the military services of this extraordinary man in India, and his civil services had been no less important and conducive to British interests in that quarter of the globe, and were acknowledged in the most gratifying manner by the people of the Mysore for the tranquillity and happiness which they had enjoyed under his government, and the numerous abuses, civil and military, which he had checked and remedied. In an address presented to him on the 6th of July, 1804, they expressed themselves in the following grateful and affectionate manner:—"We, the native inhabitants of Seringapatam, have reposed for five auspicious years under the shadow of your protection. We have felt, during your absence in the midst of battle and victory, that your care for our prosperity had been extended to us in as ample a manner as if no other object had occupied your mind. We are preparing to perform, in our several castes, the duty of thanksgiving and of sacrifice to the preserving God, who has brought you back in safety; and we present ourselves in person to express our joy. As your labours have been crowned with victory, so may your repose be graced with honours. May you long continue personally to dispense to us that full stream of security and happiness, which we first received with wonder, and continue to receive with gratitude; and when greater affairs shall call you from us, may the God of all castes and all nations deign to hear with favour our humble and constant prayers for your health, your glory, and your happiness." When, in March of the following year, he was on the point of leaving India on his return to Europe, the inhabitants of Seringapatam presented another address, expressing their gratitude for the security and happiness they had enjoyed under his government, and their reverence for his affability and benevolent actions and

intentions; concluding with a fervent prayer for his health and safe voyage to Europe, and expressing a hope for his speedy return to India, that they might derive the benefit of his protection and government.

The conduct of this truly illustrious man, in respect to the Peishwa, was equally admirable with his administration of the Deccan. He not only restrained the rapacity, but he curbed the vindictiveness of that treacherous ally of the Company. In many cases where that prince would have deluged the country with blood, in the gratification of his revenge, Wellesley interposed his authority, and saved the objects of the Peishwa's vengeance. In one of his despatches to the governor-general, he exclaims—"The war will be eternal if nobody is to be forgiven; and I certainly think that the British government cannot intend to make the British troops the instruments of the Peishwa's revenge." He also found it necessary, on more than one occasion, to impress on the attention of the government at Calcutta the necessity of forgiveness and moderation. "When the power of the Company is so great," said this highminded man, "little dirty passions must not be suffered to guide its measures."

Holkar, who had remained inactive during the operations against Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, in 1805 suddenly assumed an attitude which required an immediate attempt to subdue. Having refused to enter into an amicable adjustment, General Lake proceeded against him. After some unimportant skirmishes, General Fraser found him strongly posted near the fortress of Deeg, in the midst of tanks, topes, and morasses; he attacked him with the bayonet, under a terrific fire of round, grape, and chain shot, and defeated him with the loss of 1,000 men and ninety pieces of European artillery. He was again completely overthrown at Furruckabad by Lake. But Holkar, having now formed an alliance with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, Lake advanced into the territory of the latter, and laid siege to Deeg. The town and all the outworks were in possession of the assailants on the 24th of December; and, on the following morning, the enemy deserting the citadel, panic-struck at the preparations made for its assault, it also fell into the hands of the besiegers.

THE PROJECTED INVASION OF ENGLAND, AND BOMBARDMENT OF THE  
FRENCH FLOTILLA.

THE equipment of the armament at Boulogne and the ports of reunion Ostend, Dunkirk, Calais, Ambleteuse, Vimereux, Etaples, Flushing, and Helvoet—for the flotilla for the invasion of England, was the great object and incessant exertion of the first consul during the autumn of this year. Already nearly 1,400 vessels, consisting of praams or corvettes, gun-vessels, &c., were collected in the different ports from which the flotilla was intended to take its departure for the projected invasion. The naval commander-in-chief was Vice-admiral Bruix. The directions given by Napoleon Buonaparte to his minister of marine, were—that the Brest fleet, under Vice-admiral Gantheaume, with 30,000 troops on board, was to quit that port the first opportunity which might occur in November, and proceed to Lough Swilly bay, in the north of Ireland; and, having disembarked the troops, to return to the Texel. He was then to take the seven Dutch sail-of-the-line and transports with the troops in that harbour, sail to Boulogne, and effect a junction with the thirty sail-of-the-line assembled there; twenty sail, under Villeneuve, were at the same time approaching from off Rochefort: and this united force the first consul deemed sufficient to cover the grand flotilla, and enable it to effect the disembarkation of the invading army on the shores of England.

In the month of July, Napoleon Buonaparte left Paris to inspect the coasts and harbours of the Channel, and review "*l'armée d'Angleterre*." So sure were the Parisians of a successful result, that finger-posts were erected on the line of his route, inscribed "*Chemin de Londres*," (road to London); and many of the Paris gossips predicted he

would soon be back, with King George, William Pitt, and all the royal family and aristocracy in his train. When he reached the camp he pitched his tent near a ruinous building, called *La Tour d'Ordre*, but which now changed its name to that of Cæsar's Tower, some traces having, in clearing the ground, been discovered of a Roman encampment—a circumstance which was hailed as an omen that Napoleon Buonaparte, like Julius Cæsar, would become the conqueror of Britain; and this augury seemed to be confirmed by the finding, at the same time, and at a short distance from the same spot, some coins of William the Conqueror. Besides these strange coincidences, which were thought not to have been quite accidental, but rather designed, nothing was omitted which might tend to keep up the enthusiastic feelings of the soldiery, and bias them against "*Perfide Albion*."

From Boulogne,\* Napoleon Buonaparte proceeded to Brussels. On his way to that city, adulatory addresses, couched in a strain of eastern servility, flowed in from the mayors and constituted authorities of all the districts through which he passed. "God," said the prefect of Arras, who probably had been a *ci-devant* priest, "created Napoleon Buonaparte, and rested from his labours"—a fulsome and blasphemous eulogium, which drew forth from a wit of the faubourg St. Germain the just rejoinder—"It would have been better if God had rested a little sooner." While resident at Brussels, he received a letter from Madame de Staël, in which she said, that as Josephine was unfit for him, and his union with her had been through an error in human institutions, "to adore you, nature assuredly

\* While Napoleon Buonaparte was at Boulogne, the following interesting circumstance is said to have occurred:—Two English sailors who had escaped from Verdun and reached the neighbourhood of Boulogne, had concealed themselves in the woods, waiting for an opportunity to get on board some English vessel which might approach the land. Finding that the watch on the coast was too strict to afford a chance of their procuring a boat by stealth, they diligently set to work with their knives, cutting branches from the trees, and interlacing them with osiers. When the hull was completed, they covered the sides and bottom with sail-cloth. Descriing one day an English cruiser in the Channel, the hardy men launched their frail boat, and put to sea. They had not advanced far, before a custom-

house galley overtook them, and brought them to shore. They were imprisoned as spies, and were to be tried as such. The incident spreading through the camp, reached the ears of Napoleon Buonaparte. He desired the men and their vessel to be brought before him. On their appearance, "Is it really true," said he, "that you intended to cross the sea in such a thing as this?" "Ay, sir," replied one of them, "give us permission to do so, and we will set out instantly." "You shall have permission," replied Napoleon Buonaparte; "but you shall not expose your lives. You are free, and shall be conducted on board of an English ship;" at the same time dismissing them with a sum of money to procure clothes and necessaries until they could be forwarded to an English vessel.

destined a soul of fire like mine." "Bah!" said the first consul, as he read the foolish epistle, "the woman is certainly mad;" and threw the obnoxious production into the fire; at the same time directing Fouché to apprise the love-sick authoress of *Corinne*, that "the air of France was not good for her health"—a hint which induced her to retire to Copet, in Switzerland.

While "the army of England" was waiting an opportunity to "enable it to pay its visit to London," exertions were making on the opposite side of the Channel to give their visitors a warm reception. An immense number of small vessels, armed each with one or two guns, were stationed at the Nore and all the most assailable parts of the English coast; as were also several large armed ships, mounted with heavy cannonades, to act as floating batteries. Martello towers were erected along the coast; and in the mid-channel, along the French coast, cruisers were constantly on the watch to act against the vessels of the flotilla, as soon as they showed themselves beyond the sands and batteries by which they were protected.

For the destruction of the invading flotilla, an absurd project was set on foot, termed the "Catamaran project," consisting of fire-ships and catamarans; which last-mentioned machines\* were suggested to the ministry by one Fulton, an American engineer, and were copper vessels, or coffers, about twenty-one feet long, and three feet and a-half broad, stuffed full of gun-powder (about forty barrels being required for each), and in the midst of the loose powder a piece of clockwork machinery, the mainspring of which, on the withdrawing of a peg placed transversely on the lid of the coffer, would, in the course of a few minutes, draw or strike the trigger of a lock, and explode the coffer. Those vessels were to be towed and fastened under the bottom of the enemy's gun-boats, by a raft, consisting of two planks united together in the manner of the Indian catamaran, and rowed by one man, who, being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly escape observation in the dark. Fire-ships were

\* Fulton was not the inventor of the project. During the American revolutionary war, a person of the name of Bushel invented a similar instrument, for the purpose of catamaranising the British ships of war; but after several unsuccessful trials the scheme was abandoned. In 1801, Fulton, under the patronage of Napoleon Buonaparte, had endeavoured to catamaranise the English fleet

also to be employed in the projected attack. The whole force was to be covered by Lord Keith's blockading squadron. The appearance of about 150 French guns, moored in a double line outside the pier of Boulogne, presenting an opportunity of experiment, on the 2nd of October, Keith anchored his fleet about a league and a-half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day a sufficient force was detached from the fleet to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and giving protection to wounded men or to boats which might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen, and blow in-shore, to tow off the boats. At a quarter-past nine, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, and which was returned by a tremendous one from the shore, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched. As they approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to let them through, and so effectually were they avoided, that they passed to the rear of the line without doing the least injury. At half-past ten, the first explosive ship blew up, but without the slightest injury to the gun-boats or the shore-batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded no better. Four or five catamarans were then launched, and their explosion would have been equally ineffectual, had it not been for an unexpected accident. An English boat, after having towed a catamaran, was abandoned by her crew, but left with a sail up. A heavily-armed launch made a rush at the abandoned boat, and twenty-seven French soldiers and sailors immediately leaped into it. But scarcely had they cleared off with their prize, ere their launch ran foul of the catamaran, and was instantly blown into the air, with the loss of her remaining crew. In the whole affair, which lasted from nine in the evening of the 2nd of October, till four o'clock next morning, the loss of the French was only fourteen killed and seven wounded. The English had not a single man hurt. So absurd and laughable had been this affair, that its historical appellation is, *The Catamaran Expedition*; and that of its projectors, *The Catamaran* blockading Brest; but his "grand and terrific plan" (as the Earl of Stanhope, with awful solemnity denominated it) was a failure; the wicked English ships being so perverse, as not to come or stand still near enough (as Fulton's biographer, Cadwallader Colden, tells us) to allow the experimentalist to blow them into the air.

*Admiralty.* But absurd and laughable as it had been, it was repeated, and with similar success, on the 23rd of October, on Fort Rougé and the flotilla protected by it in Calais harbour, by captains Owen and Hancock, of the *Immortalité* and *Cruiser* frigates. In the month of August, also, Captain Owen, with his frigate and the sloops and cutters under his command, had bombarded the flotilla which lay at anchor in the road of Boulogne, but with slender success; and on the 2nd of July and the 2nd of August, Captain Oliver, of the *Melpomene*, had been equally unfortunate in his attack on the gun-boats in Havre pier; but some damage was done to the town by the shells and carcasses thrown into it. On the 8th of May, Captain Wright, who mysteriously met his death in the Temple at Paris, being becalmed in the 18-gun brig *Vincejo*, close to the mouth of the river Morbihan, on the coast of France, and carried by the ebb-tide close upon the rocks, after a gallant defence of two hours against seventeen vessels, carrying 35 guns (of which 30 were long 18 and 24-pounders), and whose crews amounted to 800 men, was under the necessity of striking his colours, his fire having been reduced to one gun in every five minutes, and his vessel a mere wreck. Lieutenant Tourneur, the commodore of the flotilla, on receiving Captain Wright's sword, said: "Sir, you have nobly maintained the honour of your nation, and the high reputation of your country's navy. The French love and esteem the brave, and will treat you and your men with all possible kindness."

During the occurrence of the transaction just narrated, Nelson was blockading Toulon, where Latouche Trévillé commanded the French fleet. "He was sent on purpose," said Nelson; "as he *beat* me at Boulogne, to beat me again; but he seems very loath to try." One day, while the main body of Nelson's fleet was out of sight of land, Rear-admiral Campbell, reconnoitring with the *Canopus*, *Donegal*, and *Amazon*, stood in close to the port; Latouche, taking advantage of a breeze which sprang up, pushed out of port, with four ships-of-the-line and three heavy frigates, and chased him about four leagues. The Frenchman, delighted at having found himself in so novel a situation, published a boastful account, affirming that he had given chase to the whole British fleet, and that Nelson had fled before him. Nelson, in his letter to the Admiralty on

this subject, said: "I never heard of Latouche acting otherwise than as a poltroon and a liar:" and to his brother he said—"You have seen Latouche's letter; how he chased me, and how I ran. I keep it; and if I take him, by God he shall eat it!"

The last naval transaction of this year was the capture of the Spanish homeward-bound treasure-ships. In expectation of a rupture with Spain, and an armament being in a state of preparation in Ferrol, instructions were sent to Lord Nelson to intercept all Spanish vessels laden with naval or military stores, as also the homeward-bound treasure-frigates of Spain, till the pleasure of the British government was known. On the 5th, a squadron of four British frigates, under the command of Captain Moore, fell in with the four expected Spanish frigates near Cape Santa Maria. After ineffectually hailing the Spaniards to shorten sail, Moore fired a shot across the fore-foot of the foremost frigate, which then taking in sail, a lieutenant was sent to inform the Spaniard that he had orders to detain his vessels, and earnestly entreated compliance. The Spaniard refusing to submit, Moore made the signal for close battle, and immediately an engagement ensued, each of the English frigates taking an antagonist. In less than ten minutes, one of the Spanish ships blew up with a tremendous explosion. In the course of the following half-hour two of the Spaniards surrendered; and the fourth, after an attempt to escape, was captured before sunset. The loss, on the part of the English, was two killed and seven wounded; that of the Spaniards was near 100 in killed and wounded, besides the 240 lives lost by the explosion. The value of the cargoes captured was £2,000,000 sterling. A deep domestic tragedy cast a cloud over this exploit. A Captain Alava, of the Spanish navy, with his wife, four daughters, and five sons, grown up to man and womanhood, had embarked in the Spanish frigate which blew up, carrying with him a fortune estimated at £30,000 sterling, the gradual savings of thirty years' industry in South America. Not many minutes before the engagement began, he, with his eldest son, went on board the commodore's frigate, where he had been but a short time when he witnessed the explosion of the ship containing his family and hard-earned savings. The British government returned, out of the proceeds of the cargoes, the £30,000 which

M. Alava had lost by the catastrophe. This affair, in conjunction with provocations given by the Spanish government, led to a declaration of war in the following year against Spain.

The French portion of St. Domingo was now entirely in the power of the negroes, who consummated the victory they had gained by the massacre of the white persons, almost immediately after the English squadron had carried off the French army and such of the inhabitants who could withdraw from the dreadful scene. The negro, Dessalines, who had succeeded Toussaint L'Ouverture in the command of the black population, as his predecessor had parodied the French republic and consulate, now, in imitation of his European prototype, parodied the French empire, and elected and proclaimed himself "Emperor of Hayti," that being the Indian name of St. Domingo; and as soon as he was informed of the measures of Napoleon, he created officers of state and batches of peers, and established all the rigorous etiquette of the Tuileries. The savage sable specimen of majesty conducted himself with the most ruthless cruelty, declaring in his manifesto, that he had rendered to his enemies "crime for crime, outrage for outrage." The city of St. Jago, in the Spanish part of Hispaniola, still remained in the possession of the ancient inhabitants; but it was hourly threatened with attack by Dessalines and his negro army.

The military and civil transactions of France during this year were briefly these:—In February, a plot was detected at Paris, the object of which was to subvert the consular government and promote the restoration of the Bourbons: the principal persons accused were Pichegru, the Chouan chief Georges Cadoudal, and Moreau. The whole of the conspirators were seized and imprisoned; and as the Duc d'Enghien the eldest son of the Duc de Bourbon, was suspected of being implicated in the conspiracy, he was seized on the night of the 15th of March, in the neutral territory of Baden, and being hurried to the castle of Vincennes, was tried by a military commission, and shot in the course of the night following the day of trial, in the ditch of the castle. In April, Pichegru was found strangled in the prison of the Temple. Cadoudal and his companions were executed; and Moreau was sentenced to imprisonment for two years, but was allowed to retire as

an exile to the United States. About the same time, Mr. Drake, envoy of the British government to the court of Bavaria, and Mr. Spencer Smith, *chargé-d'affaires* at the electoral court of Würtemberg were dismissed by those states on the alleged ground of having been concerned in the conspiracy.

This conspiracy afforded the chief consul a favourable opportunity for putting into execution a purpose he had long meditated; he therefore resolved to profit by the favourable moment. Shoals of addresses from the army, the departments, the towns, and communes poured in, congratulating the first consul on his escape from "the daggers that had been aimed at his life by the agents of England," and all recommending the adoption of means calculated to protect his person and government. One of these, from the senate, said—"Give us institutions so combined, that they may survive you." Another, alluding to the conspiracy of the Bourbons, ran:—"If the throne must be restored before we can hope for tranquillity, let us, at least, place on it him whom we have found most worthy to be our sovereign and protector." On the 30th of April, Curée, who had been a member of the Convention, and in that capacity had repeatedly sworn against royalty and monarchic government, rose in the tribunate, and, in a glowing eulogium on the first consul, moved the bestowal on Napoleon Buonaparte of the title of Emperor, with the hereditary succession in his family. "Let us hasten, said he, "to dissipate political illusions, by demanding for the nation the hereditary transmission of the supreme magistracy; and while we create a great power, let us give it a great name. For the guardian of a great nation, there is no title more befitting than that of EMPEROR. Curée concluded by moving that Napoleon Buonaparte, first consul, be proclaimed emperor. The proposal was hailed with enthusiasm. Carnot's was the only dissentient voice. "In what a position," said that sturdy republican, "will this proposition place all those who have advanced the principles of the revolution? When hereditary succession to the throne is established, there will no longer remain a shadow to the republic of all for which it has sacrificed so many millions of lives." The legislative body, without hesitation, adopted the decree of the tribunate, the obsequious senators vying with each other in their adulation of the

object of their homage. A *senatus consultum* forthwith appeared, declaring Napoleon Buonaparte emperor, and the empire hereditary in his family. Again addresses poured in from all quarters—from the army, the municipalities, the cities, the chambers of commerce—imploping the first consul to ascend the imperial throne.

The first imperial act of Napoleon Buonaparte was to create officers of state; such as master of the horse, master of the ceremonies, grand huntsman, &c., marshals of the empire, and nobility. His family were to be called princes and princesses, with the prefixes of *imperial highnesses*. The grand dignitaries of the empire were to have the prefix of *serene highness*; and when addressed, were to be styled *monseigneur* or *my lord*.\* Fresh addresses poured in, congratulating the emperor on his accession, and vying with each other in the servility of their adulation. The churchmen said they saw the finger of God visibly indicated in the whole of the state drama; and declared that "submission was due" to "the new Moses"—as they termed Napoleon Buona-

parte—"as having dominion over all; and to his ministers, as being his envoys: because such was the order of Providence." In December, it was reported that Napoleon Buonaparte's election as emperor had been confirmed by two millions and-a-half of registered voters, and in the same month he and his wife Josephine were crowned emperor and empress. In a speech which Napoleon made shortly after the coronation (namely, December 27th), at a meeting of the legislative bodies, he said: "I hope to leave to posterity a remembrance which shall for ever serve as an example, or a reproach, to my successors."

While at Mayence, during his journey from Boulogne to Aix-la-Chapelle, Napoleon Buonaparte brought to maturity his design of the *Confederation of the Rhine*, under the protection of France—a design which extended the power of France into the very heart of Germany.

In the course of this year, Russia and Sweden gave direct indications of hostility towards France. Russia refused to recognise Napoleon Buonaparte's title of emperor.

#### ENGLAND'S BATTLES BY SEA AND LAND IN 1805.

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE perceiving, from his territorial encroachments during the short-lived peace, that a third coalition was on the eve of being formed against him, addressed a letter, dated January 27th, 1805, to the English king, George III., containing many well-turned phrases about the blessings of peace. This letter ran thus: "Sir, my Brother,—Called to the throne by Providence and the suffrages of the senate, the people, and the army, my first desire is peace. France and England may continue their strife for ages; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, in causing so much blood to be uselessly shed, without the hope of advantage or prospect of cessation? I do not consider it dishonourable in me to make the first advances. I hope it has been sufficiently proved to the world, that I do not dread the chances of war; which, indeed, offer nothing which I can fear. Though peace is the wish of my

heart, war has never been adverse to my glory. I conjure your majesty, then, not to refuse the happiness of giving peace to the world. Delay not that grateful satisfaction, that it may be a legacy for your children. Never was there an occasion more favourable for calming the passions and displaying the best feelings of humanity and reason. The moment once lost, what limit can be assigned to a war, which all my efforts have not been able to terminate? In the space of the last ten years, your majesty has gained more, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity. What, then, has your majesty to hope from war? To form a coalition with some of the continental powers? Be assured the continent will remain at peace. A coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew our intestine troubles? The times are no longer as formerly. To de-

\* The progress of court etiquette was rapid in the imperial family. "Whoever could suggest an additional piece of formality from the olden time, propose an additional reverence, a new mode of knock-

ing at the door of an ante-chamber, a more ceremonious method of presenting a petition, or folding a letter, was received as if he had been a benefactor of the human race."

stroy our finances? Finances, founded on a flourishing agriculture, are never to be destroyed. To wrest from France her colonies? They are, to her, only secondary objects; and does not your majesty already possess more than your power can protect? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable results to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect to cause two nations to fight merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently extensive for our two nations, and reason is sufficiently powerful to assist us to discover the means of reconciling everything, when both parties are animated by a spirit of reconciliation. "I have now discharged a sacred duty, and one dear to my heart. Your majesty may rely on the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of that sincerity." In reply to this Machiavelian epistle, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs replied, that the King of England, "though earnestly desiring the restoration of peace, could not reply to the overture made to him without consulting the continental powers, particularly the Emperor of Russia."

The cabinets of London, St. Petersburg, and Stockholm were now parties in a league for the following objects:—1, to restore the independence of Holland and Switzerland; 2, to free the north of Germany from the presence of the French troops; 3, to procure the restoration of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia; and, 4th, the evacuation of Italy;—aggressions and encroachments which Napoleon Buonaparte had made during the continuance of the peace of Amiens. And it was further agreed between the contracting parties, that until the attainment of these objects, and the sway of France should be reduced to limits compatible with the independence of the other European states, no peace was to be signed by any one of the contracting powers. Austria and Prussia were not yet prepared to join the confederation. The continual abuse which the *Moniteur* daily uttered against the King of Sweden, for his co-operation with the other allied powers, induced the Swedish cabinet to hand to the French minister at Stockholm a note complaining of the indecent and ridiculous insolence which *Monsieur Buonaparte* had permitted to be inserted against the Swedish king in that official journal. For the purpose of inducing the King of Prussia to

join the coalition, the Emperor Alexander repaired in person to Berlin. The two sovereigns met in the vault in which Frederick the Great lay buried, and there solemnly swore, over his remains, to effect the liberation of Germany. But though thus pledged to the czar, the Prussian potentate did not (on account of the divided state of opinion among his subjects, and a strong French party being in his cabinet) immediately commence hostilities. But the forbearance of the Emperor of Austria was at length exhausted by the news of Napoleon Buonaparte's coronation at Milan as King of Italy, and the annexation of Genoa to the French empire. War was declared against France; and the Elector of Bavaria refusing to take the field in conjunction with the Austrian army, the Austrian troops were ordered to invade the electorate.

Napoleon Buonaparte now prepared for a descent on the coast of England with a vigour and an appearance of earnestness he had not hitherto assumed. Camps were formed on the coast, from Utrecht to the mouth of the Somme; and 150,000 men under Marmont, Ney, Lannes, Victor, Soult, Davoust, and Junot, besides 10,000 on board of the combined French and Spanish fleets (daily expected to make its appearance from the West Indies), with nearly 15,000 horses and 430 pieces of cannon, were ready for the enterprise. To convey this immense force, the flotilla consisted of 2,290 vessels, of which 1,350 were armed; and 3,500 pieces of cannon were ready to put to sea on the appointed signal. Anxious to have ocular proof of the degree of celerity with which this immense force could be embarked, Napoleon Buonaparte ordered the operation to be executed twice in his presence. So pleased was he with the result that, in a letter to Admiral Decrès, he wrote: "The English do not know what awaits them. If we are masters of the Channel for two hours, England has lived its time!" In another letter to Cambacérès, he says: "I am not able to divine by what precaution England can save herself from the terrible fate which awaits her." In order to deceive the British fleet as to the ultimate destination of the French squadron, and to have the Channel clear of English ships of war, Villeneuve had been sent to the West Indies, that it might be supposed it was intended to attack our colonies. The stratagem was successful. Nelson, with the Mediterranean fleet, went in search of Villeneuve.

Villeneuve, having assembled at Martinique the various fleets dispatched from different French and Dutch ports, returned to the Bay of Biscay with sixty ships-of-the-line, while Nelson was three weeks' sail in the rear. But the invasion of Bavaria by the Austrian troops, and the declaration of hostilities by the emperor against France, diverted Napoleon Buonaparte from his design, and induced him to employ "the army of England" in his ensuing German campaigns.\* The accidental encounter of Sir Robert Calder with Villeneuve, off Cape Finisterre †, tended also to the frustration of the results intended from the combination of the French and allied fleets. The event which led to Calder's action was as follows:—

As has been already stated, Lord Nelson had taken the command of the Mediterranean fleet in 1803. When at sea, he kept the fleet generally off Cape Palaca, or Cape St. Sebastian. These capes, being to the westward of Toulon, gave him the advantage, in strong westerly gales, of running into the Bay of Rosas, or under the Hières Islands, for shelter; or, when the weather was moderate, of keeping a watch on the Spanish fleet (war having been declared against that power), and preventing it from forming a junction with the French fleet at Toulon.

The English fleet having been driven off its station at Cape St. Sebastian on the 3rd of January, 1805, and compelled to sail to its old anchorage in Agincourt Sound (which is one of the finest harbours in the world, formed by the Madalena islands off the

\* While these operations were in prosecution, the English cruisers had, in many instances, attacked portions of the flotilla in the different ports of assembly, and in some cases destroyed a few of them. In the latter part of the year, two attempts were made to destroy the line of gun-vessels at anchor in Boulogne Road, but they were both rendered abortive by the stormy state of the weather.

† When intelligence of the naval battle at Cape Finisterre, between the English and French fleets, and the putting of his fleet into the harbour of Ferrol, by Villeneuve (instead of advancing, according to his instructions, to the English Channel), reached Napoleon Buonaparte at Boulogne, his rage was violent. According to the author of *Précis des Evénemens*, the intendant-general of the army of England found Napoleon Buonaparte striding up and down his apartment, uttering the abrupt exclamations—"What a navy!—what an admiral!—what sacrifices lost! My hopes are frustrated! This Villeneuve, instead of being in the Channel, has put into Ferrol. Daru, sit down, listen and write." Then, without hesitating or stopping (says the narrator), he dictated the whole plan of the campaign of Austerlitz;—the departure of the different corps of the army (as well from Hanover and Holland as

coast of Sardinia), on the 17th, the French fleet under Villeneuve, with a large body of troops on board, sailed from Toulon, and making directly for Cadiz, formed a junction there with the Spanish fleet under Admiral Gravina. The *Active* and *Seahorse* frigates, which Nelson had left to watch the port of Toulon, brought (on the 19th) the long hoped-for intelligence to Nelson. From the position of the enemy when they were last seen by the frigates on the preceding evening, Nelson inferred that they were bound round the southern end of Sardinia. The British fleet immediately unmoored and weighed in pursuit. After beating about the Sicilian seas for ten days in search of the enemy, Nelson ran for Egypt, under the impression that they were bound for that country.‡ Baffled in his pursuit, he bore up for Malta. Being, on February 14th, about 100 leagues to the eastward, he wrote his celebrated letter to the first lord of the admiralty, explaining the reasons he considered Egypt to have been the destination of the French fleet:—"Feeling as I do," said he, in anxiety and disappointment, "that I am entirely responsible to my king and country for the whole of my conduct, I find no difficulty at this moment, when I am so unhappy at not finding the French fleet, nor having obtained the smallest information where they are, to lay before you the whole of the reasons which induced me to pursue the line of conduct I have. I have consulted no man; therefore the whole blame of ignorance in forming my judgment must rest with me.

from the western and northern boundaries of France), the order of the routes, their duration, the points of conveyance and reunion of the columns, the attacks by surprise and open force, and the various movements of the enemy. Such was the accuracy of this plan, and the immense foresight it displayed, that on a march of 200 leagues, lines of operation 300 leagues in length, were conducted according to the original design, day by day and league by league, all the way to Munich. Beyond that capital, the time alone underwent some alteration; but the points were reached, and the *ensemble* of the plan crowned with success.

‡ Villeneuve's instructions were:—after having effected his junction with the Spanish fleet, to sail to the West Indies; and having thrown succours into Martinique and Guadeloupe, taking possession of St. Lucia and Dominica, regaining Surinam and the Dutch colonies, and putting St. Jago and St. Domingo (in the island of Hispaniola) in a state of defence, to effect a junction in that quarter with the various squadrons which would be dispatched from the French ports; and then returning to Europe, and effecting a junction with the Brest fleet, appear in the English Channel, to cover the descent of "the army of England" on the shores of that country.

I would allow no man to take from me an atom of my glory, had I fallen in with the French fleet; nor do I desire any man to partake of any of the responsibility. All is mine, right or wrong: therefore, I shall now state the reasons, after seeing that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe, for believing that Egypt was the destination of the French fleet; and, at this moment of sorrow, I still feel that I have acted right. Firstly: the wind had blown from north-east to south-east for fourteen days before they sailed; therefore they might, without difficulty, have gone to the westward. Secondly: they came out with gentle breezes at north-west and north-north-west. Had they been bound to Naples, the most natural thing for them to have done, would have been to run along their own shore to the eastward, where they would have ports every twenty leagues of coast to take shelter in. Thirdly: they bore away in the evening of the 18th, with a strong gale at north-west or north-north-west, steering south or south-by-west. It blew so hard, that the *Seahorse* went more than thirteen knots an hour to get out of their way. Desirable as Sardinia is for them, they could get it without risking their fleet, although not so quickly as by attacking Cagliari. Having afterwards gone to Sicily, both to Palermo and Messina, and thereby given encouragement for a defence, and knowing that all was safe at Naples, I had only the Morea and Egypt to look to: for, although I knew that one of the French ships was crippled, yet I considered the character of Napoleon Buonaparte, and that the orders given by him on the banks of the Seine would not take into consideration wind or weather. Nor, indeed, could the accident of even three or four ships alter, in my opinion, a destination of importance; therefore such an accident did not weigh on my mind, and I went to the Morea, and then to Egypt. The result of my inquiries at Coron and Alexandria confirms me in my former opinion; and therefore, my lord, if my obstinacy or ignorance is so gross, I should be the first to recommend your superseding me. But, on the contrary, if (as I flatter myself) it should be found that my ideas of the probable destination of the French fleet were well founded, in the opinion of his majesty's ministers, then, I shall hope for the consolation of having my conduct approved by his majesty, who will, I am sure, weigh my whole proceedings in the scale of justice."

Receiving intelligence that the French fleet had put back to Toulon, he proceeded to the Gulf of Lyons, and after baffling much severe weather, on the 15th of March gained his old winter station, a few miles to the eastward of Cape St. Sebastian, the southernmost horn of the Bay of Rosas, in Catalonia. To tempt Villeneuve out to sea, he bore away for the coast of Spain, and ran down as far as Barcelona, but suddenly again worked back to his old station. Terrible gales now compelled him to run to Sardinia, and anchor in Pulla Bay, in the Gulf of Cagliari. As soon as the weather moderated, he put to sea again, but on the 8th of March was obliged to anchor in the Gulf of Palmas. Thence he hastened to proceed to Toulon, but was detained a considerable time by stress of weather. On the 4th of April he resumed his old station off Toulon; but being informed by the *Phæbe* brig of the long wished-for intelligence—that Villeneuve, taking advantage of his absence, had put to sea on the last day of March, and when last seen (April 7th) was off the Cape de Gatt, steering for the coast of Africa—cruisers were instantly dispatched to Gibraltar, Lisbon, and to Admiral Cornwallis off Brest, while the fleet covered the Channel between Sardinia and Barbary in all directions. Additional intelligence was, that on the 8th, Villeneuve had passed the Straits of Gibraltar. Instantly the British admiral beat up against strong westerly winds in that direction, but was not able to reach the rock of Gibraltar till the 30th; and the fleet requiring water and provisions, he, on the 4th of May, anchored in Mazari Bay, on the coast of Africa. In the meantime, Villeneuve hastened on to Cadiz, where Sir John Orde necessarily retiring with the blockading squadrons, Admiral Gravina, with six Spanish and two French ships-of-the-line, effected a junction with the French admiral. The united squadrons, consisting of eighteen ships-of-the-line, six 44-gun frigates, and four smaller vessels and transports, with about 5,000 soldiers on board, set sail for the West Indies on the 5th of May; and on the 12th, arrived in sight of the island of Martinique. Nelson, on receiving information of the departure of the Franco-Spanish fleet for the West Indies (though his fleet consisted of but ten sail-of-the-line and three frigates, his ships having been at sea nearly two years, and his crews worn out with

fatigue and watching), immediately made signal to hoist every rag of canvas for the West Indies. "Do you," said he to his officers, "take each a Frenchman, and leave the Spaniards to me. When I haul down my colours, I expect you to do the same; but not till then." The combined fleet had five-and-thirty days the start of Nelson; but he calculated on gaining eight or ten days on them during the passage. They reached Martinique on the 14th of June: he arrived at Barbadoes on the 4th of June. There he was informed that the combined fleets had been seen from St. Lucia standing for the southward, and that Tobago and Trinidad were their destination. His opinion was different; but while yielding to that of his officers, "If your intelligence proves false," said he, "you lose me the French fleet." He sailed for Tobago; but finding he had been misled by false intelligence, proceeded to Trinidad. No enemy being found there, he bore up for Grenada, where he arrived on the 9th of June, and learned that the combined fleet had passed to the leeward of Antigua the preceding day, and had captured a homeward-bound convoy of fifteen sail of merchantmen.\* Some of the prisoners telling the French admiral that Nelson had arrived in the West Indies in search of him, he set sail for Europe, and on the 23rd of June reached the latitude of the Azores. Villeneuve (as Thiers candidly acknowledges), with twenty ships-of-the-line, trembled at the approach of Nelson with eleven. As soon as intelligence reached Nelson of the destination of the combined fleet, he steered for Europe in their pursuit, remarking—"If I fall in with them, we will not part without a battle; but I think they will be glad to let me alone, if I will let them alone." On the 17th of July he came in sight of Cape St. Vincent, and on the 19th anchored at Gioraltar to take in

provisions. Having victualled the fleet, he proceeded towards Cape St. Vincent, and cruised for intelligence to the northward, but without success. Still persevering, and still disappointed, he returned to his old station off Cadiz; but ascertaining that the enemy was not there, he traversed the Bay of Biscay, and steered for the north-west coast of Ireland. Frustrated in all his hopes, after a pursuit which for extent, rapidity, and perseverance is without a parallel in naval history, he on the 15th of August reinforced the Channel fleet under Admiral Cornwallis, off Ushant, apprehending that the enemy, having liberated the Ferrol squadron blockaded by Sir Robert Calder, would call for the Rochefort ships and then appear off Ushant, there to be joined by the Brest fleet, when the whole would sail for the Channel, to cover "the army of England" during its embarkation and descent on the English coast. Nelson here received information of Sir Robert Calder's engagement with Villeneuve on the 22nd of July, off Cape Finisterre, while he was within the Straits of Gibraltar victualling and refitting his fleet. On the evening following his junction with the Channel fleet, he received orders to proceed with the *Victory* and *Superb* to Spithead, where he shortly after struck his flag, and retired to private life to recruit his health.

No sooner had Nelson ascertained that the destination of the combined fleet was Europe, than he dispatched fast-sailing brigs to London, &c., to apprise the government. One (the *Curieux*) arrived at London on the 9th of July, having outstripped the combined fleet. Instantly orders were dispatched to Rear-admiral Stirling, who commanded the squadron before Rochefort, to raise the blockade of that harbour, and proceed with all expedition to join Vice-admiral Calder off Ferrol.

#### NAVAL ACTION OFF CAPE FINISTERRE, JULY 22ND, 1805.

SIR ROBERT CALDER, who was blockading the port of Ferrol, was ordered, when reinforced by the six sail-of-the-line from Rochefort (by which junction his fleet consisted of fifteen sail-of-the-line, two frigates,

\* The French frigates in possession of the merchantmen being met by two British ships, who hoisted signals and fired guns as if to a fleet ahead, set fire to their prizes.

a lugger, and a cutter), to look out for the combined Franco-Spanish fleet, under Villeneuve and Gravina, within forty leagues to the westward of Cape Finisterre. On the sudden clearing up of a fog on the morning of the 22nd of July, the enemy was discovered with twenty sail-of-the-line, a 50-gun ship, seven frigates, and two brigs, about forty leagues from Ferrol. Instantly the signal for action

was made, and the British fleet bore down on the enemy in two columns, with signal to attack their centre. Villeneuve, to prevent his headmost vessels being cut off and enveloped by a superior force, tacked and luffed, thus opposing the head of the British attacking column with the head of his own fleet. The *Hero* fetched up close under the lee of the hostile fleet; so that by the time the headmost British ships reached the enemy's centre, their ships were tacking in succession; and thus a general action was brought on in a disorderly manner: and when both fleets were in close action, several vessels in each were exposed to the attack of two or three opponents. The action, which began about half-past four, P.M., lasted till half-past nine. The thick fog, which had prevailed to that degree during the whole action that it was almost impossible to see further than a cable's length, had occasioned the battle to become a series of separate contests between individual vessels; and the British admiral not being able to manœuvre with effect, and avail himself of his superiority of naval tactics, made the night private signal to cease fighting and lay-to for the night. He had captured

an 84 and a 74-gun ship. His loss, in men and officers, was 39 killed and 159 wounded; that of the enemy, between 400 and 500 men in killed and wounded. At daybreak of the 23rd the hostile fleets were about seventeen miles apart. About noon the combined fleet approached to within a league-and-a-half of the British: but finding the English fleet ready to receive him, he made signal to haul to the wind. On the 24th, each fleet pursued its route in parallel lines. On the following day, Sir Robert Calder stood away with his prizes, with the intention of falling back on the support of the Channel fleet, or that of Lord Nelson. Villeneuve returned to Ferrol, where he claimed the victory; and all France believed him: though he had constantly hauled away whenever the British fleet stood towards him. The capture of two ships from so superior a force, would have been considered as no inconsiderable victory a few years earlier: but Nelson had introduced a new era in our naval history; and the nation felt, respecting this action, as they had felt on a somewhat similar occasion;—they regretted that Nelson, with his eleven ships, had not been in Sir Robert Calder's place.

#### THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR, AND ITS ANTECEDENTS—1805.

WHEN Villeneuve was met by the British fleet under Sir Robert Calder, he was on his way to Brest, where Gantheaume was ready to effect a junction with him, with twenty-one ships-of-the-line. Gantheaume, in expectation of Villeneuve's appearance, on the 21st of August stood out to sea, and drew up in order of battle in Bertheaume Roads; but, on Admiral Cornwallis, who was watching that port with fourteen ships-of-the-line, moving up to attack him, Gantheaume, after a distant cannonade, retired to the protection of the land batteries, and at nightfall entered Brest harbour. After the battle of Cape Finisterre (July 22nd), Villeneuve entered Ferrol; and he hurried thither under so great a press of sail as to leave three of his ships-of-the-line, which were much too crippled to keep up with him, to the chance of capture. Subsequently he took refuge in Cadiz, which port Admiral Collingwood had been blockading, but was obliged to withdraw to the southward on Villeneuve's approach. Being followed by sixteen large ships, he kept just out of gun-

shot, on the edge of the current, determined that his pursuers should not drive him through the Straits, unless they themselves followed him. As soon as they perceived his object, they tacked; and the British ships tacked after them: and this occurred a second time. At length the enemy made all sail for Cadiz, followed by the small British squadron, which arrived off the harbour before half of the enemy's ships had entered it, keeping strict watch, and consisting of only four ships-of-the-line and some frigates, though five-and-thirty sail of the line were collected there. In order to conceal the slenderness of his force, Collingwood stationed one of his ships in the offing, which from time to time made signals, as if to an English fleet in the distance—an artifice which, with Villeneuve's reminiscence of Cape Finisterre, kept the combined fleet asleep on their anchors.

Meanwhile the greatest exertions had been making in England to reinforce the squadron blockading Cadiz. Besides the twenty ships with which Calder had rein-

forced the Channel fleet, three more were dispatched from Portsmouth; and Nelson was appointed to the command.

At the time Nelson was resident at Merton, where Captain Blackwood, who was on his way to London with despatches, called on him. The moment Nelson perceived his visitant, he exclaimed: "I am sure you bring me news of the French and Spanish fleets! I think I shall have to beat them! Depend upon it, Blackwood, I shall yet give M. Villeneuve a drubbing." On the 13th of September he set out from Merton, and was at Portsmouth early on the morning of the 14th. On the 15th he sailed in the *Victory*; and on the 29th, arrived off Cadiz, having dispatched the *Euryalus* frigate ahead, to apprise Admiral Collingwood of his approach, and direct that, on his assuming the command, no salute should be fired or colours hoisted, in order that the enemy might not be apprised of the arrival of a reinforcement. On his arrival, he was enthusiastically cheered by the whole fleet; and though he well knew the decided superiority of the enemy, he obliged Sir Robert Calder, who was going home to stand his trial, to take his passage in his own 90-gun ship.

The force now under Nelson consisted of twenty-seven sail-of-the-line, twenty-two of which cruised about fifteen miles off Cadiz; while the remaining five, under Rear-admiral Louis, were stationed close off the harbour, to watch the motions of the combined fleet. Thinking to tempt the French admiral out to sea, he retired with the main body of the fleet near Cape St. Mary, about sixteen or seventeen leagues west of Cadiz. The force close off the harbour was now reduced to two frigates, the *Euryalus* and *Hydra*. Beyond the frigates were a squadron, consisting of four or five sail-of-the-line, under Collingwood, to prevent the egress of any single ships, and the ingress of vessels for the supply of the hostile fleet. Then a line of frigates, at convenient distances, to telegraph the easternmost ship of the main body. By taking up this station, he guarded against the danger of being caught by a westerly wind near Cadiz, and driven within the Straits.

On the morning of the 19th, the in-shore frigates made signal that the enemy were coming out of the harbour; and at two, P.M., that they were steering for the south-east. Nelson, concluding their destination was the Mediterranean, immediately made sail

for the mouth of the Straits; but being telegraphed on the following day by Captain Blackwood, of the *Euryalus* (who vigilantly watched their motions, keeping about three miles to the windward), that they seemed inclined to direct their course to the westward—"That," said Nelson, in his diary (from the belief that they intended to keep the port of Cadiz open to favour their escape), "they shall not do, if it is in the power of Nelson and Bronte to prevent them." At daybreak of the 21st,\* when Cape Trafalgar bore east by south about seven leagues, the hostile fleet was seen, from the deck of the *Victory*, drawn up in order of battle in two lines, in the form of a curve or crescent, each alternate ship being about a cable's length to the windward of her second, ahead and astern—a formation seemingly intended to prevent any attempt to break the line; and appeared to be wearing to form the line in close order on the larboard tack, thereby to bring Cadiz under its lee, and to facilitate its escape, if necessary, into that port. The front line, commanded by Villeneuve and Dumanoir, consisted of twenty-one line-of-battle ships; the second of twelve, under admirals Gravina and Magon, extending over near five miles—a cable's length, or two hundred yards, intervening between each ship. The order in which the ships ranged themselves, beginning at the van or south-eastern extremity of their line, was—*Principe de Asturias, Achille, San Ildefonso, San Juan Nepomuceno, Berwick, Argonauta, Montanez, Argonaute, Swiftsure, Aigle, Bahama, Algeiras, Pluton, Monarca, Fougueux, Santa Anna, Indomptable, San Justo, Redoubtable, San Leandro, Neptune, Bucentaure, Santissima Trinidad, Héros, San Augustin, San Francisco de Asis, Mont Blanc, Duguay Trouin, Formidable, Rayo, Intrépide, Scipion, Neptune*. The centre of the combined fleet bore about east-by-south of the centre of the British fleet, and the wind was a light westerly breeze, accompanied with a long heavy swell. Villeneuve's flag-ship was directly in front of the *Victory*; and Alava's flag-ship in the same direction in relation to the *Royal Sovereign*. The enemy's frigates were ranged in an inner line considerably to leeward of the fighting line. Immediately the enemy was seen,

\* That day was a festival, and an anniversary in Nelson's family; because on it, his uncle, Captain Suckling, in the *Dreadnought*, with two other line-of-battle ships, had beaten off a French squadron of four sail-of-the-line and three frigates.

the British fleet prepared for action. At fifteen minutes past six, signal was made to form the order of sailing in two columns; and at thirty minutes past, to bear up in succession: Nelson, in the *Victory*, immediately followed by the *Téméraire* and the *Neptune*, leading the weather division; and Collingwood, in the *Royal Sovereign*, followed by the *Belleisle* and the *Mars*, that of the lee. The weather division consisted of fourteen ships-of-the-line; the lee of thirteen. As Villeneuve had signalled his ships to wear together and form the line on the larboard tack—thus bringing the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro under the lee of the British, and keeping the port of Cadiz open for himself—Nelson telegraphed Collingwood: "I intend to pass through the van of the enemy two points more to the northward, to prevent him from getting into Cadiz." Owing to the lightness of the breeze, the British fleet made but slow progress. While nearing the enemy's line, Nelson retired to his cabin, and having put on his threadbare uniform frock coat, and sewed amidst the folds of the left breast its four weather-tarnished orders, he wrote the following prayer:—"May God grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually I commit my life to Him who made me; and may His blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To Him I resign myself, and the just cause which is intrusted me to defend." After writing the prayer, he in the same diary made an appeal to the king and the nation in behalf of Lady Hamilton (the widow of Sir William Hamilton) and Horatio Nelson Thompson (as he called her in the document), his adopted daughter. He then visited the different decks of the *Victory*; and, addressing the men at their quarters, cautioned them not to fire a single shot without being sure of their object. Appearing on the quarter-deck, he asked Captain Blackwood what he would deem a victory; and on that officer answering it would be a glorious result if fourteen of the enemy's ships were taken, he replied he should not be satisfied with less than twenty.

While bearing down, he made signal that the ships, when they entered into action, were to cut away their canvas, in order

that no hands might be lost in furling the sails; and when that signal was given, turning to Captain Blackwood, he asked him if he was not of opinion that another was necessary. On Blackwood's saying the whole fleet seemed to understand what they were about, Nelson replied he must give the fleet something by way of fillip. Musing awhile, he said—"Suppose we telegraph, 'Nelson expects every man to do his duty;'" but on Blackwood's suggesting the substitution of *England* for Nelson, he rapturously exclaimed—"Certainly, certainly;" and, at about forty minutes past eleven, up went to the *Victory's* mizen topgallant head the telegraphic signal, which will be remembered as long as the British name shall endure, and was greeted with three rapturous cheers throughout the fleet—"ENGLAND EXPECTS THAT EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY."\* And then, to avoid any danger which might arise from the propinquity of the shoals of Trafalgar and St. Pedro, at about forty-six minutes past eleven, signal was made to anchor as most convenient on the close of the day. Every ship now crowded her utmost sail, and the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole fleet.

A long swell was now setting into the bay of Cadiz: the British fleet moved slowly and majestically before it; the numerous three-deckers and well-formed line of the enemy presented an imposing appearance, and would have been thought formidable by any other assailants than British sailors, who, while they admired the beauty and splendour of the spectacle, animated each other with the naïve remark: "What a fine sight these ships will make at Spithead!" The combined fleet waited the attack of their enemy with coolness and decision. As Nelson's column had steered two points more to the north than those of Collingwood's, the lee line was first engaged. Ahead of the line (the nearest vessel being a mile in the rear, and the farthest six miles, notwithstanding their utmost efforts), the *Royal Sovereign* steered right for the centre of Alava's line. When the enemy opened fire on her, "See," said Nelson, "how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action!" and almost at the same moment, Collingwood exclaimed, on

\* "Now," said Nelson, "I can do no more; we must trust to the Great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."

board his ship, "What would Nelson give to be here!"

At about ten minutes past twelve, the *Royal Sovereign*, being close astern of Alava's flag-ship the *Santa Anna*, poured a larboard broadside, from double-shotted guns, with great precision, and so close, that the guns were nearly muzzle to muzzle. But the *Royal Sovereign* soon found that she had more than one opponent to contend with. The *Fougueux*, a French 74, bore up and raked her astern, and at the distance of about 400 yards, the *San Leandro* raked her ahead; while within 300 yards' distance, the *San Justo* (a Spanish 74) and the *Indomptable* (a French 80) ranged on her starboard bow and quarter. Thus the *Royal Sovereign* was surrounded; and so incessant and thick was the fire poured upon her, that her crew saw the shots frequently strike each other above the deck of the English vessel. Observing the *Belleisle* and other British ships fast approaching to the support of the *Royal Sovereign*, the other hostile vessels drew off, leaving her to combat solely with the *Santa Anna*. The *Royal Sovereign* had now been for above a quarter-of-an-hour the only ship in close action with the enemy; but, during that time, she had poured her broadsides into her antagonist with so rapid and decisive effect, that she was at last reduced to fire single guns at long intervals from one another, having lost above 400 of her crew, and fourteen of her guns having been disabled. The *Belleisle*, *Polyphemus*, *Neptune*, *Mars*, and *Tonnant* at length bore up and entered the contest. The French line was now irregular in its order of battle, the *Royal Sovereign* having made a mighty crash in its centre. It was now about half-past twelve o'clock, P. M.; at about a quarter after two, the *Santa Anna* struck to the *Royal Sovereign*. The ships had fought so close, that the lower yards of the two vessels were often, as they wheeled round to discharge their broadsides, raked together.

The weather column was entering, under a press of sail, into action. When within a mile-and-a-half of the enemy's line, single shots were fired by the *Bucentaure*, which fell short; at length, one going through the *Victory's* main-topgallant-sail, indicated that the hostile ship was within range. After a silence of a minute or two, the enemy's van opened a raking fire on the *Victory*, hoping to disable her before she could close with them. During the tremendous can-

nonade, Nelson continued anxiously viewing the hostile line, and would not, for his protection, suffer the hammocks to be placed an inch higher than they were accustomed to be stowed. The enemy had not yet hoisted his colours; for which reason, Nelson not being able to distinguish their flag-ship, ordered the *Victory* to be steered, for the interval, between the *Bucentaure* and the *Santissima Trinidad*—his old opponent, as he used to call her. The ships of the combined fleet ahead of the *Victory* immediately closed like a forest, to prevent Nelson breaking their line and turning its rear, at the same time continuing their heavy and unremitting cannonade on the *Victory*. When within 500 yards of the *Bucentaure's* larboard beam, a ball knocked away the *Victory's* wheel. Nelson's secretary was the first person killed. Presently, many of the marines on the poop being either killed or wounded, Nelson ordered the survivors to be dispersed through the ship. Spars and rigging were now falling on all sides; and already twenty officers and men were killed and thirty wounded, the *Victory* not having yet returned a single shot. "This is too warm work, Hardy," said Nelson, as he continued his accustomed slow walk, "to last long."

On reaching the enemy, they were found so closely wedged together, that it appeared impossible to break their line without running on board one of their ships; and on Captain Hardy informing him of this, and asking which he would prefer—"Take your choice, Hardy," said Nelson, "it does not much signify." Accordingly, the *Victory* ran on board the *Redoubtable*, which receiving her with a broadside, instantly let down her lower deck ports to prevent being boarded through them, and never afterwards fired a broadside-gun during the battle; but it was from this ship, whose rigging was filled with Tyrolese riflemen, that Nelson received his death-wound in the course of the action.

It being now discovered, or suspected, that the *Bucentaure*, which lay next to the *Santissima Trinidad*, was Villeneuve's flag-ship, the *Victory*, moving slowly and deliberately, out went from her fore-castle her larboard 68-pounder carronade, discharging a round shot right into the *Bucentaure's* cabin-windows. Then, moving ahead, she poured into her larboard a treble-shotted broadside, which killed and wounded 400 of the crew, and dismounted twenty of her guns. So close were

the hostile ships, that the ensign of the one trailed over the peak of the other; and when they rolled, their spars touched. At the same moment the *Neptune* (French 80-gun ship) poured a destructive fire into the *Victory's* bows, and the *Redoubtable* raked her with her foremost guns: but without returning a shot on these new opponents, the *Victory* continued to grapple with the *Bucenaire* and *Santissima Trinidad*, with which ships the contest was furious: while she engaged the *Redoubtable* on her starboard, she maintained an incessant fire from her larboard guns on the *Bucenaire* and the *Santissima Trinidad*. Just as the *Bucenaire's* fire was almost silenced, the *Victory* ran foul of the *Redoubtable*, and the hooks and boom-irons getting intermixed, or catching in the leech of the sails, the two ships became locked alongside each other. The *Redoubtable*, reassuming a bold countenance, fired langridge shot and rifle-balls from her tops. The *Victory's* starboard 68-pounder, with its usual charge, soon cleared the *Redoubtable's* gangways; and while her starboard guns battered her sides, her larboard broadsides hammered the *Santissima Trinidad*. In the conflict the *Redoubtable* took fire, but the English sailors extinguished it by dashing buckets of water through their port-holes into those of the enemy, which they were enabled to do, as the muzzles of their guns touched her sides. During the confusion of this fierce encounter, a ball, fired from the mizen-top of the *Redoubtable*, struck the epaulette on Nelson's right shoulder, about a quarter past one. He fell on his knees, with his left hand touching the deck, but the arm giving way, he fell on his left side, upon the exact spot where the blood of his secretary was yet moist. A sergeant of marines and three sailors raising him up, and Captain Hardy expressing a hope that he was not severely wounded, "They have done for me, at last, Hardy," he replied. "I hope not," said Hardy. "Yes," said he, "my back-bone is shot through." Being carried down into the cockpit, the wound was ascertained to be mortal, the ball, after entering the left shoulder, having lodged in the spine. Being satisfied that his case was hopeless, he insisted that the surgeon should leave him, and attend to those to whom he might be useful. His sufferings from pain and thirst were great; but in the midst of them he expressed much anxiety for the event of the action, which, about this time, began to declare itself. As the

crew of the *Victory* hurraed as often as a ship struck, a visible expression of joy gleamed in his eyes, and marked the countenance of the dying hero. But he became impatient to see Captain Hardy, and sent for him repeatedly; but an hour and ten minutes elapsed before he could come to him. As soon as he appeared, Nelson affectionately shook him by the hand, impatiently saying, "Well, Hardy, how goes the day with us?" "Very well, my lord," replied Hardy; "twelve or fourteen of the enemy's ships have struck; but five of their van have tacked, and show an intention of bearing down upon the *Victory*. I have called two or three of our fresh ships round us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." "I hope," said Nelson, "none of our ships have struck." Hardy answered, "There is no fear of that." He then returned to the deck, but in about fifty minutes afterwards came back to the cockpit, and congratulated Nelson on the glorious victory he had obtained, adding that fourteen or fifteen sail of the enemy were taken. "That's well," said Nelson; "but I bargained for twenty;" and then, in a strange voice, he added: "Anchor, Hardy, anchor!" but on Hardy hinting that Collingwood would now take upon himself the direction of affairs, "Not while I live, Hardy!" said the dying hero; adding (while ineffectually endeavouring to raise himself from the bed), "No!—do you anchor, Hardy!" Captain Hardy then said, "Shall we make the signal?" "Yes," replied Nelson; "for if I live, I will anchor;" adding—"Now I am satisfied! Thank God, I have done my duty!"—repeatedly uttering, in an inarticulate manner, the same ejaculation. Having continued three hours and a-half in great pain, he expired at half-past four, soon after he had obtained the greatest and most decisive naval victory on record;—the combined fleets having been annihilated in little more than three hours, on their own shores, at the entrance of their port, and amongst their own rocks.

A few minutes after Nelson had expired, Captain Blackwood came from Collingwood (to whom Nelson had sent a communication of his having been wounded) in the *Euryalus'* boat, to inquire after the safety of Lord Nelson. Captain Hardy, availing himself of the conveyance, accompanied Captain Blackwood, to apprise Admiral Collingwood of Nelson's dying order—that for their preservation, in reference to the shore and the

prospect of the gale, the fleet and prizes, as soon as was practicable, might be brought to an anchor. On the order being communicated to Collingwood, "Anchor the fleet!" said he, "Why it is the last thing I should have thought of."\*

While Nelson was lying in the agonies of death, the battle continued with unabated fury in all directions. All his captains had nobly followed his example—breaking through the enemy's line, often engaging two or three ships at the same time, and maintaining the contest at the muzzles of their guns. Within a few minutes after Nelson's fall, several officers, and nearly forty men, upon the third or upper deck, were either killed or wounded; and most of the effective men being employed in carrying their wounded comrades to the cockpit, Captain Hardy, Captain Adair of the marines, and one or two other officers, being nearly all who remained upon the quarter-deck and poop, a considerable portion of the crew of the *Redoubtable* assembled in the chains and along the gangway of the ship, in order to board the *Victory*; but the *Victory's* officers and men, quickly ascending from the middle and lower decks, they were driven back. At a quarter-past two the *Santa Ana* struck; and before three, ten more of the enemy's ships, and ere long, eight others adopted her example. In this extremity Gravina, with nine French and Spanish ships-of-the-line—many of which had scarcely a hole in their sails—and all the frigates and brigs, ran for Cadiz, and anchored about a mile-and-a-half from Rato, until the wind allowed him to enter the harbour of Cadiz. But the five headmost ships of the enemy's van, under the command of Rear-admiral Dumanoir, were not able to avail themselves of this advantage, their retreat being cut off by the British ships; they therefore hauled off to windward, pouring their broadsides as they passed, not only on the *Victory*, the *Conqueror*, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which lay like logs upon the water, but also on the Spanish prizes which had struck their colours—a cruelty which so excited the indignation of the Spaniards, that when the ships which had escaped into Cadiz, came out of that port on the 23rd, in hopes of taking some of the disabled prizes, the prisoners in the *Argonauta*, in a body, offered their services to the British prize-master, to man the guns

against any of the French ships, in resentment for the murderous usage which they had met from their heartless allies. The offer was accepted, and they were actually stationed at the lower-deck guns.

The Franco-Spanish fleet now presented a fearful spectacle—in every direction floating wrecks or dismantled hulls: of the prizes, eight wholly, and the remainder partially dismantled; some nearly in a sinking state. Several of the British ships were, more or less, dismasted; and very few in a condition to carry sail. To add to their perilous condition, both fleets were in thirteen fathoms' water, with the shoals of Trafalgar but a few miles to leeward, and the wind blowing dead on the shore. In the evening, the whole British fleet and its nineteen prizes were all huddled together round the *Royal Sovereign*—the conquerors and the conquered laying alongside one another in mingled confusion. But the heavy gales which immediately followed the battle, rendered the service more dangerous, and more fatal in its consequences than the battle itself. Towards midnight the wind veered to south-south-west, and freshened considerably. Early on the morning of the 22nd the weather was squally, and a heavy swell set in from the Atlantic into the Bay of Cadiz. On the following day the gale increased, and the sea ran so high that many of the prizes broke from the tow-rope and drifted in-shore. Towards the afternoon of that day, encouraged by this circumstance, and hoping to recapture some of the drifting prizes, five sail-of-the line and the frigates which had taken refuge in Cadiz after the battle, pushing out of that port, put to sea. Collingwood, collecting ten of his ships which were the least injured, formed in line of battle, covering the prizes. The enemy feeling themselves inadequate to the contest, did not approach within gunshot; but the *Santa Ana* and *Neptuno* drifting towards the frigates, they carried them into Cadiz. The *Rayo*, however, one of the enemy's ships, fell into the hands of the British. On the 24th and 25th, the gale continued so violent, that orders were issued for the destruction of the most damaged of the prizes. Accordingly, five were sunk and burned. Nine were wrecked on different parts of the adjacent coast, many with their whole crews on

\* The *Defence*, *San Ildefonso*, *Swiftsure*, and *Bahama* anchored off Cape Trafalgar, and rode out the gale in safety: a fact which seems to infer that

had Nelson's orders been attended to, the whole of the prizes might have been saved. Collingwood's signal to prepare to anchor was four hours too late.

board. *L'Achille*, a French 74, blew up during the action; and four—of which three were Spanish and one French 74—were, by the almost incredible efforts of the British officers and seamen, carried safe into Gibraltar. The *Santa Ana* and nine others escaped into Cadiz, some of which had struck; but were abandoned on account of the violence of the weather, and in a very injured state.

The names of the ships captured were: French—*Bucentaure*, *Achille*, *Aigle*, *Algésiras*, *Berwick*, *Fougueux*, *Intrépide*, *Indomptable*, *Redoubtable*, and *Swiftsure*.

Spanish—*Santissima Trinidad*, *Santa Ana*, *Neptuno*, *Monarca*, *Argonauta*, *Bahama*, *San Augustin*, *San Ildefonso*, *San Francisco de Asis*, and *San Juan Nepomuceno*. *Rayo* was captured October 23rd. Their fate was—*Bucentaure*: wrecked in the gale, having on board at the time a prize crew from the *Conqueror*. *Achille*: burnt; the crew, except 200, perished. *Aigle* drifted into Cadiz bay on the night of the 25th, and stranded on the bar off Puerto Santa Maria. *Indomptable* wrecked, and above 1,000 persons perished. *Algésiras* recaptured from the prize crew on board (consisting of fifty men), by 600 French prisoners, during the tempest, who succeeded in carrying her into Cadiz. The *Berwick*, after anchoring in apparent safety, was wrecked off San Lucar, in consequence of some of the prisoners cutting the cables. The *Donegal*, being at anchor near, cut her cables, and standing towards the drifting ship, sent her boats to save the people on board; but the *Berwick* struck upon the shoals, and in her perished more than 200 persons. The *Fougueux* having on board, besides a great portion of her late crew, thirty British sailors from the *Temeraire*, drifted on the rocks between Torre Bermeja and the river Santi Petri, and was totally wrecked, with the loss of all hands. The *Redoubtable* foundered on the 23rd, with fifty Frenchmen on board, and part of the prize crew belonging to the *Temeraire*. The *Swiftsure* and the *Bahama* rode out the gale in safety, and were taken into Gibraltar. The Spanish

prizes scarcely fared better: the *Santissima Trinidad* was scuttled and sunk by the *Neptune* and *Prince*, as unserviceable. The *Santa Ana* and *Neptuno* were recaptured by the frigates of the Franco-Spanish squadron which sailed from Cadiz on the 23rd, for the purpose of picking up any stray prize which might fall in its way. The *Monarca* parted her cable and went on shore during the gale. The *Argonauta* was sunk by the *Ajax*, as unserviceable. The *San Ildefonso* and the *San Juan Nepomuceno* escaped the disasters of the storm. The *San Augustin* was burned by the *Orion* and the *Leviathan*. The *San Francisco de Asis* parted her cables and went on shore in Cadiz Bay, near Fort Santa Catalina; but nearly the whole of her crew were saved.

The loss of the British fleet, in this unparalleled naval battle, had been 449 killed and 1,241 wounded; of which above six-sevenths, or 1,452, fell to the share of the fourteen ships (out of the twenty-seven) which were engaged, and which formed the van of the respective columns. The *Victory* and *Temeraire* were closely engaged with the whole of the enemy in that part of the line, before the three or four ships astern of them could get to their support, for a much longer time than the *Royal Sovereign* had been before any ship came to her assistance. The loss of the enemy was enormous; the prisoners, including the troops on board the captured ships, amounted to 20,000. The enemy had adopted rather unusual means of aggression. Riflemen were placed in their tops, and hand-grenades and other combustibles were thrown from their rigging, decks, and yard-arms.

Villeneuve was sent to England, and after remaining a short time there, was permitted to return to France on his parole. While on his way to Paris to be tried by a court-martial, he was found dead in his bed at Rennes—whether by his own hand, in the agony of despair (as the *Moniteur* asserted), or assassinated, as is generally believed, by some of Fouché's police, is a mystery. Gravina, Alava, and the French admiral, Magon, died of their wounds.\*

\* The following curious incident occurred during the night after the battle:—"We had the day before buried a quartermaster, nick-named Quid—an old seaman who had destroyed himself by drinking. Quid's body emitting an unpleasant effluvia, immediate interment took place. Being sewn up in a sack with a shot tied to the feet, the funeral service was read over it by the first lieutenant, and then launched overboard from the gangway. I was

walking the deck about mid/e watch—i.e., from midnight till four in the morning—the moon at the time suddenly bursting from a cloud, a cry of horror proceeded from the look-out man. I ran to inquire the cause, and found him in a high state of nervous agitation, and only able to articulate, 'Quid! Quid!'—pointing at the same time to the fearful appearance in the water, where the body of Quid appeared, 'all in dreary hammock shrouded,' perfectly upright, and

M. Thiers, in his *History of the Consulate and the Empire*, says that "the greater part of the Spanish fleet fled from the field of battle." An article was published in a Spanish journal, under the patronage of the minister of marine in the late Narvaez cabinet, indignantly repelling the insinuation, and affixing the stigma on the division of Rear-admiral Dumanoir, consisting of the *Formidable*, *Scorpion*, *Duguay-Trouin*, and *Mont Blanc*. The government organ (*Moniteur*), and the other French periodicals refrained from saying a word respecting the battle. Napoleon Buonaparte himself stated that only a few French ships had been lost in a storm: but he is reported to have been so enraged on the receipt of the news, that he said, in allusion to Byng's fate, "he would teach French admirals how to conquer."

The British fleet consisted of the *Victory*, *Royal Sovereign*, and *Britannia*, 100 guns each; the *Temeraire*, *Prince*, *Neptune*, and *Dreadnought*, 98 guns each; the *Tonnant*, 80 guns; the *Belleisle*, *Revenge*, *Mars*, *Spartiate*, *Defiance*, *Conqueror*, *Defence*, *Colossus*, *Leviathan*, *Achilles*, *Bellerophon*, *Minotaur*, *Orion*, *Swiftsure*, *Ajax*, *Thunderer*, 74 guns each; *Polyphemus*, *Africa*, and *Agamemnon*, 64 guns each; the *Euryalus*, *Sirius*, *Phæbe*, and *Naiad* frigates, 36 guns each; and the brigs, *Pickle* and *Entrepreneante*, 12 guns each. The van or weather-column consisted of the *Victory*, *Temeraire*, *Neptune*, *Conqueror*, *Leviathan*, *Ajax*, *Orion*, *Agamemnon*, *Minotaur*, *Spartiate*, *Britannia*, and *Africa*; and the rear or lee-column, of the *Royal Sovereign*, *Mars*, *Belleisle*, *Tonnant*, *Bellerophon*, *Colossus*, *Achille*, *Polyphemus*, *Revenge*, *Swiftsure*, *Defence*, *Thunderer*, *Defiance*, *Prince*, and *Dreadnought*.

The Franco-Spanish fleet were: French—*Bucentaure*, *Formidable*, *Neptune*, *Indomptable*, 80 guns each; *Algesiras*, *Pluton*, *Mont Blanc*, *Intrepide*, *Swiftsure*, *Aigle*, *Scipion*, *Duguay-Trouin*, *Berwick*, *Argonaute*, *Achille*, *Redoubtable*, *Fougueux*, and *Heros*, 74 guns each; and five frigates. Spanish—*Santissima Trinidad*, 130 guns; *Principe de Asturias*, 112 guns each; *Rayo*,

100 guns; *Neptuno* and *Argonauta*, 84 guns each; *Bahama*, *Montanez*, *San Augustin*, *San Ildefonso*, *San Juan Nepomuceno*, *Monarca*, *San Francisco de Asis*, and *San Justo*, 74 guns each; *San Leandro*, 64 guns; five frigates, and two brigs.

On the 28th, Collingwood brought his fleet and prizes to anchor on the coast between Cadiz and San Lucar; and even there, he says, "our infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore." To alleviate the miseries of the wounded, he sent a flag of truce to the Marquis Solano, to offer him the wounded Spaniards, merely taking their parole that they would not serve again during the war; the governor of Cadiz, in return, offered his hospitals for the use of the British wounded, pledging the honour of the Spanish name that they should be returned when recovered. On the 30th, two French frigates and a brig came out of Cadiz, as cartels, to receive the wounded prisoners; and on the same day, Rear-admiral Louis, who had been detached to the eastward previous to the battle, joined the commander-in-chief with the *Canopus*, *Spencer*, *Tigre*, and *Queen*. Admiral Collingwood, now the commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet, continued throughout the greater part of the year at his station off Cadiz, in blockade of that port.

It now remains to speak of Nelson. On the 28th of October, the *Victory*, with Nelson's body on board, preserved in brandy and spirits of wine, arrived at Gibraltar. On the 4th of November she sailed for England, and on the 4th of the following month anchored at St. Helen's. On the 10th of December she again sailed for the Nore, the body in the interim having been taken out of the spirits, rolled in bandages from head to foot, and then laid in a leaden coffin containing a strong solution of brandy and myrrh; when, while crossing the flats from Margate, she was boarded by Commissioner Grey's yacht, which had been dispatched by the Board of Admiralty to receive the body and convey it to Greenwich. There, having been

floating with the head and shoulders above water. A slight undulation of the waves gave it the appearance of nodding its head. As soon as I recovered from the sensation I felt, I went down to inform the first lieutenant of the strange appearance. He laughed and said: 'I suppose the old boy finds salt water not quite so palatable as grog. Tie some more shot to his feet, and bring the old fellow to his moorings again. Tell him, the next time he trips

his anchor, not to run on board of us.' He had his regular allowance of prayer. I gave him the whole service, and I shall not give him any more.' So saying, he composedly went to sleep again." The reader will probably recollect the similar occurrence which took place in the Bay of Naples, when the brave and ill-used Caraccioli's body appeared under the stern of Nelson's ship; and which is narrated in a preceding part of this work.

appeared in a uniform dress belonging to the admiral, and laid in the coffin made from part of the wreck of the *Orient* (burned at the battle of the Nile), and which had been presented to Lord Nelson by Captain Hallowell\* of the *Swiftsure*, in 1799; it lay in state in the Painted Hall for three days, after which it was taken to the Admiralty; and on the 9th of January, 1806, interred at St. Paul's at the charge of the nation. The body was conveyed in a triumphal car to the place of interment. A monument was erected to his memory in St. Paul's cathedral; and the same was done in Dublin, Portsmouth, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other towns in Great Britain. The title of Earl Nelson was conferred on his brother, a country clergyman, with a grant of £6,000 a-year, and £100,000 for the purchase of an estate. To his sister was voted the sum of £10,000. Vice-admiral Collingwood was created Baron Collingwood, with a grant of £2,000 a-year. Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk, was made a knight of the Bath, and Captain Hardy a baronet. Medals were granted in the customary manner; and on the 28th of January, 1806, were conveyed to the officers, seamen, and marines, for their conduct in the battle of Trafalgar.

The following eulogium on the character of Lord Nelson, is from Brenton's *Naval History*:—"Thus fell the greatest sea officer of this or any other nation recorded in history; his talents, his courage, his fidelity, his zeal, his love for his king and country, were exceeded by none. Never had any man the happy intuitive faculty of seizing the moment of propitious fortune, equal to Nelson. His whole career, from his earliest entrance into the service, offers to the youth of the British navy the most illustrious examples of every manly virtue, whether we view him as a midshipman, a lieutenant, as the captain of a frigate, or a commander-in-chief. We have seen him as captain of the *Agamemnon*, in Larra Bay, writing his despatches while his ship lay aground in an enemy's port; we have seen him as captain of a 74-gun ship, on the 14th of February, lay a Spanish first-rate and an 84-gun ship on board, and with his little band of heroes take to them both. Equally great in the hour of defeat as of victory, we see

him at Teneriffe, with his shattered arm, going to the rescue of his companions and saving their lives, while every moment of delay increased the peril of his own by hemorrhage and exhaustion. See him walk up the ship's side—hear him command the surgeon to proceed to amputation; and see the fortitude with which he bore the agonising pain. Follow him to the Nile, and contemplate the destruction of the fleet of France, and the consequent loss of her vast army, led by Napoleon Buonaparte. How great was his professional knowledge and decision at Copenhagen, when, despising death, he refused to obey the signal of recall: because he knew that by such obedience, his country would have been disgraced, and the great object of the expedition frustrated; and Britain, overpowered by the increased energy of the northern confederacy, might have sunk under the multiplied force of her enemies. See him, on the same occasion, sit down in the midst of carnage, and address a letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark, which, while it gave a victory to his country, added to her glory by stopping the useless effusion of human blood. We have seen him the patient, watchful, and anxious guardian of our honour in the Mediterranean, where, for two years, he sought an opportunity to engage an enemy of superior force. Three times we have seen him pursue the foes of his country to Egypt, and once to the West Indies. And these great steps he took entirely on his own responsibility, disregarding any personal consideration, any calculation of force, or any allurements of gain. Coming at last to the termination of his glorious career, the end of his life was worthy of all his other deeds. The battle of Trafalgar will stand, without the aid of sculpture or painting, the greatest memorial of British naval valour ever exhibited. No pen can do justice, no description can convey an adequate idea of that day, and the event which deprived us of our favourite chief, consummated his earthly fame, and rendered his name ever dear to his country. Had not his transcendent virtues been shaded by a fault, we might have been accused of flattery. No human being was ever perfect; and however we may regret the affair of Caraccioli, we must ever acknowledge that the character

† When the late admiral's flag was about to be lowered into the grave, the sailors—namely, forty-eight seamen and marines of the *Victory*, and the crew of Nelson's barge—with one accord rent it in

pieces and distributed the fragments amongst themselves; the leaden coffin in which he had been brought home, was cut to pieces and distributed as relics through the fleet.

of Nelson, as a public servant, is not exceeded in the history of the world."\*

As everything connected with such a victory as Trafalgar is of the utmost interest, we shall now lay before the reader Nelson's general orders to his captains; and Vice-admiral Collingwood's despatch to the Admiralty, containing the account of the battle.

"*Victory*—off Cadiz, Oct. 18th, 1805.

"Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of forty sail-of-the-line into a battle in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have, therefore, made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing (with the exception of the first and second in command), that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines, sixteen ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing two-decked ships, which will always make, when wanted, a line of twenty-four sail on whichever line the commander-in-chief may direct; the second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line to make the attack upon the enemy, and follow up the blow till they are captured or destroyed. If the enemy's fleet are seen to windward in line of battle, and that the two lines and the advanced squadron could fetch them, they would probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear; I should therefore probably make the second in command a signal to lead through about the twelfth ship from their rear (or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced.) My line would lead through about their centre; and the advanced squadron two, three, or four ships ahead of their centre, so as to ensure getting at their commander-in-chief, whom every effort must be made to capture.

"The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower two or three ships ahead of their commander-in-chief (supposed to be in the centre.) To the rear of their fleet, I will suppose twenty sail of

\* Southey has well said:—"Nelson has left us, not indeed his mantle of inspiration, but a name and an example which are at this hour inspiring thousands of the youth of England: a name which is our guide, and an example which will continue to be our shield and our strength."

† The reason that Lord Nelson estimated the

their line to remain untouched: it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet, or succour their own ships, which, indeed, would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet is supposed to consist of forty-six sail-of-the-line; British, forty:† if either is less, only a proportion of the enemy to be cut off. British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off: something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea-fight, beyond all others. Shots will carry away masts and yards of friends as well as of foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour the rear, and then that the British fleet would be ready to receive the twenty sail-of-the-line, or to pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet. If the enemy wear, the British fleet must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled ships; and should the enemy close, I have no fear of the result. The second in command will, in all possible things, direct the movement of his line by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as a rallying point; but in case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, *no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside of an enemy.* If the enemy's fleet are discovered in line of battle to leeward, the divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre; the signal will most probably be then made for the lee line to bring up together; to set all their sails—even their studding sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the rear. Some ships may not get through their expected place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends: if any are thrown in the rear of the enemy, they will complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy; should the enemy wear together, or bear and sail large, still the twelve ships enemy's fleet at forty-six sail-of-the-line, was the probability that Villeneuve would be reinforced by the Carthagenia and Rochefort squadrons; and he calculated the British fleet at forty sail-of-the-line, in expectation of its being augmented to that extent by reinforcements of other ships which he expected from home.

composing the first position of the enemy's rear are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless, otherwise directed by the commander-in-chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire division of the lee line (after the intentions of the commander-in-chief are signified) is intended to be left to the admiral commanding that line.

"The remainder of the enemy's fleet (thirty-four sail-of-the-line) are to be left to the management of the commander-in-chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as possible.

"NELSON AND BRONTE."

Referring to this plan of attack, which is a master-piece of nautical skill, Nelson, in a letter dated *Victory*, October 19th, 1805, says to Admiral Collingwood: "I send you my plan of attack,\* as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll., have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view—that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you; and no man will render your success more justice than your very old friend."

The following is Vice-admiral Collingwood's despatch relative to the battle of Trafalgar, addressed to the secretary of the Admiralty:—

"*Euryalus*—off Cape Trafalgar,

"October 22nd, 1805.

"Sir,—The ever-to-be-lamented death of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves to me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the Admiralty that, on the 19th instant, it was communicated to the commander-in-chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance with the British squadron, consisting of twenty-seven ships (three of them 64's), when his lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements

has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the Straits.

"On Monday, the 21st instant, at day light, when Cape Trafalgar bore east by south about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west and very light. The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they were formed in order of sailing—a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line, consisting of thirty-three ships (of which eighteen were French and fifteen Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve; the Spaniards under the direction of Gravina), were with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness. But as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new: it formed a crescent, convexing to leeward; so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam before the fire opened. Every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very slight interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure*, in the centre; and the *Prince Asturias* bore Gravina's flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed, without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

"As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the line bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the *Victory*, led the weather column, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at twelve o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van; the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts astern of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe; the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible: and it pleased the Almighty

\* In his *Diary*, he called it *The Nelson Touch*.

Disposer of all events to grant his majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three, P.M., many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way. Admiral Gravina, with ten ships, joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked; and, standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his majesty's squadron nineteen ships-of-the-line, of which two are first-rates—the *Santissima Trinidad* and the *Santa Ana*, with three flag-officers, viz., Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief; Don Ignacio Maria d'Alava, vice-admiral; and the Spanish rear-admiral, Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

"After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express: the spirit which animated all was the same. When all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high events should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

"The *Achille*, a French 74, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up. A circumstance occurred during the action which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to your lordships. The *Temeraire* was boarded, by accident or design, by a French ship\* on one side, and a Spaniard on the other: the contest was vigorous; but, in the end, the combined ensigns were torn from the poop, and the British hoisted in their places.

"Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament, in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country; but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, from many years of intimacy and a perfect know-

ledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell, does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. His lordship received a musket-ball in his left breast about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me directly with his last farewell, and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captain Duff of the *Mars*, and Cooke of the *Bellerophon*. I have as yet heard of none other.

"I fear that the numbers which have fallen will be found very great when the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The *Royal Sovereign* having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the *Euryalus* to me while the action continued, which ship, lying within hail, made my signals—a service Captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might the more easily communicate my orders to and collect the ships, and towed the *Royal Sovereign* out to seaward. The whole fleet was now in a very perilous situation;—many dismasted—all shattered—in thirteen fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day, preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points and drifting the ships off the land, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar; and I hope will ride safe until these gales are over.

"Having thus described the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I congratulate their lordships on the victory which, I hope, will add a ray of glory to his majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.—I am, &c.,

"C. COLLINGWOOD."

Further description of the battle, by Lord Collingwood, in a letter to Sir Peter Parker.

"*Queen*—off Cadiz, Nov. 1st, 1805.

"It was a severe action—no dodging or

\* Subsequent information proved that this statement was incorrect. The error was occasioned by the *Neptuno*—one of the squadron of five French and Spanish ships under Rear-admiral Dumanoir, which had, near the end of the action hauled to the wind

and escaped—which was considerably astern of its companions, being cut off by the *Minotaur* and *Spartiate*, and was drifted upon and fell on board the *Temeraire* and her two prizes, the *Redoubtable* and *Fougueux*, on her lee or starboard side.

manœuvring. They formed their line with nicety, and waited our attack with great composure. They did not fire a gun until we were close to them; and we began first. Our ships were fought with a degree of gallantry which would have warmed your heart; everybody exerted themselves, and a glorious day they made of it. People who cannot comprehend how complicated an affair a battle at sea is, and judge of an officer's conduct by the number of sufferers in his ship, often do him wrong. Though there will appear great difference in the loss of men, all did admirably, and the conclusion was grand beyond description—eighteen hulks of the enemy lying among the British fleet without a stick standing, and the French *Achille* burning; but we were close to the rocks of Trafalgar; and when I made the signal for anchoring, many ships had their cables shot and not an anchor ready. Providence did for us what no human effort could have done—the wind shifted a few points and we drifted off the land. The next day bad weather began, and with great difficulty we got our captured ships towed off the land. The second day Gravina, who is wounded, made an effort to cut off nine of the ships with the squadron of nine ships which he retired with. In the night the gale increased, and two of his ships (the *Rayo* of 100 guns, and the *Indomptable* of 80), were dismasted. The *Rayo* anchored amongst our hulks and surrendered; the *Indomptable* was lost on the shore, and I am told every soul perished. Amongst such numbers it is difficult to ascertain what we have done; but I believe the truth is, twenty-three sail-of-the-line fell into our hands, of which three got in

again in the gale of wind—namely, *Santa Ana*, *Neptune*, and *Algesiras*. The *Neptuno* is on shore in Cadiz, and likely to be lost there. Three we bring safe off—namely, the *Ildefonso*, *San Juan Nepomuceno*, and English *Swiftsure*, and seventeen burned, sunk, and destroyed. Four flag-officers and plenty of commodores were our prisoners. Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, I send home. Vice-admiral d'Alava, who being dangerously wounded, I left in his ship *Santa Ana*; and she drove into Cadiz. Cisneros, Spanish rear-admiral, is now at Gibraltar; but I intend he shall go to England. Magon, the French rear-admiral, killed.

“The storm being violent, and many of our ships in most perilous situations, I found it necessary to order the captures (all without masts, some without rudders, and many half-full of water) to be destroyed, except such as were in better plight; for my object was their ruin, and not what might be made of them, as this filled our ships with prisoners, and the wounded in miserable condition. I sent a flag in to the Marquis Solano to offer him his wounded men, which was received with every demonstration of joy and gratitude, and two frigates and a brig were sent out for them. In return he offered me his hospitals, and the security of Spanish honour that our wounded should have every care and every comfort that Spain could afford: so that though we fight them, we are on good terms. But what has most astonished them is, our keeping the sea after such an action, with our jury-masts and crippled ships; which I did the longer, to let them see that no effort of theirs can drive a British squadron from its station.”

#### NAVAL BATTLE OFF CAPE ORTEGAL, Nov. 4TH, 1805.

DUMANOIR having, by dark on the day of the battle, gained a safe offing, commenced repairing the few damages his ships had received. With the wind as it blew he would have steered towards Toulon, had he not received intelligence that Rear-admiral Louis, with a squadron of four or five sail-of-the-line, was cruising in the neighbourhood of the Straits; he therefore steered away to the westward, in hopes of reaching Rochefort or Brest; but when he had reached the latitude of Cape Finisterre, he was discovered by the *Phoenix* frigate, Cap-

tain Baker, who thinking the hostile squadron to be that of Rochefort, under Rear-admiral Allemand, and which had played sad havoc with British commerce, the *Phoenix*, with all possible sail, proceeded to apprise Sir Richard Strachan, who was cruising off Ferrol in expectation of falling in with Allemand.

The British admiral, receiving the intelligence on the evening of the 2nd of November, immediately gave chase, which was continued for two days. At daylight of the morning of the 4th, the *Phoenix* and

*Santa Margarita* frigates, gallantly began the action by firing on the enemy's rear. At length, at noon, the hostile squadrons were so near that the French admiral was obliged to lie-to and receive battle, which soon became close and general. The battle having continued with vigour and resolution for nearly three hours and a-half, the whole of the hostile squadron struck, but not until the ships had become quite unmanageable. The loss, on the part of the British, was twenty-four killed and 111 wounded; that of the enemy, in killed and wounded, 700. The British squadron consisted of the *Cesar*, 80 guns; the *Hero*, *Namur*, and *Courageux*, 74 guns each; and the frigates *Santa Margarita*, and *Eolus*, 32 guns each; *Phoenix*, 36 guns; and *Revolutionnaire*, 38 guns. The ships of the French squadron were the *Formidable*, 80 guns; *Duguay-Trouin*, *Scipion*, and *Mont Blanc*, 74 guns each. Sir Richard Strachan was promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and created knight of the Bath. Gold medals were distributed in the usual manner; and the officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron received the thanks of parliament.

Among the single ship battles of this year, were those of the *Arrow* sloop and the *Acheron* bomb-vessel, in the Mediterranean; the *Cleopatra* and the *Ville-de-Milan*, near the Bermudas; and the *San Fiorenzo* and the *Psyche*, in the Indian seas.

On the 4th of February, the *Arrow* sloop, Captain Vincent, and the bomb-ship *Acheron*, Captain Farquhar, having a convoy of thirty-five merchant-vessels from Malta, bound for England, fell in with two frigates belonging to the Toulon fleet under Gantheaume, the *Hortense*, 40 guns, and the *Incorruptible*, 38 guns. On ascertaining the hostile character of the frigates, the *Duchess of Rutland*, a warlike transport, was directed to lead the convoy on its course, while the sloop and the bomb-vessel awaited the attack of the enemy. As soon as the *Hortense* was sufficiently near, she directed the captain of the *Arrow* to hoist his boat out and come on board; an invitation which was declined by the *Arrow's* captain, who immediately made signal for action at six, A.M. In about an hour afterwards, the *Incorruptible* being within half-musket shot distance, opened her broadside on the *Arrow*, and received that of the *Arrow* in return. The *Acheron* coming up, a lively action commenced between the two French frigates and the two British vessels. The *Hortense*

closed with the *Arrow*, and the *Incorruptible* with the *Acheron*. The sloops continued the unequal fight until the *Acheron*, by light and variable winds, was separated from her consort, which being a complete wreck (having received many shots between wind and water, and thirteen of her crew killed and twenty-seven wounded) struck her colours, having maintained the contest with her powerful enemies during one hour-and-a-half. The defence of the *Acheron* was equally obstinate, had been long sustained, and the injury she had received was so considerable, that as soon as the prisoners could be removed she was set on fire. Her loss was three killed and eight wounded. The *Arrow* had been so damaged, that she sunk shortly after the action. The crews of each of the French frigates were about 340 men, exclusive of 300 troops on board each ship. The *Hortense* mounted 48 guns; the *Incorruptible*, 42. Only three of the convoy fell into the hands of the enemy.

On the 16th of February, the *Cleopatra*, 32 guns, Captain Sir Robert Laurie, while cruising near the Bermudas, discovered a ship in the south-east, and immediately went in chase of her, the enemy at the same time making every sail to escape. At daylight of the 17th, the stranger was about four miles ahead; and as soon as the *Cleopatra* was within half-gunshot distance, she fired her bow chasers, receiving from the enemy, at about 100 yards' distance, two broadsides; the *Cleopatra*, at the same time, returning the compliment. A close and severe action ensued for above five hours, during which the enemy's first attempt to board had been gallantly repulsed; but in a second attempt he obtained possession of his shattered and defenceless antagonist. The *Cleopatra's* loss in killed was twenty-two (among whom were the three lieutenants and the lieutenant of marines), and thirty-six wounded; that of the *Ville-de-Milan*, which mounted 46 guns, and whose crew numbered nearly 400 men, was not ascertained. The *Cleopatra's* crew amounted to 200 men. The English vessel was nearly 700 tons burden; that of the French, 1,100. Though the fortune of war had been inauspicious to Captain Laurie, his valour soon received its reward, when both the prize and her conqueror fell an easy prey to Captain Talbot, of the British ship *Leander*.

The captain of the *Ville-de-Milan* having partially repaired the two vessels, and transferred a portion of his prize's crew into his

own ship, set sail for a French port. On the 23rd of the same month, the *Leander* fell in with the *Cleopatra* under jury masts, and soon after saw the *Ville-de-Milan* in the same condition; the two frigates closing to support each other. One hour's chase brought the *Leander* alongside of the French frigate and her prize, when they instantly surrendered, without firing or receiving a shot.

On the 13th of February, the *San Fiorenzo*, 32 guns, Captain Lambert, in cruise for the 32-gun frigate *Psyche*, reported to be off Vizagapatam, discovering her with two prizes, immediately pursued under a press of sail. The chase continued until half-past eight in the evening of the 14th, when the *San Fiorenzo* being within gunshot, fired a bow chaser at the *Psyche* and her consort, the *Equivoque* privateer, of 10 guns and forty men. In the course of ten minutes a furious battle ensued between the *San Fiorenzo* and her opponents. The conflict continued till midnight, when the captain of the *Psyche* sent a message that he had struck, out of humanity to the survivors of his crew. The loss of the *San Fiorenzo* was twenty-four killed and thirty-six wounded; that of the *Psyche* was fifty-four killed and seventy wounded.

In the early part of the year, Admiral Missiessy, with the Rochefort squadron, having on board 4,000 troops, with instructions to capture the islands of Dominica and St. Lucia, arrived in the West Indies. He arrived at Martinique on the 5th of February, and having landed the ammunition destined for that island, made sail for Dominica, and under cover of a tremendous fire from the line-of-battle ships, gun-boats, and schooners, endeavoured to effect a landing of 4,000 troops in the bay of Rousseau; but being repulsed by the 46th and first West India regiments, under the command of Major-general Prevost, the governor of the island, he was compelled to seek a more favourable place of disembarkment. Here, under the fire of the whole squadron, which was poured upon them without intermission, the town of Rousseau was reduced to ashes. In this extremity, Prevost retreated to the fort of Prince Rupert's Head, at the other end of the island. He was summoned to surrender; but the French general and admiral, fearful of Lord Nelson's presence in the neighbourhood, re-embarked their

forces, and steered for Guadeloupe, having sustained a loss of 300 men in their fruitless attempt; while that of the islanders did not amount to forty. Having landed supplies at Guadeloupe, St. Kitt's, and Montserrat, he proceeded to the city of Domingo, where he arrived on the 28th of March. The reinforcements being landed, the French and Spaniards, under General Ferrand, were relieved from the siege and blockade under which they were suffering from the negroes on land, and the British cruisers by sea. Leaving a reinforcement of 1,000 men in St. Domingo, Missiessy proceeded on his return to Europe.

When Villeneuve, with the combined Franco-Spanish fleet reached Martinique, on his entering the harbour of Fort Royal, in that island, he received a smart cannonade from the Diamond rock—a perpendicular rock lying off Fort Royal Bay, and which had been taken possession of by Captain Maxwell, in 1803. Villeneuve, angry at the reception, sent two ships-of-the-line, a frigate, a corvette, a schooner, and eleven gun-boats, to retake the rock. Captain Maurice (of the British ship-of-war's company then stationed there for its defence), seeing it impossible to defend the lower works against so formidable a force, abandoned them, spiking his guns and retiring to the summit of the rock, where he bravely replied to the fire of the French squadron, with a single 24-pounder and two eighteens. Captain Maurice sustained a tremendous bombardment for three days: his ammunition being all consumed, he was then obliged to surrender. While thus gallantly defending his position, he had killed and wounded many of the enemy in the ships, and sunk three of their gun-boats.

In the course of this year a league was formed by England, Russia, Sweden, and Austria, for the purpose of securing the independence of Europe and resisting the encroachments of France. Sweden and Russia entered into a separate treaty on the 10th of January; England and Russia did the same on the 11th of April; and Austria became a member of the confederacy with England, Russia, and Sweden, on the 9th of August, by a treaty signed at St. Petersburg. Prussia, influenced by the lure of Hanover, was willing to conclude a treaty—offensive and defensive—with France, but subsequent events prevented her from the consummation of her intention.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS IN INDIA.

NOTWITHSTANDING the victories of generals Wellesley, Lake, and Fraser against the confederated Mahratta chieftains, a fresh Mahratta war had broken out in 1804. The military events of that year have been related in their proper place. In this year, Lord Lake resolving to reduce all the forts within the Bhurtpore territory, united his army to the forces which the late General Fraser had conducted into the country, and immediately laid siege to the fortress of Deeg, which was garrisoned by the troops of Holkar, in conjunction with those of his ally, the Rajah of Bhurtpore. The whole of the town and outworks were, as we have already stated, in possession of the Anglo-Indian army by the morning of the 24th; and on the morning of the following day, Holkar and his allies evacuated the citadel, fleeing panic-struck. Having obtained possession of this stronghold, Lord Lake determined to lay siege to Bhurtpore, which lies amidst jungles and water at the distance of about thirty miles from Agra. Accordingly, on the 1st of January of this year, the Anglo-Indian army moved from Deeg, and took up their encampment ground for the prosecution of the siege. As soon as breaches had been made an assault was commenced; and being successfully repelled, repeated attempts were made, but with similar failure. In one assault, 300 Europeans and 200 sepoy were killed and wounded. By the 21st, a wide breach having been effected, dispositions were made for trying another storm; but, after incredible efforts of valour and daring, the assailants were compelled to retire, with the loss of above 600 killed and wounded. In two subsequent assaults, in each of which Lake lost above 1,000 men and

officers in killed and wounded, the siege was converted into a blockade, during which new batteries being raised, and fresh forces and supplies joining Lake, the Rajah of Bhurtpore, despairing of effectual assistance from Holkar and Meer Khan, a powerful chieftain of Bundelcund, repaired in person, on the 10th of April, to Lake's camp, imploring peace, which was granted on condition of his paying twenty lacs of Furruckabad rupees to the Company, giving up some territories which they had formerly annexed to his dominions, pledging himself never to have any connexion with the enemies of Great Britain, and never to entertain, without the sanction of the Company, any foreigners in his service. Having received the first instalment of the money, and his son (the required hostage for the fulfilment of the conditions of the treaty), the Anglo-Indian army broke up from before Bhurtpore, having been three months and twenty days before it, and losing 3,100 men and a great number of officers in killed and wounded.

On the 21st of April, Lord Lake went in search of Scindiah and Holkar, the latter of whom, after his defeat by Lake's cavalry on the 2nd of April, fled across the Chumbul river, and retreated with great precipitation to Aymeer. At this juncture the Marquis Cornwallis, arriving in India to succeed the Marquis Wellesley,\* and disapproving of the energetic policy of his predecessor, indicated an intention of adopting pacific measures.† Lake's army, therefore, as the rainy season had set in, was quartered in the palaces of Akbar, at Futtypoor Sicree, and those of the ancient Mogul chiefs in and about Agra; and two regiments of British dragoons took

\* In the month of December, 1804, it was well known to the British ministry and to the Court of Directors, that the Marquis Wellesley intended to return to England, he having applied to the government at home for that purpose. In 1802 he resigned the government of India, and signified his intention of embarking for Europe at the close of 1803; but he was speedily requested by both parties to postpone his departure until January, 1804. At that period, the treaties of peace which had been recently concluded with the Mahrattas by Sir Arthur Wellesley, had not reached Calcutta, and the settlement of the conquered territories, together with the consolidation of the new alliances in various parts of India, induced his lordship, from principles of public duty, to defer his departure. He therefore determined to wait till 1805, in August of which year he left India on board the *Fiorenzo* frigate.

† During the course of the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, the general state of public credit in India was improved in a proportion of more than twelve per cent., and the Company's paper, which on his arrival bore a discount of a like per centage, was nearly at par at all the presidencies, while the growing resources of India not only kept pace with the demands on them, but the Indian territories actually contributed upwards of ten million sterling in aid of the mother country. During his administration, also, the various sources of commerce throughout India were materially extended and improved; the defective parts of the frontier considerably strengthened; our political relations defined and consolidated; the permanent annual revenues of India more than doubled; and the power and resources of our Indian possessions established on a firm basis.

up their quarters in the mausoleum of Akbar and his family.

Scindiah having now detached his forces from those of Holkar, and the latter indicating an intention of forming an alliance with the chiefs of the Sikhs and the warlike tribes of Afghanistan, he entered the Sikh territories for that purpose. Lord Lake went in pursuit of him, and compelling him to cross the Sutlej, followed him into the Punjab, or the country of the five rivers, and pitched his camp on the banks of the Beas (the ancient Hyphasis and boundary of the Indian conquests of Alexander the Great), between which river and Lahore Holkar lay encamped. At this time, instructions were received by Lord Lake, from Sir George Barlow, who had become governor-general on the death of the Marquis Cornwallis, to conclude a treaty of peace with Holkar; to which Holkar readily conceded,

as the whole Sikh confederacy had determined to withhold all aid from him. The conditions were agreed to in December, and the treaty was concluded on the 7th of January, 1806. By that treaty Holkar agreed to resign all claims on Poonah, Bundelcund, and on any territories lying on the northern side of the Chumbul; and, by the same treaty, the Jumna was to be the boundary of the British possessions. By a treaty signed on the 23rd of November, the river Chumbul was to be the boundary line between the Company's territories and those of Scindiah; and the Mahratta chief engaged not to entertain any Europeans in his services, without the consent of the British government. Thus a transitory calm ensuing between the Company and the Mahratta confederation, Lord Lake quitted India in the beginning of the year, 1807, leaving behind him a high and well-merited reputation.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLE-FIELDS OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1805.

THE gigantic strides which Napoleon Buonaparte made, in the course of the year 1805, towards the subjugation of Europe and the attainment of universal power,\* his astonishing military success, and the immense territorial dominion and political importance which he had acquired, are unexampled in the annals of the world. His first measure, in this year, was the assumption of the title of King of Italy, and the encircling his brows with the iron crown of Charlemagne and the old Lombard kings of Italy, which had lain in repose for 1,000 years in the sanctuary of the abbey of Monza.

On the 17th of March, Melzi (the vice-president), and the councillors of state of the Cisalpine republic, who had been invited to Paris to attend the imperial coronation of Napoleon Buonaparte, and to whom it had been communicated that the Italian republic was an anarchy, and must be superseded by kingly power in the person of the French emperor, approached the imperial throne in the Tuileries, and with bended

knees, in the most servile language, prayed Napoleon Buonaparte to accept the iron crown of the Italian monarchs. The emperor replied: "The people of Italy have always been dear to me. For the love I bear them, I consent to take the additional burden and responsibility." To his secretary Bourrienne, he confidentially hinted that it was a stepping-stone to greater things—the union of the whole of the Italian peninsula under one government. On April 2nd he set out for Turin, and on the 26th of May his coronation took place at Milan, when, taking hold of the iron crown, he placed it upon his head, and with a loud voice, and in a tone of defiance, uttered the expression of the Lombard kings on their enthronement—" *Dio me la diede: guai a chi la tocca.*" (God has given it me: beware those who touch it.) Having been crowned, he appointed his adopted stepson, Prince Eugene Beauharnais, his viceroy, and at the same time instituted the order of the iron crown, and a military conscription.

\* That such was his intention is evident from the following declaration, uttered at the time of his entering on the German war:—"In Germany, I will pierce England to the heart, by shutting the whole continent to her commerce. I have also ideas which go farther; but these are not matured. There is not sufficient similarity among the several nations

of Europe. Society requires to be regenerated, which can only be done by the establishment of a superior power, the authority of which over other powers shall constrain them to live on terms of peace and amity. France is well situated to exercise the necessary sway for that purpose."—*Memoirs of Napoleon.*

A few days afterwards, Durazzo, the doge of the Genoese or Ligurian republic, with a deputation of Genoese senators, presented themselves to the emperor-king, and in compliance with their instructions, humbly prayed him to render their country happy, by uniting it to the French empire. On the 9th of June, an imperial decree incorporated the republic with the French empire, under the titles of Genoa, Montenegro, and the Apennines: and thus Genoa, which for 1,400 years had maintained a separate existence, and had nobly fought for its independence against kings and kaisers, became a humble appanage of imperial France. The imperial creator of kingdoms and leveller of republics, next proceeded to transform the ancient republic of Lucca into a principality, together with Piombino, which he gave to his sister Eliza, to be held as a fief of the French empire, under the title of the principality of Piombino. Having thus secured to his family the reversion of the kingdom of Italy, and to France an important territorial acquisition, he returned to Paris on the 12th of July. Immediately after this he likewise incorporated Parma and Placentia with the French empire, under the title of the Twenty-eighth Military Division: thus completing his ascendancy in Italy.

In the beginning of August he repaired to the encamped army at Boulogne. A number of experiments of embarking and disembarking were repeated in his presence, and elicited his warmest approbation. Ney's division, consisting of 2,500 men was embarked in ten minutes and a-half, and the relanding was completed almost as rapidly as the embarkation. On their disembarkation the troops were drawn up in battle array on the shore in thirteen minutes.\* Whenever the absence of the blockading squadrons, on account of rough weather, permitted, in order to habituate the troops to the sea, they were embarked a few hundreds at a time, and the flotilla put out to sea, or stretched along the coast. But on the

28th of the month, it was announced that the Emperor Francis, having attacked the Elector of Bavaria (an ally of the Emperor Napoleon Buonaparte), the army of England collected at Boulogne, and on the shores of the Channel struck their tents, and marched away with great rapidity and the most direct routes for the Rhine. For the first time, accelerated means of conveyance were used to transport the army to its destination; 20,000 carriages were put into requisition. For the purpose of keeping up the alarm on the coasts of England, 20,000 men, under General Brune, were left at Boulogne. The flotilla was dismantled, and laid up for future operations.

While the "army of England" was making rapid marches from Boulogne towards the Rhine, in five columns (under Soult, Davoust, Ney, Lannes, and Murat), Bernadotte and Marmont, to whom marching orders had been expedited, were in motion with their *corps d'armée* from Hanover and Holland. At the same time Massena received orders to assume the offensive in Italy, and force his way through the Tyrolese frontier into the hereditary states of Austria. Bernadotte reached Würzburg, in Franconia on the 23rd of September; Marmont passed the Rhine at Cassel; Davoust at Mannheim, on the 26th; Soult, Ney, and Lannes effected the passage on the same day. Prince Murat, with the cavalry, after passing that river at Kehl, took a position before the defiles of the Black Forest, with the intention of inducing the Austrians to believe that the French army meant to take that route. On the 30th, the great park of artillery passed the Rhine at Kehl, and advanced upon Heilbronn. Napoleon Buonaparte left Paris on the 24th of September, and, on the 26th, reached Strasburg; where, on the 29th, he published the following proclamation to "the grand army"—a name which was afterwards always applied to the army while he commanded in person:—"Soldiers! The war of the triple coalition has commenced. The Austrian

\* A graphic description of the breaking up of the camp has been given by an eye-witness:—"At day-break the wind was fair for England, and the blockading squadron had been blown down the Channel. The trumpets sounded—'On board!' and in six hours nearly 200,000 men, soldiers, sailors, artillery, stores, ammunition, and arms were embarked. Everything seemed favourable for the adventure. All was hushed: every eye and ear intent for the signal to get under weigh. Presently the trumpets pealed again; but it was—'To land!' The army disembarked in the same order; but with very different feelings. The soldiers looked vexed and disappointed, and even murmurs were heard as they retired on the beach. A brief proclamation was then read, announcing the imminence of war with Austria and Russia, and a consequent change of destination for the grand army. An unanimous shout of joy welcomed this intelligence. The setting sun that evening gave 'the army of England' a farewell glance of its cliffs, and by the morrow's dawn the vanguard was on its way for Austerlitz."

army, in violation of treaties, has passed the Inn, and attacked and chased our ally from his capital. You have flown to the defence of the frontier. We have now to pass the Rhine, and, by our presence, ensure the independence of the Germanic body, carry succour to our allies, and confound the pride of unjust aggressors. We must not be tempted again to make peace without surety: our generosity must no longer lead us from the path of sound policy. Soldiers! your emperor is in the midst of you. You are but the advanced guard of the great nation which, if necessary, is ready at my voice to rise as one man, and overthrow this new league, which the hatred and gold of England have formed. But, soldiers! we shall have to make forced marches—to endure fatigues and privations of all kinds: yet, whatever obstacles may be opposed to us, we will surmount them all, nor rest till we have planted our eagles on the territory of our enemies.”

Austria, in the meantime, had been preparing for the conflict. From the moment that Napoleon had assumed the iron crown and incorporated Genoa, Parma, and Placentia with France, the fortifications of the Venetian frontier were strengthened, armies were in formation on the Inn and the principal roads leading into Bavaria, and a general warlike activity pervaded the Austrian dominions. An army of 80,000 men, under Field-marshal Mack, was directed to march to the frontiers of Bavaria, and require the elector of that principality to unite his forces with those of Austria for the defence of Germany. The Archduke Charles was detached with 50,000 men into Upper Italy; and the Archduke John was stationed, with 30,000 men, in the passes of the Tyrol, for the purpose of keeping up a communication with Mack's army and that of Italy, under the Archduke Charles. An army of reserve, amounting to 40,000 men, and called the “army of Bohemia,” lay in Mack's rear, and covered Vienna and the hereditary states; while another *corps d'armée* was stationed in Galicia, in order to effect a junction with the Russians, who were on their march to co-operate with them. Before Mack had reached the banks of the Inn, the Elector of Bavaria, declining to co-operate with the Emperor of Austria, had retired his forces, amounting to 20,000 men, into Franconia, and effected a junction with the French under Bernadotte. The electors of Baden and Würtemberg also fraternised with Buonaparte.

Mack, falling into the old Austrian error of supposing that what had been previously done must necessarily be repeated, instead of occupying the line of the river Inn, which, extending from the Tyrol to the Danube at Passau, affords a strong defence to the Austrian territory, and on which he might have waited in comparative safety the advance of the Russians (as the route of the French, on previous occasions of invasion, had been by the passes of the Black Forest), to secure these defiles, he established himself at Ulm, Memmingen, Stockach, and the line of the Iller and Danube, with advanced posts in the defiles of the Black Forest, on the western frontier of Bavaria. To confirm and keep Mack in his hallucination, Murat with the cavalry manœuvred in front of the defiles, so as to withdraw attention from the movements of the other French corps.

The consequence of Mack's error was, that while he was in expectation of being attacked in front of Ulm, the French army advanced into the heart of Germany by the left side of the Danube; and then crossing that river at Donauwörth, Neuburg, and Ingolstadt, took ground in his rear, interrupting his communication with Vienna. In the course of the advance, severe skirmishes had occurred with different divisions of the Austrian army at Donawerth, Wertingen, Günzburg, Elchingen, and other places memorable in the British campaign of Blenheim under Marlborough. At Wertingen (October 10th)—which is between Ulm and Augsburg—Murat and Lannes, with eighty squadrons of cavalry, attacked twelve battalions of grenadiers and five squadrons of cuirassiers; when Auffenberg, the imperial general, forming his infantry in one great square, with the cuirassiers at the angles, the combat was severe; but Oudinot reaching the field of battle with a brigade of French grenadiers and some artillery, an opening being made in an angle of the square, the French cavalry rushed in at the aperture. Four thousand prisoners, many standards, with all the artillery, were the trophies of the victors. The following day Soult surprised and captured a division of 5,000 under General Spaugenburg, at Memmingen; and on the succeeding day Ney defeated the Archduke Ferdinand (who was descending from the Tyrol, by forced marches, to guard the passages of the Danube, and if necessary, secure his retreat into Bohemia) at Elchingen and the bridges of Günzburg, with the loss of 3,000 men and all his artillery; and soon

afterwards 8,000 Austrians surrendered at Nordlingen. Thus while the advanced guards, under Murat and Ney, were pursuing an uninterrupted course of success, the body of the grand army was rapidly sweeping round the Austrian flanks and rear. From the crossing of the Rhine by the grand army on the 26th of September, to the 12th of October (the day of Ney's victory of Elchingen), above 20,000 prisoners had fallen into the hands of the French; and, in less than three weeks after their crossing that river, Mack's doom was sealed: he was shut up in Ulm without the possibility of escape, the place being completely invested by 100,000 men. The garrison consisted of above 30,000 men, and the place was amply victualled and stored; but, on the 17th, Mack—(though he had published a proclamation on the preceding day, forbidding the word *surrender* to be breathed within the walls on pain of death)—and his garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Immense quantities of stores and ammunition of all sorts, and about 3,500 horses, fell into the hands of the victors; and a waggon-load of Austrian standards was expedited to Paris to gratify the vanity of its inhabitants. During the évacuation of the city, Buonaparte was posted on a little hill in front of his army. There he received the Austrian generals; in his address to whom are these remarkable words—alluding to the Austrian and Russian alliance:—"It is criminal," said he, "to bring on nations a foreign invasion: to betray Europe by introducing into her disputes hordes of Asiatics. The union formed with those barbarians (the Russians of the north), will appear a monstrous thing in history. It is a compact of the dogs and shepherds with wolves against the sheep,—a thing which could never have been conceived by a statesman." It is deserving of observation, that Buonaparte was the first person who divined Russian encroachment. In the spirit-stirring proclamation which he addressed to the French army on this occasion, he said: "Soldiers of the grand army!—In fifteen days we have concluded a campaign. The army which, with so much ostentation and presumption, had advanced to our frontiers is annihilated. Of 115,000 men, who composed it, 60,000 are prisoners: they will replace our conscripts in the labours of the field. Two hundred pieces of cannon, their whole park of ammunition, and ninety standards are in our power: of that whole army not 15,000 have escaped. Soldiers! a

second campaign awaits us. The gold of England has brought against us a Russian army from the extremities of the universe: we will make it undergo the same fate." Two days after the capitulation of Ulm, Murat with his division, which formed the left wing of the grand army, invested Trochtelfingen, and compelled its garrison of 10,000 men to capitulate.

Intelligence being now received that the van of the Russian army had entered Lintz, the French pushed on into the heart of Germany, and crossing the Iser, approached rapidly to the Inn, and effecting the passage of that river, continued their advance to Saltzburg and Lintz, following the route of the retiring Russians. In its advance, the vanguard of the grand army had met with several sanguinary checks from the Russians.

While these events were passing in the centre of Germany, the campaign was fiercely contested in Italy. Massena, in his advance from Lombardy towards the Venetian states, where the Archduke Charles was at the head of 60,000 imperialists, crossed the Adige at Verona, and attacked on the 29th of October the Austrian general in his almost impregnable position of Caldiero, but was driven back to his ground in front of Verona. Renewing his assault on the following day, after a terrible conflict he was again driven back, each side having lost above 4,000 men. On the morning of the next day the assault was renewed, and an equally fierce contest ensuing, the French were driven back; but Massena being reinforced by 2,500 troops under St. Cyr, from Naples, and the archduke receiving intelligence of the disasters in Germany, he, on November 1st, abandoned his strong position, and pushing forwards into the mountains of Carinthia (having previously caused his cannon and baggage to defile to the rear by another road), he prepared to hasten to the protection of the capital, satisfied it was no longer possible to defend Italy. On approaching the intrenchments of Caldiero, the French found them stripped of artillery, and in the occupation of only a few of the enemy's rear-guard. On the day following Massena advanced in pursuit; but the imperialists having gained a full march upon him, reached Laybach in Carinthia, where they were joined by the Archduke John with the remnant of his army, which had escaped from the Tyrol and its various encounters with Ney. On the other hand,

Massena had established himself at Klagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, and thus came in direct communication with "the grand army" in the valley of the Danube.

After the surrender of Ulm and the Austrian garrison, the broken and shattered remnant of the Austrian forces rallied from different quarters round the Russian army assembled at Brünn in Moravia. Thither the French army rapidly advanced; but on their approach, the combined Austrian and Russian armies retreated to Olmutz, nearly at the opposite extremity of Moravia. But an event had happened in the interim which seemed to menace the good fortune of Napoleon Buonaparte. Through the influence of the Queen of Prussia, the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia had, at torchlight, with clasped hands, sworn an oath of eternal friendship and alliance; but the vacillating policy of the Prussian cabinet rendered the solemn engagement nugatory.

In the meantime the French army continued to advance, gaining in its progress several minor victories, till Mortier's corps reached the village of Diernstein, when it encountered a Russian corps under Doctoroff, and received a severe check, two-thirds of Gazan's division having fallen, and three eagles being taken. At this period of the campaign, Count Giulay, one of the generals who had been included in the capitulation of Ulm, arrived with proposals for an armistice; but Napoleon Buonaparte refusing to accede to the proposition, unless Venice and the Tyrol were placed in his hands to guarantee the sincerity of the allies, the emperor and his family quitted Vienna for Presburg on the 7th of November. On the 13th, the advanced guard of the French army was in the suburbs of that city, and in possession of all the roads leading to it. On the day after Napoleon Buonaparte established his head-quarters there, when the authorities of the city waited on him to present the homage of the inhabitants, and to petition for his clemency. The imperial eagle of France was now exalted in triumph over the griffin eagle of Austria, on the turrets of the palace of Charlemagne. Immense military stores and equipments were found in the arsenals.

Appointing General Clarke governor of Vienna, and leaving Marmont to protect it, and guard the roads to Italy and Hungary, Napoleon Buonaparte, on the 15th, advanced with the corps of Murat and Lannes

against the allied Austro-Russian army, with the intention of reaching Znaim before the enemy. On the afternoon of that day the French advance guard overtook the rear of the retreating enemy, when a heavy convoy of 100 loaded waggons fell, almost without a combat, into their hands. At the same time Milhaud, with a brigade of chasseurs, captured 190 pieces of cannon. In the meantime Mortier and Bernadotte had entered Innsprück, the Tyrolese capital, and were fast advancing on the rear of the Russians. Heavy contributions were imposed on the conquered countries of Austria.

On the 17th, Napoleon Buonaparte's head-quarters were fixed at Znaim, the Russians having evacuated Brünn only a few hours before the arrival of the French. While riding over the plain between Brünn and the village of Austerlitz (which are about two miles distant), Napoleon Buonaparte said to his general: "Study this field; we shall, ere long, have to contest it."

Napoleon Buonaparte, on being informed that the Russian emperor was present in the hostile camp, sent Savary (under pretence of presenting his compliments to him, but in reality as a spy) with instructions to observe, as much as possible, the numbers and condition of the troops. Savary, whom "nature had made for a spy, and habit and long practice had perfected in the art," on his return (as Napoleon acknowledges in one of his bulletins), informed his master that the Russian emperor was surrounded by a set of young coxcombs, whose every look and gesture expressed overweening confidence in themselves and contempt for their opponents. All the reverses of the previous campaign were, as they hinted, the result of unpardonable cowardice among the Austrians, whose spirit had been broken by the wars in Italy: but they were the countrymen of Suwarroff, who had beaten the French out of all Napoleon Buonaparte's Lombard conquests; and the first general battle would show what sort of enemies the Russians were. Having, before he received this information, advanced several leagues beyond Austerlitz (on the plain midway between which and Brünn he had determined to be his battle-field), Napoleon retreated on that position with a studied semblance of confusion. The Russian emperor sent his aide-camp, Prince Dolgorucki, to return the compliment, and an offer to treat on the following conditions:—the independence of

Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy; the evacuation of Naples; indemnity to the Prince of Orange; and the execution of the treaty of Luneville.

Buonaparte as if the interior of his camp displayed scenes which he did not wish the Russian messenger to witness, met Dolgorucki at the outposts, which the soldiers were in the act of hastily covering with field-works, like an army which seeks to shelter conscious weakness under intrenchments. Encouraged by the difficulties in which he thought the French were placed, Dolgorucki delivered his instructions, which Buonaparte rejected, saying: "If that is your errand, you may return and tell the Emperor Alexander that I had no conception of these expectations when I sought an interview. I would have shown him my army, and referred to his equity for the conditions of peace. But, if he will have it so, we must fight." On Dolgorucki's report to the Russian emperor of the precarious position in which he believed the French army was, the emperor and his council of war determined on an immediate attack. From their belief that the French army was on the point of retreat, the allies adopted the determination of extending their left wing, in order to turn the right of their opponents, and take them in flank and rear; thus cutting them off from Vienna. For this purpose, quitting, on November 27th, their positions at Olmutz, and their intrenchments on a chain of heights, where they might have received the attack of the enemy to great advantage, and have lain in safety till the archdukes Charles and John could come to swell their array with the armies from Bohemia and Hungary, they descended into the plain, and advanced upon Brünn; and the outposts were pushed forward within a small distance of Austerlitz. On perceiving the fatal movement, Buonaparte, with rapturous joy, exclaimed, "Before sunset to-morrow that army is mine." The sudden advance of the Austrians caused an immediate concentration of the French troops, by forced marches, to the intended field of battle. The forces of the hostile armies amounted each to about 75,000 men.

The King of Prussia, now despairing of the realisation of the delusive hope which

Buonaparte had held out to him, that were Austria humbled, the imperial crown might be transferred to the house of Brandenburg, sent the envoy, Count Haugwitz, with the intention of offering the mediation of that power between the contending parties, and with directions to declare war if this was refused. On being introduced, and intimating that he was the bearer of an important communication, "Count," said Buonaparte—who knew that the mission had a double face, and that peace or war depended on the battle he was about to fight—"you may see that the outposts of the armies are already meeting; there will be a battle to-morrow; return to Vienna, to your conferences with Talleyrand, and deliver your message when it is over." Haugwitz, as he had no Prussian army in his train, obeyed the bidding.

The whole of the day of the 1st of December was spent by both armies in active preparations for the approaching conflict. Though the night was bitterly cold and stormy, Napoleon Buonaparte went from bivouac to bivouac, conversing familiarly with his soldiers, and uttering short and easily-retained expressions to keep up their courage and serve as rallying-words. Worn out with fatigue, he snatched a half-hour's sleep by the side of a bivouac fire, and on waking addressed the following proclamation to the army:—

"Soldiers!—The Russian army has presented itself before you to revenge the disaster of the Austrians at Ulm. They are the same men whom you conquered at Hollabrunn, and on whose flying traces you have followed. The positions which we occupy are formidable; and while they are marching to turn my right, they must present their flank to your blows. Soldiers! I myself will direct all your battalions; I will keep myself at a distance from the fire,\* if, with your accustomed valour, you carry disorder and confusion into the enemy's ranks; but should victory appear for a moment uncertain, you shall see your emperor expose himself to the first strokes; for victory must not be doubtful on this occasion, especially when the reputation of the French infantry is at stake, which is so dear an interest to the honour of the whole nation."

\* The reason why Buonaparte gave this promise was, that on the preceding day, while he was going through the ranks, and while the air was rent with the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" along the whole line, an old grenadier cried out, "Promise us that you

will keep yourself out of the fire, and only combat with your eyes." "I promise you," replied Buonaparte, "I will remain with the reserve until you need me." At this time the enthusiasm of the French soldiery towards their emperor knew no bounds.

Long before the morning's dawn he was on horseback. Thick fogs and mists hung over the plain and the neighbouring heights on which the allied army was encamped; but the sun at length breaking through the vapour and cold obscurity, appeared red and lurid, like a globe dipped in blood. Soon after seven o'clock, the mist clearing away, the sun rose with unclouded splendour.

The enemy was now in motion; and the French army appeared formed in columns in the midst of the plain. Napoleon Buonaparte immediately rode through the foremost ranks, exclaiming: "Soldiers! the enemy has imprudently exposed himself to your blows; we shall finish the war with a clap of thunder."

According to their arrangement, a large division of Russians advancing to turn the French right flank, was unexpectedly opposed by Davoust's division, which was posted behind the convent of Raigern. By this movement a large gap was occasioned in the allied line, which Napoleon Buonaparte observing, ordered Soult to rush forward with the right wing, intersect the line of the enemy, and sever the left wing from the centre. To restore the communication thus cut off, the Russian guards forming the reserve, under the Grand-Duke Constantine, posted on an eminence in front of the village of Austerlitz (where the emperors Alexander and Francis were stationed viewing the battle), rushed forward and made a desperate attack on Soult's division. The encounter took place on an eminence called the hill of Pratzen. After a fierce contest, in which success and failure variously attended the efforts of each side, the Russians were broken and dispersed by a furious charge of the imperial guard under Bessières.

During this contest on the left, close columns of the allies had been directed in continuous charges against the centre of the French army, commanded by Murat. The Russian cavalry had already penetrated the French squares, and were sabring the men, when Rapp, with the chasseurs and grenadiers of the guard, furiously charging and overthrowing them in an instant, they fled in confusion. The right wing had hitherto contested well against the impetuosity of Lannes; but the left and centre having been overthrown, Buonaparte was enabled to gather round them his forces on every side, and his artillery plunging incessant fire on them from the heights, they

found it impossible to hold their ground. They were driven into a hollow, where the frozen lake of Satschan offering the only means of escape, they rushed in a body with their artillery and cavalry upon the ice, and from the storm of shot discharged after them, the frail support broke, and above 2,000 men perished. With the greatest difficulty the discomfited emperors escaped with the remains of their routed forces. The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and prisoners was 30,000 men; that of the French 12,000. The trophies of the victors were two complete parks of artillery, consisting of 180 pieces of cannon, 400 caissons, forty-five standards, and an immense quantity of baggage and stores. Thus terminated the battle of Austerlitz; and such was the consternation produced by the disaster, that in a council of war held at midnight, it was determined to dispatch Prince Lichtenstein to Buonaparte's head-quarters, to solicit him to grant the humbled Emperor Francis an interview. The following morning being appointed for his reception, he repaired, with a small escort, to the place of meeting, which was near a windmill on the roadside near Sarutchnitz, about three leagues from Austerlitz. He was received at the entrance of Napoleon's tent, which had been pitched for the purpose, and where a bivouac fire had been kindled to protect them from the weather. Having exchanged salutations and embraced, the Austrian emperor styled his French foe, "Sir, my brother." "Such are the palaces," said Buonaparte, "which you have compelled me to occupy for the last two months." "You have made so good use of them," replied Francis, "that you ought not to complain of their accommodation." The interview lasted two hours. Buonaparte and Francis re-embracing each other, agreed that an armistice should be signed, by virtue of which all hostilities should cease, and the Russians should retire by slow marches into their own country. So pleased was Alexander with this condition, that when Savary waited on him next day, to obtain his consent to the terms, he, in his reply, styled Buonaparte "the predestined of Heaven." On the 6th the Russians commenced their march towards their own territories in a pitiable condition; and Buonaparte, on his departure from Vienna to superintend the negotiations for peace about to commence at Presburg, addressed the following proclamation to his troops:—"Soldiers! I am content with you: you have decorated your

eagles with immortal glory: peace cannot be now far distant. When everything necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country is obtained, I will lead you back to France. My people will again behold you with joy; and it will be enough for one of you to say, 'I was at the battle of Austerlitz,' for all your fellow-citizens to exclaim, 'There is a brave man!'" At the same time he gave liberal donations to all the officers and soldiers, and pensions to the wounded and the widows of the slain. On his road to Vienna, meeting a large convoy of wounded Austrians on their route for the hospitals, he descended from his carriage, and, with his hat off, said in a loud voice, as the wounded passed, "Honour to the brave in misfortune!"—an act which not only won the affections, but commanded the admiration of those who had lavished their blood in combating his powers.

On the 26th of December, about a fortnight after the fatal battle of Austerlitz, the treaty of Presburg was signed, by virtue of which Austria ceded Venice and the Venetian provinces in Upper Italy, Istria, Dalmatia, and those on the coast of Albania to France; to the Elector of Bavaria, the Tyrol and Vorarlberg; and to the other liege vassals of France (the electors of Würtemberg and Baden), Brisgau and other territories; thus transferring to the conqueror more than 20,000 square miles of territory, about 3,000,000 of subjects, and a revenue to the amount of ten million and a-half of florins. In a secret article, the same unhappy state agreed to pay to her conqueror 140,000,000 francs as a military contribution. On the 15th a treaty of alliance had been made between France and Prussia, by which Hanover was made over in full sovereignty to the last-mentioned power, on the cession of the margravates of Baireuth and Anspach, with the principalities of Neuchâtel and Cleves, to France. On the 27th, in the thirty-seventh bulletin issued from

Presburg, the conqueror announced that Marshal St. Cyr was advancing by rapid marches to Naples, "to punish the treason of a criminal queen." "Shall we pardon an infatuated king a fourth time?" exclaimed the haughty dispenser and despoiler of crowns. "No! the dynasty of Naples has ceased to reign—its existence is incompatible with the repose of Europe and the honour of my crown." In the meantime he had raised his vassals, the electors of Bavaria and Würtemberg, to the rank of kings;\* the Elector of Baden he had created grand-duke; and on his brother-in-law, Murat, he conferred the independent sovereignty of the grand-duchy of Berg, which Prussia had ceded on obtaining Hanover and the other British dominions in Germany. On the 29th, the principal actor in these memorable scenes announced the conclusion of peace to his soldiers, in which he observed, that "they should see him surrounded with the grandeur and splendour which belong to the sovereign of the first people in the universe."† He left Vienna (from the arsenal of which he had abstracted 2,000 pieces of cannon), and set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 25th of January, 1806, having recrossed the Rhine at Strasburg—one hundred days having elapsed since he had crossed that river and completed the campaign of Austerlitz.

Two episodes occurred during the memorable campaign of Austerlitz, which were the proximate causes for remodelling the dynasties of two of the ancient kingdoms of Europe.

On the breaking out of the war in 1805, it had been agreed by a convention entered into on the 21st of September, by Buonaparte and the King of Naples, that the French should withdraw their forces from the seaports which, in consequence of the rupture of the peace of Amiens, they had seized in the Neapolitan territories; and that the king should observe a strict neutrality.

\* The Emperor Francis, in the treaty of Presburg, had agreed to throw no obstacles in the way, either as chief of the empire, or as co-sovereign, of any acts which the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg or the Grand-Duke of Baden might think proper to adopt in their character of sovereigns: a condition which virtually dissolved the Germanic empire, and prepared the way for Buonaparte's future designs against the power of that weak prince.

† The latter part of that proclamation possesses a magic language, all-powerful on the hearts of soldiers, and contains that appeal to the feelings and sentiments, that tone of sympathy and companionship, which had so electric an effect, and produced

so marvellous heroism in his troops:—"In the beginning of May next, I shall give a *fête* in Paris, when, after all our hardships, you shall be arranged around my palace—the preservers of our national interest and glory, and the witnesses of our country's happiness. The idea that this felicity is in store for you imparts joy to my heart, and inspires me with the most tender emotions. We will consecrate, worthily, the memory of those who have died on the field of honour; till, inspired by the example of our fallen comrades, the world shall wonder at our deeds against those who would dare to assail our honour, or be basely seduced by the gold of the eternal enemies of the continent."

But the court of Naples, on the withdrawal of St. Cyr's army into the north of Italy to reinforce Massena's division against Prince Charles, manifesting its old aversion to its French alliance, a combined fleet—having on board 10,000 Russian and 3,000 English troops, from Malta and Corfu, in pursuance of the general plan of operations concerted by the allies—landed in Naples for the purpose of making a diversion in favour of Austria. The French ambassador immediately left Naples, and the consequence was Buonaparte's announcement, that the Neapolitan dynasty was no more. On receipt of the intelligence of the battle of Austerlitz, the English and Russians evacuated the Neapolitan territories on the main-land of Italy, and the imbecile king and his intriguing queen took refuge at Palermo in Sicily. Their son, the prince-royal, in whose favour they had abdicated, made no other use of his authority than to surrender Naples and other places to St. Cyr on his approach. Amidst the universal pusillanimity, one solitary instance of magnanimity and courage illumined the dark picture. The Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, who defended the strong fortress of Gaeta, refused to surrender it on terms of capitulation. "Tell your general," said he, "that Gaeta is not Ulm, nor the Prince of Hesse General Mack." The place was defended with a gallantry corresponding to the noble declaration made by its commander. It did not surrender till the 17th of July, 1806, and its brave governor had been dangerously wounded.

According, also, to the general plan of operations concerted by the allies, it was determined to effect a diversion in the north of Germany in favour of the Austro-Russian forces. For this purpose, 6,000 English troops, under General Don and Lord Cathcart, were dispatched to the Baltic. These

troops being joined by the king's German legion, landed in Swedish Pomerania. There they formed a junction with 12,000 Swedes and about 10,000 Russians. The King of Sweden, who was an enthusiastic member of the Anti-Gallican league, was appointed to the command. The object of the expedition was, after having freed Hanover, to advance to Holland, and having liberated that country, to threaten the north of France. The king, desirous of emulating the deeds of Charles XII., and his namesake, Gustavus Adolphus, when he reached Hamburg, assumed the title of "Liberator of Germany;" but, instead of advancing to the field of action, employed the time in issuing Quixotic proclamations. In the middle of November, he entered the electorate of Hanover, and laid siege to Hameln; but, in the midst of his operations, hearing of the battle of Austerlitz, the allies hastily broke up the siege; the English re-embarked their forces, the Russians retreated into Mecklenburg, and the Swedes took shelter under the cannon of the well-fortified town of Stralsund. The unfortunate Gustavus Adolphus was received with unwillingness and terror by his subjects, who were aware that he had incurred the resentment of Napoleon Buonaparte. Machinations soon began to be agitated for his dethronement, he being looked on as one with whom Napoleon Buonaparte could never be reconciled; and thus it was endeavoured to avert from Sweden the punishment which it was supposed must otherwise fall on it, as well as on the king.

On September the 9th, the revolutionary calendar having been found to occasion much trouble and confusion in political and commercial transactions, both at home and abroad, was formally abolished, and the months and days assumed their ancient names and divisions.

#### CAPTURE OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

IN the autumn of the last year, an expedition had been dispatched to recover the Cape of Good Hope, which, at the peace of Amiens, had been delivered up to the Dutch. The expedition consisted of a squadron, composed of three 64-gun ships, one 50, and four frigates and sloops, under the orders of Commodore Sir Home Popham, and 5,000 troops, commanded by Major-

general Sir David Baird. Having touched at St. Salvador for refreshments, the squadron set sail on the 26th of November, and on the 4th of January, 1806, anchored to the westward of Robben Island, which lies at the entrance of False Bay. On the 6th, the highland brigade, consisting of the 71st, 73rd, and 93rd regiments, under the command of Brigadier Ferguson, effected a

landing, although the surf ran with tremendous violence, and the sharpshooters of the enemy kept up an annoying fire. On the 7th, the 24th, 59th, and 83rd, having completed their landing, with two howitzers and six field-pieces, in Leopard's Bay, the two columns moved on towards Cape Town. Ascending the Blue Mountains, they found the enemy, to the amount of about 5,000 men, with twenty-three pieces of cannon, under the command of Lieutenant-general Jansens, drawn up ready to receive them. After a few rounds of cannon and musketry, the Scotch brigade, under Ferguson, impetuously advancing to the assault, the enemy took to flight, having sustained a loss in killed and wounded of 700 men, while that of the assailants was 204. On the 9th, Baird reached the Salt river, where

he encamped, the battering train not having yet come up; but a flag of truce arriving from the commanding officer of Cape Town, with offers to capitulate, on the following morning articles of capitulation were signed; and on the 12th, the English took possession of Cape Town and its dependencies, on the several batteries of which were 113 pieces of brass cannon, and 343 pieces of iron ordnance. Jansens, after the battle of the 8th, retired to the Hottentot territory of Hollands Kloof, in the interior, where he showed a disposition to defend himself; but General Beresford having been detached against him, he surrendered, and was included in the general conditions—as a prisoner, to be conveyed to Holland, with the Dutch troops and garrison.

#### INVASION OF NAPLES.

ON the withdrawal from Naples of the troops under St. Cyr, to reinforce Massena in Italy, an Anglo-Russian squadron had landed, on the 20th of November, 1805, in the bay of Naples, 10,000 English troops, under Sir James Craig, from Sicily, and 14,000 Russians, under General Lasey, from the Ionian Isles. The English were cantoned at Castel-à-Mare, Torre del Greco, and the vicinity; and the Russians were quartered at Naples and its environs. No sooner were the troops on shore than the King of Naples (in violation of his treaty of neutrality, concluded on the 21st of September, on the departure of the French troops under St. Cyr) began, at the instigation of his queen, Caroline, the sister of Marie Antoinette, to make preparations for active hostilities. When a knowledge of this breach of treaty reached Napoleon—the day after the signing of the treaty at Presburg—he issued from his head-quarters at Vienna, the proclamation that the Neapolitan branch of the Bourbon dynasty had ceased to reign. Intelligence of Buonaparte's threat being received at Naples, the Russians and English took measures for their safety. A courier had arrived with orders from the emperor Alexander for the Russian troops to re-embark and return to Corfu. The retreat of the Russians led necessarily to that of the English, who returned to Sicily, whither they were quickly followed by the Neapolitan king and queen. Immediately after the por-

tentous proclamation was issued by Napoleon, a French army under Joseph Buonaparte, assisted by Massena, Regnier, and other generals, were on their march for Naples. On the 9th of February, 1806, the French were at Ferentino, on the frontiers of the kingdom, and marched forward in three divisions. The right, commanded by Regnier, advanced on Gaeta. The centre division, under Massena, met with no resistance in its march to Naples, which Joseph Buonaparte entered on the 15th. Capua had surrendered on the 12th. The third division of the French army had marched for Taranto, which important city they took possession of without opposition.

The whole kingdom of Naples had now submitted to the French, except Gaeta and Civitella del Tranto, in the farther Abruzzo. Gaeta, which is situate on a rocky promontory, three sides of which are washed by the sea, and on the fourth joined to the continent by a narrow and well-fortified isthmus, was summoned to surrender; but its governor, the Prince of Hesse-Philippstahl, as already narrated, gallantly refusing to comply, its siege was commenced.

On the application of the King of Naples, Admiral Lord Collingwood dispatched a small squadron, under Sir Sidney Smith, to protect Sicily, and give such aid and assistance to Gaeta as should be practicable. About the middle of April, Sir Sidney arrived with five ships-of-the-line, besides frigates, trans-

ports, and gun-boats, on the coast of Italy, and began his operations by introducing into Gaeta supplies of stores and ammunition, of which its garrison were in want. Having performed this service, and left at Gaeta a flotilla of gun-boats under the protection of a frigate, he proceeded to the bay of Naples, spreading so great alarm along the coast, that the French conveyed in haste to Naples part of their battering train from the trenches before Gaeta, in order to protect it from attack. It happened that at the moment Sir Sidney came within sight of Naples, that city was illuminated on account of Joseph Buonaparte having been proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. It was in the power of the English admiral to have disturbed the festivities of the intrusive king; but as the sufferers from his interference must have been the inhabitants, he humanely forbore, and made for the Isle of Capri—which commands the Gulf of Naples, and lies immediately opposite that city, at the distance of twenty-five miles—of which he took possession, after a slight resistance, and placed in it an English garrison. He then proceeded southward along the coast, giving all the annoyance in his power to the enemy; obstructing by land, and intercepting entirely by sea their communications along the shore, so as to retard their operations against Gaeta. On the return of Sir Sidney to Palermo, the king and queen appointed him their viceroy in Calabria, for the purpose of organising an insurrection in that province; but the British admiral soon found that unless an English army made its appearance in the district, all efforts would be ineffectual: it was therefore proposed to invade the province with part of the English forces then in Sicily.

When Sir James Craig retired to Sicily from Naples, he established his headquarters at Messina, where he continued till the month of April, when, in consequence of ill-health, he resigned his command to Sir John Stuart, and returned home. Shortly after this his Sicilian majesty entrusted him with the defence of the eastern coast of

Sicily, and also gave him the command of the Sicilian troops in that district. Sir John hesitated for a considerable time before he consented to assist in the schemes of the Neapolitan court in aiding the insurgents in Calabria. But being encouraged by the flattering accounts given of the anxiety of the Calabrese to free themselves of their French invaders, he at length consented to embark a portion of his forces, and test the sincerity of the inhabitants.

Accordingly, on the 1st of July, the British general landed in a bay in the Gulf of St. Euphemia with an army of 4,800 men—all infantry—and twelve light field-pieces. Above a third of this small army consisted of Corsicans, Sicilians, and other foreigners in British pay.

A proclamation was issued inviting the Calabrians to join the standard of their lawful sovereign; but few or none obeying the summons, the English general was undecided whether to re-embark his troops or advance forwards, when intelligence reached him that Regnier, with 4,000 infantry and 300 cavalry, was encamped on the sloping side of a wooded hill below the village of Maida, about ten miles distant from the British posts, and where he was hourly expecting a reinforcement of 3,000 troops. On the morning of the 4th of July, the English general advanced against the enemy's position. Regnier, from a supercilious contempt of his opponents, as also jealousy of Stuart, who had been personally opposed to him in Egypt, descended from the heights on which he was posted, and crossing the river Amato, which ran along his front, took his position in the plain. As the French army descended to the plain, Stuart perceived that Regnier had been strengthened with the reinforcements he had expected, and that instead of being nearly equally matched, as they had been on the previous day, he was outnumbered by more than one-half. Nothing daunted, however, the British general hastened to the encounter. The battle commenced on the morning of the 4th of July 1806.

#### THE BATTLE OF MAIDA.

THE battle began on the right of the English army. After some close firing, both sides prepared to charge with the bayonet.

The right was composed of the light companies of the 26th, 27th, 35th, 58th, 61st, 81st, and 85th regiments—chiefly young

and beardless recruits—with a few foreigners. The first legion (the famed French regiment of light infantry) advanced with loud cheers to the charge, and were gallantly and promptly met by their opponents. Lieutenant-colonel Kempt, perceiving that his men were suffering from the heat occasioned by the blankets strapped on their backs, halted the line for a few moments, to allow them to disengage themselves of their encumbrance. The French, thinking this pause was the hesitation of fear, advanced with a quickened step and renewed courage. But their elation was momentary. The British line gave a true English hurrah, and onward they rushed with levelled bayonets. Few of the vaunting Frenchmen waited the shock, and, crossing bayonets, they were quickly put *hors de combat*. The famed first legion, being thrown into irremediable disorder, endeavoured to take to flight; but it was too late: Ackland's brigade, which was immediately on the left of the British light infantry, met them again with the bayonet, and soon covered the plain with their dead and wounded; and in a few moments the whole left wing of the enemy was routed and dispersed.

Regnier now made an effort with his right to retrieve the honour of the day. He assailed the British left with both cavalry and infantry; but Cole's brigade repelled them with a rolling fire of musketry. The discomfited squadrons then rapidly wheeling round, endeavoured to turn Cole's flank; but the 20th regiment,\* which had been landed from Sicily only that morning, and which had marched with breathless speed for the scene of action, opportunely appearing on the battle-field, and taking up their position on a small cover on the flank, by a rapid and well-directed fire, repelled the cavalry, who took to flight, leaving the battle-field in undisputed possession of the British. Thus the vapouring, supercilious Regnier (as his own countryman, Paul Louis Courier† admits), was, with his veteran experienced troops, "beaten in a few minutes" by young, beardless levies. The loss of the French, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded 4,000 men; that of the English, 45 killed and 282 wounded. The victorious English continued the pursuit as long as they were able; and Regnier never halted in his head-

long flight till he effected a junction with Verdier's division in the intrenched camp of Cassano. He committed the greatest atrocities in his flight; his line of march being marked with burning villages and hamlets, and every town sacked, and their inhabitants massacred and insulted.

The results of this victory were considerable. All the forts along the Tyrrhenian Sea, with the depôts of artillery, stores, and ammunition, collected for the conquest of Sicily, fell into the hands of Stuart's little army. But, glorious and successful as the expedition had been to Calabria, it was attended with the loss of Gaeta, which surrendered on the 20th of July. Sir John Stuart, being sensible of his inability to maintain the ground he had won, announced his intention of withdrawing the British forces to Sicily. On the 18th of July, his head-quarters were at Bagnara, near Reggio; and on the 23rd the fort of Scylla, opposite Messina (a place of great importance for the secure navigation of the straits), having surrendered to one of his officers, the whole of the British forces were, on the 5th of September, withdrawn from Calabria, except the garrison of Scylla and a detachment of the 78th regiment, under Colonel M'Leod, which was sent with a small squadron of ships, under the command of Captain Hoste, to Cotrone, on the Ionian Sea; which place, with all its magazines, stores, and forty pieces of heavy ordnance, with 1,000 prisoners, capitulated. General Ackland was also dispatched to the bay of Naples with the 58th and 81st regiments, to make demonstrations in that direction which might alarm the enemy, and deter him from sending reinforcements against the Calabrian insurgents. For the purpose of promoting the insurrection, and expelling the enemy from the watch-towers and castles which they occupied upon the shore, Sir Sidney Smith hovered with a squadron along the coast, assisting the insurgents with arms and ammunition, supplying them with provisions, and conveying them from one place to another. The guerilla warfare which ensued was accompanied with the most savage cruelty on both sides. The leaders of the insurgents were men of the most infamous character. Fra Diavolo had been a robber and a murderer. The crimes of the priest, Paul de Grano, were so enormous, that his own wicked associates were compelled to punish

\* The 20th regiment was included in the number (4,795 men) who constituted the British army at the battle of Maida.

† *Mémoires, Correspondence, &c.*

him. Before the end of the year, above one-half of the 70,000 men who had accompanied Joseph Buonaparte into the Neapolitan territory, were either dead or in a hopeless state in hospital. When Sir John Stuart returned from his glorious expedition to Calabria, he found Lieutenant-general Fox arrived at Messina, to take the chief command of the British forces in Italy. General Fox appointed Sir John to resume operations in Calabria. On Sir John reaching the field of operations, he succeeded in restoring some degree of order in the country,

and repressing the excesses of the *massé* or insurgents; but Sir John Moore, his senior officer, arriving with reinforcements from England, Sir John Stuart was superseded in command, and returned to England. But the season of the year being unfavourable for military operations in Calabria, and Sir John Moore being of opinion that no advantage would attend co-operation with the insurgents, the court of Palermo was compelled to abandon its designs on Naples, and leave Joseph Buonaparte in quiet possession of his usurped throne.

#### EXPEDITION TO THE RIVER PLATE, SOUTH AMERICA.

FOR the purpose of opening a new source of commerce to the merchants of Britain, who, by the measures of Buonaparte, were debarred from direct intercourse with the other countries of Europe, as also with the Spanish transatlantic possessions, Sir Home Popham had been appointed, during the Pitt administration, to confer with the insurgent general, Miranda, and concert measures with him for the purpose of enabling the British to attain a position on the continent of South America favourable for the promotion of the trade of England. But, in deference to Russia, the project was abandoned for the time. However, after the reduction of the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Home, being in command of the naval force there, determined, on his own responsibility, to undertake an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the River Plate. Having induced General Baird to allow General Beresford to accompany him with a portion of the land force which had captured the Cape, he set sail from Table Bay in the beginning of April, 1806, and proceeded to St. Helena, where he was joined by two companies of infantry. His land force now, including marines, amounted to 1,600 men; and with these he sailed, on the 2nd of May, for his destination. The fleet made Cape St. Mayo, on the coast of South America, on the 8th of June, and on the following day, passing Monte Video, stood over to the south side of the river on which Buenos Ayres is situated. On the 24th the troops were disembarked about twelve miles from the city, and advanced against the enemy, who were posted behind a morass at the village of Reduccion, about two miles from the beach. The British guns having been

checked in their progress in the bay, the Spaniards opened fire on the assailants; but as soon as the British got near to them, they took to flight, though they had 2,000 cavalry in their ranks. When the British approached the hill to which the enemy had fled, the little English army intrepidly mounted the eminence, under a heavy fire of ordnance and musketry, dislodged their opponents, and drove them across the little river Chuelo. The city, unable to withstand the attack, capitulated on the 27th, the viceroy having previously retreated to Cordova with the garrison.

The Plate River being remarkably shoal (the flats extending so far from its banks as to render the approach impracticable for large ships, and dangerous for small ones), the squadron, while the land forces were thus employed, made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of those places. On the 28th, the British flag was displayed on the walls of Buenos Ayres. Booty of public money, stores, artillery, and shipping in the river, to a considerable extent, fell into the hands of the victors; above one million and a-quarter of dollars were forwarded to the English exchequer, and above double that amount of quicksilver was seized for the benefit of the captors. Sir Home Popham drew a magnificent picture of the mercantile value of the conquest, and the British traders were mightily entranced with dreams of a new El Dorado. But before the rejoicing for so splendid a victory had run its course, the captors were captives; and previous to the event being announced in England, Buenos Ayres had reverted to Spain.

The Spaniards had recovered from their surprise and panic, and felt ashamed at their humiliation by a mere handful of men. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres incited the country-people to arms, and an insurrection was organised in the city. When the plot had arrived at maturity, Linières, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, favoured by a thick fog, crossed the river on the 4th of August, and landed at Conchas, above Buenos Ayres, with 1,000 men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city, and summoned the castle to surrender. The white inhabitants of the town were now in arms. The small English garrison, assailed by several thousand men from without, and the whole population within the city, after a desperate conflict which lasted several hours (during which they were exposed to a destructive fire from the windows, roofs, and through holes in the street-doors), was obliged to capitulate. The loss of the little band, in street-fighting, was 165 in killed and wounded. Thirteen

hundred surrendered, who, contrary to the articles of capitulation, were detained prisoners, and marched up the country.

At the time of this calamitous affair, Sir Home Popham was on board the squadron blockading the Plate River, and from the quarter-deck of the *Diadem* was a witness to this reverse of fortune resulting from his improvident measures. He continued to blockade the river till the arrival of troops from the Cape of Good Hope, in October, enabled him to recommence offensive operations. He prepared for the attack of Monte Video, but from the shallowness of the river, he was forced to desist from the enterprise. On the 29th a body of troops was landed at Maldonado, under Colonel Vassall, and the Spaniards having been driven from that place, and from the isle of Gorriti, a sufficient space was gained for the encampment of the troops, and a safe anchorage procured for the shipping. In that situation the British forces remained during the year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for the ensuing campaign.

#### NAVAL AFFAIRS OF THIS YEAR.

THE efforts of the British navy during this year were confined to the service of protecting the British colonies and commerce from the numerous squadrons of the enemy which, during the winter months, had eluded the vigilance of the English blockading squadrons, and escaped to sea; but as soon as the course of the marauding expeditions was traced, they were so hotly pursued and closely watched, that they were compelled to renounce their projects, and consult their safety in flight. Few of the ships employed in these designs returned to France. The greater part of them were either taken or destroyed; and others perished in storms while running in search of some friendly port to shelter them from pursuit.

The only squadron which returned to France during the present year, was the

Rochefort squadron, under Admiral Allemand, which had sailed from that port about the middle of the last year. After having waited in vain at the appointed latitude of rendezvous, for the other squadrons of the combined fleets destined for the invasion of England, he proceeded to cruise; and falling in with the *Calcutta*\* of 56 guns, and many other vessels, neutral and English, he returned in the beginning of this year, bringing with him 1,200 English prisoners belonging to the captured vessels, and property to the value of one million sterling.

The fleet which escaped from Brest† harbour in December of the last year, and which consisted of eleven ships-of-the-line, four frigates, and three brig-corvettes, after having been ten days at sea, separated into

\* The *Calcutta* was on her voyage from China, in a convoy of Indiamen and other vessels. The captain (Woodriff), on view of the enemy, threw his ship between the chasing ships and the convoy, engaging the *Armede*, a 44-gun frigate, and afterwards the *Magnanime*, of 74 guns, for nearly an hour. Having thus occupied the attention of the enemy until all his convoy (except a West Indian brig) were in safety,

being much disabled, and seeing no prospect of escape, he surrendered.

† As soon as intelligence reached the Admiralty of the escape of the Brest fleet, two squadrons—one of seven sail-of-the-line, under Sir John Borlase Warren, and the other of six sail-of-the-line, under Sir Richard Strachan—were immediately detached in pursuit.

two squadrons; one of which, consisting of five ships-of-the-line, two frigates, and a corvette, under Admiral Leissegues, and having 1,000 troops and ammunition on board, for the reinforcement of General Ferrand at St. Domingo, proceeded to that port and disembarked the troops and ammunition for the use of the colony. He then refitted, took in water in the bay of Occa, and remained there for nearly a fortnight.

Sir John Duckworth, who had been cruising off Cadiz till the beginning of December, 1805, having been informed by the *Lark*

that the Rochefort squadron had taken a small convoy off the Salvages—a cluster of rocks between Madeira and Teneriffe—raised the blockade, and ran with five ships-of-the-line and two frigates for Madeira; but not falling in with the enemy, he steered with all the sail he could carry for Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 12th of January, 1806, and was informed that a French fleet had been at St. Domingo. Thither Duckworth steered, and at day-break of the 6th of February, discovered the enemy at anchor in the road of St. Domingo.

#### NAVAL BATTLE OFF ST. DOMINGO.

As soon as the French admiral saw the enemy, recollecting the results of the battles of the Nile and Trafalgar, he slipped his cables and got out to sea; but notwithstanding all his efforts to escape, he was overtaken and brought to action. The battle commenced about ten o'clock, A.M.; and after a desperate conflict of two hours, the whole of the enemy's line-of-battle ships were either taken or destroyed; three having struck their colours, and two having been driven ashore and burned. The two frigates and the corvette, which had stood out to sea during the engagement, escaped; but one of the frigates, injured by the storm, and running under jury-masts, was captured by a sloop-of-war. The loss of the British squadron was seventy-four killed and 264 wounded; that on board the three captured French ships exceeded 700 in killed and wounded. The British squadron consisted of one 80-gun ship, five 74's, and one 64; the French, one 120-gun ship, two of 84 guns, and two 74's.

The second squadron of the Brest fleet, under Admiral Villameuz, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope; but Villameuz touching at the Isle of Noronha, and ascertaining that that settlement was in possession of the English, he set sail for the West Indies, in hopes of falling in with the homeward-bound Jamaica fleet. He arrived at Martinique about the end of June. Thither he was tracked by Sir Alexander Cochrane, whose look-out frigates watched all his movements, but who declined the risk of an engagement until reinforced by Sir John Warren's squadron, which had been dispatched from Spithead on the 4th

of June. Villameuz having refitted his squadron, and being deserted by the *Veteran*, (on board which was Jerome Buonaparte, whom his brother wished to make an invincible sailor), he set sail for the coast of Newfoundland, with the hope of capturing the English fishing-vessels and destroying the establishments there. But scarcely had he turned his ships towards the north, before he was assailed by a furious tempest. On the 14th of September, his flag-ship, the *Foudroyant*, was attacked by the English frigate *Anson*, under the very guns of the Moro Castle; but the French ship being too powerful, the frigate bore off, and the *Foudroyant* reached Havannah. Strachan's ships had been dispersed by the same hurricane which had scattered the French ships; but on the 15th, when the *Impetueux* was standing in for the Chesapeake river, she was descried by two English 74's, was driven ashore, and burned. Two other 74's, which had entered the same bay, were also destroyed by Strachan's ships. The *Cassant*, which was the only ship that escaped, reached Rochefort in the middle of October in a deplorable condition. The runaway Prince Jerome, while carrying all sail in the *Veteran* for Europe, falling in with the homeward-bound Quebec convoy, captured and burned six of the trading vessels; but being chased when near the French coast by a ship-of-the-line and two frigates, to effect his escape he ran into the rock-bound port of Concarneau, having previously cast off his prizes. The *Veteran* was afterwards stranded and abandoned, the commander thinking himself fortunate to save the crew and guns.

Admiral Linois had for above two years cruised in the Chinese and Indian seas almost unmolested, and during that time inflicted considerable damage on the British eastern commerce. However, since his repulse by the China mercantile fleet, and the 50-gun ship *Centurion*, in the autumn of the preceding year, he found his situation had become desperate, having only the *Marengo*, 74, and the 44-gun frigate *La Belle Poule*, the rest of his squadron having been lost or sent homeward with the prizes he had taken; he therefore determined to make a bold push through the British vessels in search of him in the Indian Ocean, and endeavour to reach Brest, from which port he had sailed near three years before. On reaching the European latitudes, he was descried by Sir John Warren's squadron; and after a short action with the English flag-ship (the *London*, 98) and the *Amazon* frigate, he surrendered. The loss on board the *London* and *Amazon*, was fourteen killed and twenty-seven wounded; the loss of the *Marengo* and *La Belle Poule*, was sixty-nine killed and 106 wounded. About the same time, Sir Edward Pellew, who had been long looking for Linois in the Indian sea, found a Dutch 36-gun frigate, six other armed vessels, and about twenty merchantmen, and brought off as prizes two armed vessels and two merchantmen in the Straits of Sunda. In September, Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, while cruising off Rochefort, after a running fight of several hours, captured four or five large frigates, which had escaped out of that harbour, and were destined for the West Indies, with stores, arms, ammunition, &c., on board, for the reinforcement of Trinidad and St. Domingo.

The instances of courage, skill, and enterprise displayed by the navy of England, during this year, were numerous. The capture of the *Pomona* frigate, on the coast of Cuba (August 23rd), though defended by a strong castle and a formidable line of gun-boats, all of which were destroyed by the two English frigates, the *Arethusa* and *Anson*; the action between the French frigate, the *Salamander*, of 44 guns, supported by batteries and troops on shore, and the English sloop, the *Constance* of 24 guns, assisted by a sloop of war and a gun-brig, in which both vessels were stranded and lost, but not until the enemy had been compelled to strike his colours, and had been taken possession of; and the boldness and intrepidity displayed in

numerous actions, in which vessels were cut out from under the protection of batteries, or in other circumstances unfavourable for attack, reflect honour on those engaged in the hazardous enterprises, and add additional glory to the British marine. In this species of warfare, the 12-pounder 32-gun frigate, commanded by Lord Cochrane, stood pre-eminent. In April, that intrepid seaman was stationed in the Bay of Biscay. Receiving information that two brig-corvettes were lying in the river Gironde, a little after dark he manned the boats of his frigate, the *Pallas*, and sent them up the river. The two vessels were above the shoals, and protected by two heavy land batteries. After dark on the evening of the 5th of April, Cochrane being prevented by the shoals from getting into the river, anchored his frigate close to the Cordovan lighthouse, and sending his boats in, the sailors boarded the vessel (though she mounted fourteen long-pounders, with a crew of ninety-five men) and brought her out. But daylight and the flood-tide found the gallant captors still within risk of being retaken. The French corvette weighed, and brought them to action; but, after an hour's contest, was compelled to sheer off, and saved from capture merely by the rapidity of the tide. While his boats were thus gallantly employed, Cochrane perceiving three vessels—two ship-corvettes, numbering 20 guns each, and the third a brig-corvette, mounting 16 guns—approaching his frigate, he chased and drove them on shore. A few days afterwards, while reconnoitring a strong French squadron, which lay at anchor in the roads of the Isle of Aix, the *Pallas* stood in; and, while counting the enemy, a 44-gun frigate and three brig-corvettes came out to drive the daring Englishman away, but in vain; as the enemy approached, the *Pallas* fired at them several broadsides, and at the same moment the *Iris* frigate and the *Hazard* sloop, which were cruising off Chasseron, hove in view; the French ships immediately stretched in under cover of the land batteries. Taking another peep into Aix-roued, the little *Pallas* tempted out the afore-mentioned frigate and three corvettes. Cochrane waited for the enemy till within point-blank shot, when he threw in a destructive broadside. After the contest had lasted two hours, the *Pallas* was run right on board the French frigate. As the two vessels struck, the guns of the *Pallas* were knocked back into their ports; but as their breachings were uninjured, they were dis-

charged with terrible effect into the French frigate's side. Although the *Pallas* was much injured by the collision, her gallant captain was still sanguine of making her enemy his prize, when two other French frigates bearing up in the offing to the assistance of their countrymen, the *Pallas* sheered off as quick as her damaged condition would allow. Among the other gallant exploits of that daring seaman, the following is deserving of mention. Finding himself much annoyed by the signal-posts on the French coast, which conveyed intelligence of his movements, he landed and destroyed them in different localities (though defended by batteries and garrisons), spiking the guns, and throwing the shot and shell into the sea.

We shall now notice the encounter between the *Warren Hastings* (East-Indiaman) and the French 44-gun frigate, the *Piedmontaise*. The *Warren Hastings*, which was on her voyage to China, fell in with the *Piedmontaise* on the 21st of June. After maintaining the contest for nearly five hours, and sustaining six assaults of the enemy, the merchantman was compelled to haul down her colours. The *Warren Hastings* mounted 36 guns, and her crew numbered 138 men and boys. Exclusive of 46 carriage-guns, the *Piedmontaise* carried swivels and musketoons in her tops and along her gun-wales. In other respects, she was armed in an extraordinary manner. On each fore and main-yard was fixed a tripod, calculated to contain a shell weighing five hundred-weight. In the event of the vessel and her antagonist getting close alongside of each other, the shell was to have its fuse lighted by a man lying out on the yard-arm: it was then to be ejected from the tripod, and if it fell upon the deck of the hostile vessel, it would, from its weight, pass through the deck, and as soon as its progress was arrested, project in all directions its destructive materials; and in the midst of the confusion, a boarding was to be attempted. The crew were also (in addition to the usual weapons) armed with a poniard stuck through the button-holes of their jackets.

Thus the English may be said to have possessed universal dominion of the seas. "Fearless and unresisted, the English fleets and ships-of-war navigated the ocean in every part of the globe, transporting troops, convoying merchantmen, and blockading, with as much security as if they had been traversing an inland sea of the British dominions." And though the ruler of France,

despairing of success in his maritime schemes, had recourse to his project of the continental system, founded on the Berlin and Milan decrees, for the destruction of British commerce and navigation, the commercial affairs of England continued to flourish with increased vigour.

In the course of the summer the attention of the British government had been anxiously directed towards the critical situation of Portugal. It had been manifest, for a considerable time, that as soon as France should terminate her differences with the Germanic powers, and establish such a peace in the north as her eminent successes entitled her to dictate, she would turn her arms against the only remaining ally of England upon the continent, and that she would easily succeed in dissolving that connexion, if not in subjugating the Portuguese nation. This apprehension was founded on the want of energy which had, of late years, been conspicuous in the courts both of Lisbon and Madrid, and the feeble state to which the resources of both states had been reduced by a long course of imbecile government, both civil and ecclesiastical. In the last war, it had also been evident that the Spanish cabinet, so far from offering any obstacle to the destruction of its weak neighbour, had actively assisted France in the easy passage afforded the French troops for the invasion of Portugal, and had appropriated to herself the province of Olivenza, as her recompense, at the peace which followed. The probability of the rupture of the negotiations then pending between England and France, tended also to induce the British ministry to provide means for the assistance of Portugal, it being certain that the rupture would be the signal for immediately marching an army from Bayonne to the Tagus. Orders were therefore immediately dispatched to the Earl of St. Vincent, who was then cruising off Brest with the Channel fleet, to proceed to the Tagus with six sail-of-the-line—the number restricted by treaty to be kept at one time in that river. The rest of the Channel fleet, and the squadron off Ferrol, were in readiness to reinforce that detachment, should occasion require. In the meantime, a large and well-appointed army was assembled at Plymouth, under Lieutenant-general Simcoe and the Earl of Rosslyn, and kept embarked ready to proceed on their destination as soon as the state of Portuguese affairs required. Lord Rosslyn was, on the 25th of August, despatched to the court of Lisbon, to offer

the whole naval, military, and pecuniary resources of England, as far as the same were disposable, to assist the Portuguese in defending themselves from the threatened invasion; but if, from the influence of French councils, or the terror of the army of France, the court of Lisbon should be indisposed to accept the proffered assistance, then the British negotiators (the earls of St. Vincent and Rosslyn) were instructed to offer the fleet and the army already embarked at Portsmouth, and all necessary supplies of money, for the purpose of securing the Portuguese government a safe retreat in the Brazils, and establishing them there as an independent state; but should the court be too timid or too slothful, for the crisis in which it was placed, to feel disposed to defend its dominions in Europe, or to retreat to those in South America, the negotiators were instructed to declare, that should the enemy invade Portugal, it would then become necessary to prevent the Portuguese fleet from falling into the hands of the enemy.

But as, during the interval between the sailing of Lord St. Vincent's squadron and the opening of the communications at Lisbon, a considerable change had taken place in the aspect of affairs in the north of Europe—the Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify d'Oubril's treaty with France, the King of Prussia having begun his preparations of war with France, and it being apprehended that Austria would not remain neutral in a contest of so vital magnitude,—the natural consequence was, that the designs of France on Portugal were for the present abandoned, and as a matter of course, British protection of that state not being immediately necessary, the British fleet was withdrawn from the Tagus, and the troops assembled at Portsmouth were disembarked. The troops collected at Bayonne for the invasion of Portugal were countermanded for the armies in Germany, and a large body of Spanish troops was marched to the assistance of France in that country.

In the early part of this year, negotiations for peace between France and England were entered into. The transaction took its rise from a particular circumstance. A few days after the formation of Mr. Fox's cabinet, a French emigrant, calling himself Guillet de la Gevrière, but who was supposed to have been an emissary of the French government, called on the British minister, and offered, for a reward, to assassinate Napoleon Buonaparte, in pursuance of a

plan which had been entered into at Paris—a proposal which was immediately communicated, on the part of the British government, to Talleyrand, with information that the British laws did not authorise the detention of foreigners beyond a limited time, unless guilty of some offence for which they were amenable; but that the party had been taken into custody, and would not be liberated till the lapse of a sufficient time to allow the French government to take the necessary precautions against the meditated design. Napoleon Buonaparte, in reply, directed Talleyrand to express his thanks for the information, and taking advantage of the opportunity thus afforded, sent for Lord Yarmouth, who was one of the *détenus* at the rupture of the peace of Amiens, and dispatched him to London with certain proposals for a treaty of peace, in which he voluntarily offered to recognise, in favour of England, the possessions of Malta and the Cape of Good Hope. Lord Lauderdale was sent to Paris, on the part of the British government, and Champagny and General Clarke were, on the part of France, dispatched to London, to enter into terms of pacification. The basis of the negotiation was the principle of *uti possidetis*—that is, the allowing each party to retain the advantages obtained by arms during the war; but the insincerity of the French government in its proceedings occasioned the negotiations to be broken off, after being under consideration for six months; and towards the end of September, Lord Lauderdale demanded and obtained his passports.

While these events were taking place in Europe, the negroes of St. Domingo, under the guidance of Christophe and Petion, rose against Dessalines, on account of his tyranny and cruelty. Dessalines having been displaced and executed, a republican form of government was established, and Christophe contrived to get himself elected chief or president; but Petion, jealous of his power, accused him of designs against the liberties of the republic. A bloody war ensued between the rivals. Eventually, Petion was driven to take refuge at Port-au-Prince, where he maintained himself and his republic for near eleven years; and Christophe, remaining undisputed master of the greater part of the island, proclaimed himself Emperor of Hayti. He was publicly crowned July 2nd, 1812, and, in exercise of his prerogative, created an hereditary nobility of the negro kingdom.

## THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1806.

BESIDES the various kingdoms and principalities which he had erected in favour of his relations, and engrafting his family on the ancient dynasties of Europe by matrimonial alliances, Napoleon Buonaparte surrounded the institutions of his newly-formed empire with the same formalities and rites as distinguished the old monarchies of Europe. A new nobility was created, comprising hereditary principalities, dukedoms, and countries, with grand fiefs attached. Dukedoms and imperial fiefs of the kingdom of Naples and the newly-erected kingdom of Italy were also created. Sault, Bessières, Duroc, Champagne, Victor, Moncey, Mortier, Clarke, Murat, Savary, Caulaincourt, Cambacères, Lebrun, Lannes, Massena, Augereau, Fouché, &c., became dukes of Dalmatia, Istria, Friuli, Cadore, Belluno, Conegliano, Treviso, Feltri, Bassano, Vicenza, Rovigo, Parma, Piacenza, Montebello, Rivoli, Castiglione, Otranto, &c. Princedoms also were created, of whom Talleyrand, Bernadotte, and Berthier were the first, and designated as princes of Benevento, Pontecorvo, and Neufchâtel. When territories could not be conveniently attached to the titles, or when those territories were not adequate to furnish an income, pensions were drawn from the conquered and tributary countries. All the members of the senate were styled counts—designations which these conscript fathers received with loud plaudits; though they had taken oaths innumerable against the “accursed distinctions of title, rank, and hereditary aristocracy.”

As the hostility of Prussia became daily more apparent, Napoleon now determined to put into execution his design of the Confederation of the Rhine. By this confederacy he calculated on being able to have at his disposal nearly a fourth of the military force of Germany. For this purpose, the plenipotentiaries of Bavaria, Würtemberg, and a number of the German princes,

whose territories lay on the right bank of the Rhine, formed themselves into an alliance, offensive and defensive, and renounced their allegiance to the German diet. By the act of confederation, the states in alliance were declared to be severed for ever from the Germanic empire, and placed themselves under the protection of the Emperor of the French, as “their protector and mediator.” The Emperor Francis, fearing that these measures would have the effect of stripping the holy Roman empire of its supremacy, had, at an early stage of the proceedings, laid aside his title of Emperor of Germany, and now formally declared the ties dissevered which had bound the German states in allegiance to him and to one another as allies, reserving to himself the imperial title only as the sovereign of Austria, and of his other hereditary states.

The course of events now rendered war inevitable between France, Russia, and Prussia. Under the guidance of the British government, the Emperor Alexander, having been diverted from the pacific policy which he had recently adopted, refused to ratify the act of his envoy (d’Oubril) at Paris, and entered into a new contract with England to renew the war, and stand forth to assist Prussia as the champion of the north. The moving cause of this renewal of general hostilities was Hanover. As Napoleon Buonaparte, when he made the cession of the electorate of Hanover to Prussia, did not consider it a final disposition, he was willing, as the basis of a general peace, to restore it with his other German possessions to the King of England, and to indemnify Prussia in some manner. The King of Prussia, notwithstanding his former professions that he held Hanover only until peace should be restored, unwilling to let his prize escape, was exasperated beyond measure to find that the consequences of his duplicity were likely to fall upon himself.\* He perceived that the time when decisive conduct on his

\* The reader will perceive that vacillation and mean duplicity were as much the characteristic of Prussia in the time of Napoleon as they are at the present day; and there is but little doubt that the same time-serving, mean, and lying policy will bring upon that nation the same penalties now as it did in the campaign the events of which we are relating. The opportunity of acquiring the kingdom of Hanover was too great a bribe for the Prussian court to resist; but to give a colour to the transaction, and

deceive Britain, a clause had been inserted in the treaty with Napoleon, that the proposed exchange of Hanover for the margraviates, was accepted on the condition that the completion of it should be deferred till a general peace, and the consent of the King of Great Britain, in the meantime, was to be obtained; and the English minister at Berlin was informed, that for the purpose of ensuring the tranquillity of Hanover, an arrangement had been concluded with France, which “stipulated expressly the com-

part might have had some influence had passed away, and that his treacherous inactivity was now to operate to his own disadvantage. Prussia had, in the graphic language of Mr. Hazlitt, followed the war as a sutler, to pick up what she could get; but seeing that her questionable acquisitions were about to escape from her clutches, she was resolved to assume the appearance of chivalrous and heroic bearing. The power of Austria had been humbled—a circumstance which had been the subject of much rejoicing in the court of Berlin; for the house of Brandenburg had long aspired to the imperial crown of Germany, and had no hopes of attaining its object but by the depression of the family whose brows that crown had so long encircled. The confederation of the Rhine, and the consequent dissolution of the Germanic league, had dissipated these illusive hopes; and Frederick William saw, that the influence which he had calculated to acquire by the prostration of his rival, had already passed into the hands of Napoleon Buonaparte. To oppose, therefore, an effective barrier to the growing power of the French emperor, he endeavoured to form a confederacy, of which he should be protector, of the same character and power as that of the Rhine. The Prince of Hesse-Cassel, and the elector of Saxony, however, declined acceding to the proposal; and when Napoleon Buonaparte was appealed to on the subject, he positively declared, that as no compulsion had been used in the Rhenish confederation, none should be permitted in that designed to oppose it.

Finding all his schemes of aggrandisement likely to prove abortive, the Prussian king resolved on making peace with Great Britain, Russia and Sweden; and dispatched ministers to these courts. Having determining of that country to the exclusive guard of the Russian troops, and to the administration of the king, until the conclusion of a general peace." In the teeth of this announcement, however, on the 15th of February a treaty was signed by Haugwitz at Paris, which not only openly stipulated for the annexation of Hanover to the Prussian dominions, but also the exclusion of British ships from the electorate; and possession of the country was immediately taken by Prussian troops, and a formal patent of annexation was promulgated. Immediately on Prussia thus unmasking herself, measures were taken by the British ministry to convince this German power that the possessions of England were not to be treated with the same impunity as the states of Venice and Naples had been. An order in council was published declaring the Prussian ports in a state of blockade; all vessels belonging to that

terminated on a recourse to arms, every artifice was adopted to inflame the Prussians against the French. Prince Louis, the brother of the king, talked incessantly of the victories of Frederick the Great. The young Prussian *noblesse* indicated their sentiments by sharpening their sabres on the threshold and window-sills of the French ambassador, and breaking the windows of the ministers supposed to be in the interest of the French. The queen rode frequently in uniform at the head of the regiment which bore her name, and harangued the soldiers on what she termed the wrongs and insults which had been heaped on the country. The enthusiasm which was thus excited in the young courtiers who held command in the army, was soon communicated to the soldiery; and thus the whole nation was disposed for war. The war-party in Paris was no less active in fomenting the rupture than the Prussians that at Berlin. The officers and generals who had won rank, fame, and fortune in the wars of the French empire, were desirous of increasing their laurels and wealth. Murat was at the head of this faction, and perceiving a backwardness on the part of Napoleon to commence hostilities, and desirous of carving out a kingdom for himself, he got up a petty quarrel of his own, by seizing the abbeys of Elten, Essen, and Werden, in the duchy of Cleves, as part of the division of the grand-duchy of Berg.

In the midst of the excitement which now prevailed in Prussia, the Russian emperor Alexander again appeared at Berlin, to urge the king to take up arms in the cause of the allies. Frederick William, who had nothing to hope from further delay or dissimulation, readily renewed his vow, on the tomb of Frederick the Great, for the liberation of Germany. The English government country, in British harbours or seas, were taken possession of. All vessels navigating under Prussian colours were likewise seized; and in a short time their flag had disappeared from the sea. The following extract from the speech of Mr. Fox in the House of Commons, when referring to the conduct of this deceitful power, shows in a strong light the disgraceful part which Prussia had acted:—"The conduct of Prussia in this transaction," he said, "is a compound of everything that is contemptible in servility, with everything that is odious in rapacity. Other nations have yielded to the ascendant of military power: Austria was forced, by the fortune of war, to cede many of her provinces; Prussia alone, without any external disaster, has descended at once to the lowest point of degradation—that of becoming the minister of the injustice and rapacity of a master."

also furthered this intention, by dispatching Lord Morpeth to Berlin, to offer a large subsidy to the Prussian king for his co-operation with the allies against France.

Prussia began her preparations for war about the middle of August, and during that month and the following September, warlike preparations of all kinds occupied the whole kingdom. On the 1st of October, the Prussian minister at Paris (General Knobelsdorf) presented a note to Talleyrand, demanding, among other things, that the French troops who, after the battle of Austerlitz, had been left beyond the Rhine to preside over the new confederacy, and had remained within the territories of the Rhenish league, should recross the Rhine into France by the 8th of that month. These measures were just and politic; but perhaps there are few examples of a war declared with almost the unanimous consent of a great and warlike people, which was brought to an earlier and a more unhappy termination. The conduct of Prussia, in thus rushing into hostilities without waiting for the advance of the Russians, was as rash as her withholding her co-operation from Austria, during the campaign of Austerlitz, had been cowardly. As if determined not to profit by the lessons of experience, the Prussian council directed her army, under the Duke of Brunswick, who had, in 1792, made the calamitous campaign in Champagne against General Dumourier and his army of conscripts, to advance towards that of the French, instead of lying on their own frontier—a repetition of the leading blunder of the Austrians in the preceding year. The Prussian army accordingly invaded Saxony, and the elector seeing his country treated as harshly as that of the Elector of Bavaria had been by the Austrians in the foregoing year, was compelled to unite his troops with the Prussian army. The united force of the Prussian army, with its auxiliaries, amounted to 150,000 men. This force was distributed into three armies; the right wing, under General Ruchel, of 40,000 men, was stationed on the frontiers of the Hessian territories; the centre, 60,000 strong, commanded by the king in person, with the Duke of Brunswick as his lieutenant-general, was in front of the Elbe around Magdeburg, with its advanced guard on the Saale; the left wing, composed of 40,000 men, including the Saxons, was commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, with Prince Louis, the king's brother, under

him. It was assembled in Saxony; its extreme left rested on the Bohemian mountains, and its advanced posts were pushed as far as Hof and the Kirchberg. A detached corps of 12,000 men was under General Blucher, in Westphalia.

Napoleon Buonaparte having, on the 25th of September, heard from Berthier, who was at Munich, that the King of Prussia was preparing to commence hostilities, determined to anticipate him, and quitted Paris for the Rhine on the following day. On the 1st of October he passed that river; and at the same time, receiving from Talleyrand Knobelsdorf's demand that the French troops should evacuate the territories of the Rhenish confederacy on the 8th of October, he immediately issued the following proclamation to the one hundred and eighty thousand veteran troops, at the head of whom he was about to place himself:—"Our enemies have dared to demand that we, the soldiers of Austerlitz, should retreat at the mere sight of their army. New conspiracies have been formed, under the mask of friendship and alliance. Cries of war have been heard from Berlin; for two months provocations have been daily offered us. The same insane spirit, which, taking advantage of the internal dissensions of France, conducted Prussian troops fourteen years ago to the plains of Champagne, now presides over their councils. They then encountered defeat, death, and shame. March, therefore, and let them again meet the same fate; since experience has not taught them that while it is easy, with the friendship of France, to acquire increased power and territory, her enmity, which none will provoke who are not lost to all sense and reason, is more terrible than the tempests of the ocean." The address of the Prussian king was in better taste than that of the vaunting proclamation of his opponent; and concluded with a passage, which, though its accomplishment was long delayed, nevertheless proved at last prophetic: "We go," said Frederick William, "to encounter an enemy who has vanquished numerous armies, humiliated monarchs, destroyed constitutions, and deprived more than one state of its independence, and even of its very name. He has threatened a similar fate to Prussia, and purposes to reduce us to the dominion of a strange people, who would suppress the very name of Germans. The fate of armies and of nations is in the hands of the Almighty; but constant victory and durable

prosperity, are never ganted save to the cause of justice."

The plan of the Prussian campaign was singularly defective. As already stated, instead of awaiting the advance of the Russians on their own frontier, the council of war had resolved to push forward into Franconia, in order to compel the Elector of Saxony, who wished to remain neutral, to unite his forces with those of Prussia. The next great fault was, that the Prussian line extended to a length of ninety miles, for the purpose of enabling the troops to

procure forage and subsistence, which the barren country of Weimar was unable to supply. Their disposition, therefore, resembled cantonments rather than a military position; and as they remained on the defensive, an opportunity was afforded Napoleon to attack their forces in detail—a mode by which he had overthrown every army that had hitherto been opposed to him. Also the magazines, reserve of artillery, and commissariat, instead of being in the rearward of the centre, were placed at Naumburg, on their extreme right.

#### THE DOUBLE BATTLE OF JENA AND AUERSTADT.

BUONAPARTE, having obtained information of the dislocated and extended disposition of the Prussian army, issued (October 8th) orders for a simultaneous advance of the French army in three corps, on the several points of the enemy's line. The right wing, commanded by Ney and Soult, marched on Hof. The centre, under Davoust and Bernadotte, with the guard, which was led by Murat and accompanied by Napoleon himself, moved towards Saalburg and Schleitz; and the left, under Lannes and Augereau, marched on Coburg and Saalfeld. By these movements, the left wing of the Prussians, which extended a great distance from the centre, was exposed to the attack of the whole French army, whose object was, after having overthrown the Prussian left wing, to turn the whole position, and gain possession of the magazines. The first skirmish took place on the 9th, near the village of Schleitz, in the forest of Franconia, where a body of 10,000 Prussians was posted, who were defeated with the loss of 6,000 men. On the 11th the French advanced to Gera, within half a day's march of Naumburg, where lay the great magazines. The French left had equal success with the centre. Lannes entered Coburg on the 8th, and on the 10th he defeated, at Saalfeld, the advanced guard of Prince Hohenlohe, under Prince Louis of Prussia, with the loss of 2,000 in killed and wounded, 1,000 prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon. By these operations, the French, after turning the Prussian left, became masters of their magazines, and placed themselves between their grand army and the cities of Berlin and Dresden.

The French army now extended from

Naumburg to Kahla, along the Saale, a line of six hours' march, its centre being at Jena. The Prussians were assembled between Auerstadt, Weimar, and Jena. The two armies were separated by the heights of the Saale, which seemed to afford an impregnable position to the Prussians, and to oppose an insuperable barrier to the French. But, by a fatal oversight, the Prussian generals, while they guarded the high road from Jena to Weimar, left the important passes of the Saale unoccupied. The French, availing themselves of this neglect, employed the whole night of the 13th in securing those passes; so that when the day broke, the Prussians, with surprise, saw themselves attacked in their elevated position which they had considered impregnable; and so unsuspecting were they to the last moment of their danger, that at Rauthal, the French, who had penetrated the neglected pass of Swetzen, arrived within 300 paces of one of their columns before its approach was perceived.

On the evening of the 13th, Napoleon, with the division of Lannes and the foot-guards, reached Jena. The sun had not quite set when Napoleon proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy; on his return, he took up his bivouac on the summit of a plateau, or rising ground, overlooking Jena. Here, having supped with his generals, he went to ascertain that nothing had been neglected which could conduce to the success of the next day's fight. He had scarcely descended the hillock, when he found that the whole of Lannes' artillery had stuck fast in a ravine, which, in the darkness, had been mistaken for a road. Without hesitation, taking on himself the duties of an

artillery officer, he collected the men, with their park tools and lanterns, and directed the widening of the ravine, so as to extricate the axletrees of the gun-carriages from the rocks between which they were wedged, reviving the spirits of the pioneers by himself working with the tools; and did not quit the spot till the whole were extricated. Both armies were now actively preparing for the work of the ensuing day. The hostile ranks were within half cannon-shot of each other, and the sentinels at the outposts nearly met. Ney and Soult arrived during the night, and took the posts which had been reserved for them. Before the dawn of the following day the whole French army was under arms, but there was a dense fog upon the ground. Surrounded by his generals, Napoleon rode along the front of the line of the divisions of Suchet and Gazan, who were the first to be engaged, haranguing them in the following animated strain:—"Soldiers! The Prussian army is turned, as the Austrian was a year ago at Ulm; it now only combats to secure the means of retreat. The corps which shall permit itself to be broken will forfeit its honour and reputation." The soldiers replied to this inspiring address with loud shouts, demanding instant orders to march against the foe. The columns which were to commence the attack were then ordered to advance into the plain. At length, about nine o'clock, the increasing rays of the sun dispersed the fog that had previously concealed the movements of the two armies, and discovered the hostile lines to each other. The French centre was commanded by Lannes, who was supported by the imperial guard under Lefebvre; the corps of Augereau constituted the right; and that of Soult formed the left. The battle instantly commenced; the Prussians attacking the French right, for the purpose of driving Augereau from the village of which he had taken possession, and to turn his flank. The French and Prussians alternately occupied the contested position. But Napoleon at length debouching from the centre a body of men, under Lannes, to the assistance of the right, the Prussians were effectively dislodged.

The battle now became general. Though the Prussians, who fought gallantly, were compelled by the impetuosity of their opponents to give way, they retreated steadily and slowly, disputing the ground inch by inch, so as to present no advantage for pursuit. Soult, at length, by the most

desperate efforts, dispossessed the Prussians opposed to him of the woods from which they had annoyed the French left; and at the same conjuncture, the division of Ney, and a large reserve of cavalry, appeared upon the field of battle. Napoleon, thus strengthened, advanced the centre, consisting chiefly of the imperial guard, when the Prussians were compelled to give way. At the same moment Murat, at the head of the dragoons and cavalry of reserve, charged. The Prussian infantry, being unable to support the shock, a general rout ensued, in which cavalry, infantry, and artillery were involved. The broken troops retreated in disorder upon Weimar, encountering the tide of fugitives from the no less calamitous conflict at Auerstadt, which was also directed on Weimar. All discipline was now lost; and it seems more by a sort of instinct than any resolved purpose, that the several broken regiments who had escaped the terrible carnage of the pursuit, directed themselves on Magdeburg, where Prince Hohenlohe endeavoured to rally them.

On the same day and the same hour that this terrible disaster was befalling the united corps of Hohenlohe and Moellendorf at Jena, a similar one had befallen the Prussian centre, under the Duke of Brunswick, at Auerstadt. The duke with the King of Prussia in person, having determined on clearing the Prussian communications to the rear, marched to the recovery of Naumburg. Davoust, guessing their intentions, and to prevent the passage of the Prussians, on the 13th took possession of the impregnable heights and strong defiles of Koessen, and on the following morning marched towards the enemy, whose columns were already in motion. The vanguard of both armies met without being aware that they were approaching each other, so thick was the mist upon the ground.

The village of Hassenhausen, near which the hostile armies were first made aware of each other's presence, became the scene of the conflict. The cannonade began about eight o'clock; and the French squares of infantry repeatedly repelled the endeavours of the Prussian cavalry to throw them into disorder, or break them on any point. About eleven, the French having carried the wood and village of Speilberg at the point of the bayonet, assumed the offensive on all points of the enemy's line. The duke being mortally wounded about this time,

the King of Prussia cheered on his troops to the fight, which continued to be fiercely maintained. Receiving intelligence that the Prussian right wing was about being defeated at Jena, he determined by one general charge to redeem the fortune of the day, by the defeat of the enemy to whom he was personally opposed. He ordered the attack to be made along the whole line, and with all the forces he had upon the field. The enemy was repelled for a moment, but quickly resuming the offensive, the Prussian line was attacked at every point at once. Their centre and wings were broken through at the bayonet's point. So dreadful havoc ensued, that the retreat assumed a terrific character. The roads were choked with artillery, baggage-waggons, men and horses, trampling down and impeding each other in their haste to escape. But the confusion was increased tenfold when the broken and discomfited battalions fell in with the fugitives from Jena, who were endeavouring to reach Weimar as well as themselves. The disorder of two routed armies meeting in opposing currents, soon became inextricable, and the retreat was turned into a hurried flight. The king, for personal safety, was compelled to leave the high-roads and escape across the fields, escorted by a small body of cavalry. The pursuit continued for a space of six leagues, and was terminated merely by the darkness of the night. According to the French accounts, the loss of the Prussians on this fatal day, was 20,000 men in killed and wounded, and nearly that number in prisoners; sixty stand of colours, and 300 cannon: that of themselves, was 1,500 killed and 3,000 wounded.

Immediately after the battle, 6,000 Saxon prisoners, who had been taken in the action, were set at liberty on giving their parole not to serve against the French; and a friendly message was sent to the elector: but, notwithstanding these amicable overtures, heavy contributions were imposed on the electorate for the subsistence of the French army; and the city of Leipsic, which had long been the emporium for English merchandise, was rigorously searched for the goods of that nation.

After dusk of the day of battle, Napoleon Buonaparte rode over the field, as he had done at Austerlitz, often alighting from his horse to speak a few cheerful words, or administer a little brandy, to the wounded. He passed the night at Jena; and in the course of the following day, while

riding over the plain of Roszbach, where, in 1757, Frederick the Great obtained a signal victory over the allied French and Hanoverian armies, he ordered the pillar which had been erected on the field of battle in commemoration of that event, to be taken down and transported on carriages to Paris.

A considerable body of Prussians, under Marshal Moellendorf, retreated to Erfurt; but on that fortress being invested by Murat, the whole of the garrison, amounting to 14,000 men, surrendered, with a park of artillery, consisting of 120 cannon, and ammunition and magazines of great value. Another division, under General Kalkreuth, attempting to escape over the Hartz mountains, was overtaken at the village of Greussen, and defeated with great loss. Magdeburg, which was garrisoned with 12,000 men, was the point which the fugitive columns endeavoured to reach. Thither Prince Hohenlohe directed his flight, and reaching it with the loss of a number of prisoners, he collected nearly 50,000 fugitives and newly-arrived troops, hoping to make a stand till the advancing Russians should come up for the protection of Berlin. But finding that that place had been drained of its stores and provisions by the Duke of Brunswick previous to the late battle, leaving about 16,000 men in the city as a garrison, he attempted to effect his escape to the Oder; but being hotly pursued by Ney and Soult, he drew up the advanced guard and centre of his forces on the heights of Prentzlow, where, being without forage, provisions, and ammunition, his army, to the number of 20,000, was compelled to lay down their arms. The rear of this ill-fated force, consisting of about 10,000 men, contrived to escape towards Strelitz, with the intention of passing the Elbe at Lauenburg, and thus reinforce the Prussian garrisons in Lower Saxony. Blucher, in his march, was joined by the Duke of Weimar's corps, amounting to above 10,000 men, and which had not been engaged in the battle of Auerstadt. While advancing through Mecklenburg, several sharp actions took place with the enemy, particularly at Wahren, and in the village of Fahre, near the lake of Schwerin. Bernadotte pressed on his rear, and Soult, on the left, intercepted his communication with the Elbe, and frustrated his design of crossing that river at Lauenburg; while a third division, under Murat, advancing on his right along the skirts of Swedish Pomerania, took some of his straggling columns

prisoners, and prevented him from taking refuge under the walls of Stralsund. Thus hemmed in on all sides, he had no alternative but to throw himself into Lübeck, or to risk an engagement with an enemy greatly his superior. He preferred the first alternative. But his indefatigable enemy was at hand: one of the gates of Lübeck was forced, and a desperate conflict ensued in the streets and squares of that city, in which many of the Prussian battalions were cut to pieces, and 4,000 made prisoners; while the unfortunate citizens of Lübeck were exposed to all the horrors of a place taken by storm, and were the victims of the lust, cruelty, and rapacity of the conquerors. Blücher escaped, and reached the frontiers of Danish-Holstein, whither he was pursued by the French. The dismal affair of Lübeck took place on the 6th of November; and on the following day, Blücher, fearful of violating the neutrality of the Danish territory, surrendered at Schwertau with the remainder of his army, now not 10,000 men.\* This effort of Blücher's was the last exertion to avert the ruin and downfall of the Prussian monarchy. Her army being annihilated, the fortified places seemed emulous of having the priority of opening their gates to the enemy. Spandau capitulated on the 24th of October; and in a few days afterwards, Stettin and Cüstrin, with garrisons respectively of 6,000 and 4,000 men, and abundant magazines of

all kinds. Magdeburg, the bulwark of the Prussian monarchy, and Hameln, the chief fortress of the electorate of Hanover, though respectively garrisoned with 24,000 and 9,000 men, and supplied with abundant magazines of every kind, quickly followed their example. Never were the effects of terror more visible than in these dastardly occurrences. But the rapid and entire subjugation of Prussia may be ascribed to this peculiar circumstance;—that the various provinces of the Prussian monarchy were unconnected by any other tie than those formed by the violence of conquest, or the barter and intrigue of diplomacy: they had no national affections and sympathies.

On the 24th of October, Napoleon Buonaparte entered Potsdam, and visited the tomb of Frederick and the palace of Sans-Souci. He ordered the sword of the Prussian hero, his scarf, the ribbon and cross, black eagle, and all the colours which had been taken at the battle of Rossbach, and in the seven years' war, to be sent to the Hotel of the Invalides at Paris. On the 27th he made his public entry into Berlin, which was already in the occupation of the troops under Davoust and Augereau; and soon after transmitted to Paris, together with the relics taken from Potsdam, the finest paintings and works of art which had decorated the galleries and museums of the Prussian capital. It was during his residence here that Napoleon pub-

\* Had all the Prussian commanders shown the same courage and bravery as Blücher, the conquest of Prussia would have presented more obstacles to the French arms. This brave and able commander, before he surrendered, had exhibited in all his encounters with the enemy the most desperate valour. When summoned to surrender at Lübeck, he replied, that "he was not in the habit of capitulating, and would never surrender." When the French entered the town a most desperate encounter took place. Blücher charged through the streets at the head of his cavalry, and a murderous fire was poured upon the French as they advanced, from every building that could be occupied. After his surrender at Schwertau, he removed to Hamburg, where he resided for some time on his parole. While there he had opportunities of conversing with Bourrienne, Napoleon's secretary. During this time he never despaired of the regeneration of Germany. "I reckon much," said he, "on the public spirit of Germany, on the enthusiasm which reigns in our universities. Success in war is ephemeral; but defeat itself contributes to nourish in a people the principles of honour and a passion for national glory. Be assured, when a whole people are resolved to emancipate themselves from foreign domination, they will never fail to succeed. I have no fears for the result. We shall end by having a Landwehr such as the slavish spirit of the French could never produce. England will yield us its sub-

sidies; we shall renew our alliances with Russia and Austria. I know well the principles of the coalition. The sole object which the allied sovereigns have in view is to put a limit to the system of aggression which Napoleon has adopted, and which he pursues with the most alarming rapidity. In our first wars against France, at the commencement of its revolution, we fought for the rights of kings, in which, for my part, I felt very little interest: but now the case is totally changed; the population of Prussia makes common cause with its government, the safety of our hearths is at stake; and reverses, when such a spirit is abroad, destroy armies without breaking the spirit of a nation. I look forward without anxiety to the future, because I foresee that fortune will not always favour your emperor. The time may come when *Europe in a body, humiliated by his exactions, exhausted by his depredations, will rise up in arms against him.* The more he enchains different nations, the more terrible will be the explosion when they burst their fetters. Who can now dispute the insatiable passion for aggrandisement with which he is animated? No sooner is Austria subjugated than Prussia is destroyed; and though we have fallen, Russia remains to continue the strife. I cannot foresee the issue of this struggle; but supposing it to be favourable to France, it will come to an end. You will speedily see new wars arise, and if we hold firm, France, worn out with conquests, will at length succumb."

ished his decree for the blockade of the British isles. This new system of warfare, which was intended to destroy the commerce, and eventually crush the power of England, was promulgated on the 20th of November; and, though it had long been premeditated, was now put in execution, as its projector found himself master of nearly all the coast-line round Europe, and thus possessed of the means of giving effect to his design. By that decree (which, in conjunction with the Milan decrees promulgated in 1807, formed what was termed the *Continental System*), the British islands were declared to be in a state of blockade; all subjects of England found in countries occupied by French troops, were declared prisoners of war, and all English property lawful prize; all commerce in English produce and manufactures was prohibited; and all vessels touching at England or any English colony, were excluded from every harbour under the control of France. To counteract this impolitic and unjust decree, the British Orders in Council were issued.

While the French army was pursuing its uninterrupted course of success in the subjugation of Prussia, Louis Buonaparte, the newly-constituted king of Holland, with an army partly composed of Dutch and partly of French, possessed himself with equal ease of Westphalia, great part of Hanover, Embden, and East Friesland. In the middle of November, Mortier took possession of the ancient free town of Hamburg, and immediately proclamations were issued for the confiscation of all British property in that emporium of the commerce of the north of Europe. From Louis Buonaparte's conquests, a kingdom was carved out for Jerome, the youngest brother of the Buonaparte family, under the title of the "kingdom of Westphalia," on condition of his repudiating his present wife, and disjoining himself from an alliance unworthy of his position.

Immediately after the double battle of Jena and Auerstadt, the King of Prussia had applied to Buonaparte for a cessation of hostilities. This was refused, but he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the French head-quarters to negotiate for peace. The French requiring the cession of almost all the Prussian fortresses as a condition of the suspension of military operations, the convention was broken off, the Prussian cabinet deeming, desperate as were the chances of war, they were preferable to submission to such conditions.

About the middle of November, the emperor, from his head-quarters at Charlottenburg, published the following proclamation to the army:—"Soldiers! You have justified my hopes, and the confidence of the French people. You have endured privations and fatigues with a fortitude equal to your intrepidity and steadiness in the conflict. You are worthy to be the defenders of my crown and of the glory of the nation. While you continue to be animated by this spirit, nothing will be able to resist you. Behold the result of your toils; one of the first powers of Europe, which, in its delirium, lately dared to threaten us, is annihilated. The forests and defiles of Franconia, the Saale, the Elbe, which our sires would not have traversed in seven years, have been crossed by us in seven days, during which we fought seven minor engagements and one great battle. We were preceded in Potsdam and Berlin by the fame of our victories; yet more than half of you complain of not having fired a single shot.

"All the provinces of Prussia, as far as the Oder, are in our power. Soldiers! the Russians vaunt that they are on the road to meet us. We will march to encounter them, and thus spare them half their journey. In the midst of Prussia they shall find another Austerlitz. A nation which has so speedily forgotten our generosity to her after that battle to which her emperor, her court, and the wreck of her army were indebted for their safety to our forbearance, is one which cannot successfully contend against us.

"In the meantime, while we march against the Russians, new armies, organised in the interior of France, approach to occupy our place, and guard our conquests. My people have risen as one man, indignant at the terms which the Prussian court had dared to propose to us. Our highways and frontier cities are filled with conscripts, longing to follow our steps. We will not again be the sport of a treacherous peace, nor lay aside our arms till we have forced the English—those eternal enemies of our country—to renounce their design of troubling the continent, and their tyranny of the seas."

And this was no empty threat. Although the depth of winter was at hand, Davoust was ordered to advance towards the frontiers of Poland. Napoleon could not comprehend the tactics of those fair-weather generals, who in olden times brought their troops into the field during the first fine days of spring, and with the earliest blasts—

of autumn retired again to winter quarters. The French revolution had enforced a different system. General Pichegru, in the campaign of Holland, had first set the example of disregarding the calendar; and Napoleon Buonaparte had, in Italy, shown that his splendid victories, though "contrary to the rules of warfare," had been obtained at a time when, according to immemorial usage, friend and foe should have been reposing in quiet winter quarters. Active operations were therefore immediately determined on. The march of the Russians had rendered it necessary that the war should be forthwith carried beyond the Vistula, in order that the French troops might winter in the capital of Poland. Two corps of the army accordingly crossed the Oder early in November.

The Russian corps advancing to assist the Prussians, reached Warsaw before the French; and having taken possession of that city with a view to maintain it against the enemy, sent forward a detachment to Lowicz, to defend the passage of the river Bzura; but this corps was attacked on the 27th of November by the advanced guard of Murat's division, and driven back with loss to Blonie. General Benningsen, who commanded the Russian army, having in the meantime received more accurate information of the French force marching against him, determined to abandon Warsaw, repossess the Vistula, and retreat beyond the Narew. The French, under Murat, entered Warsaw on the 28th, and immediately applied themselves to fortify the suburb of Praga, on the opposite side of the river. The same military precautions were taken at Thorn by Marshal Ney, and at Zakroczym by Marshal Augereau. In addition to these measures of precaution, the fortresses of Cüstrin, Stettin, Spandau, Wittenberg, Erfurt, and Magdeburg were placed in the best possible state of defence, forming a chain of posts between the French army in Poland and the heart of Germany. These and additional measures appeared to the Russians the result of fear and apprehension, and filled them with a mistaken confidence in their arms, and the folly of the conceit was soon demonstrated by the most calamitous results.

The Russian general, Benningsen, having formed a junction behind the Narew with the second division of the army, under the command of Buxhoevden, and further reinforcements having arrived with Kamen-

skoi, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the army, the Russians again advanced, and fixing their head-quarters at Pultusk, threatened to drive the French over the Vistula. But while they were anticipating triumphs, and celebrating with fireworks the junction of their three armies, a French detachment passed in the night over the Narew, and, before morning, had intrenched itself so strongly, that the Russians could not afterwards dislodge it. A bridge was immediately constructed, and the whole French army moved forward in order to bring the united Russian and Prussian armies to a general engagement.

Napoleon Buonaparte having quitted Berlin on the 25th of November, arrived at Warsaw on the 18th of December, receiving addresses and congratulations from the Poles, who hailed their invaders with songs of joy, styling the French their liberators, and exalting Napoleon into a divinity. "The Polish nation," said Count Radzermiski, "hails you as the legislator of the universe."—"We reverence your person," added the president of the judicial council of the Polish regency, "as the most just and profound Solon." But Buonaparte, apprehensive if he announced himself as the emancipator of Poland, that he would have to maintain a fierce struggle with Austria, who lay ready to rise in his rear, in addition to Russia and Poland, abstained from making any express declarations, and therefore answered his supplicants with fair speeches.

On the 23rd December, the French emperor put himself at the head of his army, and crossed the Narew. The French force was distributed in the following manner:—The right, consisting of the divisions of Lannes, Davoust, and Murat, and commanded by Napoleon in person, having crossed the Narew at the bridge which had been constructed by the French, was opposed to the left flank of the Russians, who were so injudiciously drawn up, as to be exposed to its attack in that unfavourable position. To the left of the main division of the army was the corps of Augereau, at Zakroczym, on the Vistula; and at a still greater distance, in the main direction, was the corps of Soult, which had crossed the river at Polock. The French left, consisting of the divisions of Ney, Bessières, and Bernadotte, after having advanced from Thorn to Golub, and thence to Sierpsk, was directed to attack the Prussians under General Lecocq,

and by a rapid movement, to cut off their communication with the Russians. The orders were executed by Ney and Bessières with complete success. The chief actions were at Biezun and Soldau, in both of which the Prussians were defeated with considerable loss of men and artillery, and were thus prevented from forming a junction with the Russians. On the 24th, the army under Kamenskoi was driven from its intrenchments at Nasielsk, and compelled to fall back several leagues; and on the same day, Augereau passed the Ukra at Kurscomb, and defeated a body of 15,000 men, who disputed the passage of that river. The Russian columns, broken and dispirited, retired before the French in disorder, and they were saved from destruction mainly by the roads being impassable for the advance of the French artillery. At this critical period, Kamenskoi retired from the command in chief of the Russian army, and was succeeded by Benningsen and Buxhoevden, who divided the command between them, the former at Pultusk and the latter at Golomyn. They were both attacked by the French on the 26th, and a desperate battle ensued. The French, under Lannes and Davoust, commenced the attack; but they were bravely repulsed by the Russians. The contest was of the most murderous description. The French marshals advanced their troops in great masses, and endeavoured to turn the Russian right. This division of the Russians was commanded by Barclay de Tolly, and was stationed in a wood. Being hard pressed by the French, he was forced to give way, and a number of his guns were captured by the enemy. Benningsen, observing that the right wing had been compelled to fall back, endeavoured, by a feint, to recover the loss the Russians had sustained. He therefore gave orders to the right wing to continue retiring, so that the French columns might be drawn on in pursuit, when a masked battery of upwards of 100 pieces of cannon opened on them with terrible effect. The Russian infantry then advancing, partially recovered the ground which Barclay de Tolly had lost. The battle continued till darkness prevented the combatants from distinguishing each other; the Russians being driven from their positions, and forced to abandon a great part of their artillery and baggage. Soult had been detached by another road to cut off their retreat, but the impassable state of the roads prevented his

advance, and saved them from destruction. According to the French account, the Russians lost, in these actions, 12,000 men, eighty pieces of cannon, 1,200 baggage carts, and all their ammunition; while the loss of the victors was only 800 killed and 2,000 wounded.

Great as had been the success of the French armies, it was not the intention of Napoleon that they should remain inactive. The war in Poland was determined on; and this had been communicated to the army on the 2nd of December by the following proclamation:—"Soldiers! On this day year, this very hour, you were upon the battlefield of Austerlitz; the terror-stricken battalions of Russia were fleeing in disorder before you, or, surrounded on all sides, laid down their arms to their conquerors. On the morning they professed words of peace; but they were deceitful; for scarcely had they escaped, through a generosity which was probably blamable, from the disasters of the third coalition, than they organised a fourth; but their new ally, on whose co-operation they placed all their hopes, is already destroyed. His fortresses, capital, magazines, arsenals, 280 standards, 700 field-pieces, and five first-rate fortresses are in our possession. The Oder, the Wartha, the deserts of Poland, the rigours of the season, have been unable to arrest your advance for a moment: you have braved and surmounted all. Every foe has fled at your approach. In vain have the Russians endeavoured to defend the capital of ancient and renowned Poland. The eagle of France soars over the Vistula. The brave and unfortunate Poles, when they behold you, imagine that they see the legions of Sobieski returning from their memorable expedition! Soldiers! we will not sheath our swords till a general peace has secured the power of our allies, and restored to our commerce its freedom and its colonies. On the Elbe and the Oder we have reconquered Pondicherry, our establishments in the eastern seas, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What can give to the Russians the right to hope that they can hold the balance of destiny, or of retarding our great designs? Are not they and we still the soldiers of Austerlitz?"

This spirit-stirring proclamation produced the greatest sensation, not only throughout the troops who were then with Napoleon, but in every section of the French army. "The divisions stationed in the rear," says Bourrienne, "burned to traverse, by"

forced marches, the space which separated them from head-quarters; while those near the emperor forgot their fatigues, their sorrows, and privations, and begged earnestly to be led to the conflict."

Before entering on the new campaign, Napoleon Buonaparte wished to commemorate, by a splendid monument, the deeds of the French army for the last two years. Accordingly, on the day following the proclamation, a decree was issued, containing the following ordinances:—"There shall be established, on the site of the Madeleine at Paris, at the charge of the imperial treasury, a monument dedicated to the grand army, bearing in front the inscription—'THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE SOLDIERS OF THE GRAND ARMY.' In the interior of the monument, on marble tablets, shall be inscribed the names of all the men, according to their

several corps and regiments, who assisted at the capture of Ulm, and in the battles of Austerlitz and Jena; on tablets of massive gold shall be recorded the names of all who fell in battle; and on tablets of silver shall be engraven a recapitulation, for the departments, of the soldiers furnished by each department to the grand army. Around the hall shall be sculptured, in *bas relief*, representations of the colonels of each regiment, with their names and designations; and the interior shall constitute a sacred depository for the trophies taken from the enemy during the two campaigns."

It was also ordained, at the same time, that the anniversaries of the battles of Austerlitz and Jena should be solemnly celebrated as national *fêtes* throughout France. These wise measures were the precursors of the future glories of the French arms.

#### BATTLE OF EYLAU.

THE beginning of the year 1807 found the French in cantonments on the Vistula. The Russians, after the battle of Pultusk, had found winter quarters at Ostrolenka, on the Niemen. The King of Prussia, with his consort, the ministry, and all the most valuable property of his court, were at Memel, under a guard of 1,500 troops. The Prussian army still in existence consisted of 5,000 men, under General Lestocq, stationed in Königsberg; a garrison of 6,000 at Dantzic; 2,000 at Colberg; 3,000 at Graudenz; and from fifteen to twenty thousand dispersed in the different garrisons of Silesia. The Russian army had been strengthened by the corps of Prince Gallitzin, who had defeated a French division on the same day that the battle of Pultusk was fought. With other reinforcements which Benningsen received, the Russian army, in the month of January, consisted of about 100,000 men. The strength of the French army was, at the same time, stated at from 150,000 to 200,000 men.

The attention of Europe was at this time fixed on the events which were occurring in the north. The Russians having partially recruited their army, soon commenced offensive operations. Clouds of Cossacks spread themselves over the country, and gave the French serious annoyance by falling on their convoys of provisions and forage. Benningsen's tactics were to turn

the left flank of the French, to extend his force along the Vistula, to Graudenz and Thorn, and compel the enemy to evacuate Poland. Napoleon, perceiving that the Russian general did not intend that he should rest in his winter quarters, determined at once to act on the offensive, and directions were given to Bernadotte, whose corps was quartered at Elbing, in conjunction with Marshal Ney, to seize Königsberg, with its valuable magazines. This was attempted by the French marshals, but they were obliged to give way before the superior forces of the Russians, and Ney retreated behind the Dribentz, and formed a junction with the corps under Murat. The Russian general having made a feint of following up the retreat of Ney, until he had completely detached them from rendering any assistance to Bernadotte's corps, he immediately brought all his force to bear on the troops under that general, and attacked him at Mohringen, where Bernadotte had fixed his head-quarters. The Russian general, Markow, with an advanced division of the army under Counts Pahlen and Gallitzin, came up with Bernadotte's troops on the 25th. A smart action took place, in which one of the French regiments lost its eagle; but the courage of the French ultimately compelled the Russians to give way. A division of Russian cavalry, however, coming up under General Aurep, the broken squadrons were rallied,

and the contest was renewed with great obstinacy. The victory was claimed by both sides: the fact, however, of the French having retreated to Strasburg on the Dribentz, which is situated about sixty miles from the field of battle, while the Russians remained at Liebstadt, which is only six or seven miles from the scene of the conflict, is tolerably conclusive as to which party was entitled to claim the victory. The number of killed and wounded, on both sides, in this well-contested battle, was very great; a number of prisoners also fell into the hands of the Russians, among whom was General Victor.

This defeat of a plan intended to have been executed by a detachment of the army under Bernadotte, in concert with Ney, and the consequent advance of the Russians on the Vistula, roused Buonaparte from his temporary repose at Warsaw, and called into exertion all the energies of his character. The corps under General Van Essen, which covered the left flank of the Russian army, was posted at too great a distance from the main body to accomplish the purpose for which it was intended. Napoleon Buonaparte, with his usual decision and promptitude, took advantage of the error. Quitting Warsaw, he crossed the Bug on a temporary bridge. A corps, under the command of General Savary, was ordered to watch the movements of Van Essen, who was posted at Wisochi Massawick, on the heights of the Bug; and another under Lefebvre, at Thorn, to keep in check the Russians and Prussians at Culm and Marienwerder.

Napoleon Buonaparte, having collected and concentrated the flower of his forces, to the extent of 120,000 men, on one point, determined to attack the centre of the Russian army, which was on its march to the Vistula, by the way of Willenberg, a town sixty miles north-east of Warsaw. In the prosecution of this design, he purposed to concentrate his army at Willenberg, in the rear of the Russian camp at Mohringen, and thus intercept the enemy's resources; intending to attract him by a false manœuvre towards the Vistula, and outflank or turn his line, in the manner which had proved so fatal to the Austrians at Marengo and Ulm, and to the Prussians at Jena. A despatch, however, which had been sent to Bernadotte, directing him and Ney to engage the attention of the army under Benningsen in front, while Murat and Soult advanced in

its rear, having been intercepted by a party of Cossacks, the Russian general immediately changed his plan of operations, and countermarched his army; and the result was, that Napoleon Buonaparte was obliged to adopt a series of manœuvres, the execution of which imposed the utmost hardships on the French troops. The state of the country and climate, indeed, was such, that even the Russians, inured as they were to the intense cold of northern latitudes, and to the most wretched diet, were reduced to a state of savage frenzy by the privations of the long marches which they had to undergo. At length, unable to endure the tortures of the campaign, they vehemently demanded Benningsen to lead them to battle. On the 7th of February, having reached the town of Preuss-Eylau, and being closely pursued by the French, the Russian general determined to try the fortune of a battle. A desperate struggle ensued, in which the village was several times taken and retaken; but at nightfall the French remained masters of it.

Napoleon Buonaparte arrived on the ground during the conflict; he passed the night in making dispositions for the battle which he saw was inevitable on the morrow. The space between the hostile armies was an open hollow, containing several frozen lakes. The battle commenced at daybreak on the 8th, when the Russians, intent on carrying the village, charged the French centre with the utmost fury; but, after the most frightful carnage on both sides, they were repulsed by the French in turn, who charged in two columns; but they were unable to gain any advantage. About mid-day a violent storm arose, the piercing wind drifting the snow, with which the country was covered, directly in the eyes of the Russians; and the obscurity was increased by the dense volumes of smoke from an adjacent village, which had been set on fire. Napoleon Buonaparte, who was on the steeple of the church of Eylau, now ordered Augereau to advance, under cover of the darkness, and break the enemy's lines—a manœuvre which had nearly succeeded, as the Russians did not perceive the advance till the enemy was within a few yards of them. They, however, sustained the shock until Benningsen brought up the reserves, which, uniting with the front line, drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet. By a skilfully executed movement, the Russian general placed Augereau's corps be-

between his right and centre, when a conflict of the most sanguinary character ensued, from which the cavalry of Murat with difficulty extricated their comrades.

In the meantime Davoust and Ney joined the battle; the former having taken the village of Serpalten, on which the Russian left rested, and thus turned their flank, was enabled to attack them in the rear, while Ney advanced at charging pace on their left in front. The Russian left wing and part of their centre were thus thrown into disorder, and compelled to retreat and change their front, so as to form in almost a right angle with the rest of the line. The Prussian corps of Lestocq, the surviving remnant of the battle of Jena, appeared upon the field at this crisis, and displayed a gallantry which might have been useful at an earlier period; but Davoust was now gaining ground in the Russian rear; and the village of Schloditten, on the heights above which the Russian right rested, having fallen into the enemy's hands, Benningsen, fearing that his communication with Königsberg and his resources would be cut off, ordered a retreat. The slaughter in this dreadful combat, which had been maintained twelve hours, during the whole of which time three hundred cannon had vomited death and destruction from the opposite lines, was immense. The loss of the French, according to their own accounts, was 3,000 killed and 15,000 wounded. Of one French regiment of cuirassiers, only eighteen men survived the battle. The French bulletin described the loss of the Russians to have been 7,000 in killed, 20,000 wounded, and 15,000 prisoners. Forty-five pieces of artillery and eighteen standards were the trophies of the victors. The eagle of one of the French battalions fell into the hands of the Russians. Very different was the account of the battle by the Russian general, who, in his despatch, stated "that he had the honour to send 1,000 prisoners and twelve standards to his imperial majesty; that several columns of French infantry and regiments of cuirassiers had been annihilated; that the loss of the Russians did not exceed 6,000 men, while that of the enemy had been more than 12,000.<sup>1</sup> In spite, however, of the Russian alleged success, the French remained masters of the field of battle, and continued there eight days to bury the dead, of whom between nine and ten thousand, and between four and five thousand horses covered the space of a square league; while the main body of the

Russian army was forced to retreat to Königsberg, and fall back eighty leagues from the Vistula. It is a remarkable circumstance in the battle of Eylau, that it was fought chiefly by the artillery and cavalry of the hostile armies: little or no contest had taken place between the infantry.

On the fourth day after the battle, Napoleon dispatched an officer to the King of Prussia at Königsberg, to propose an armistice, on terms considerably more favourable than those which had been agreed on after the battle of Jena; but the stubborn obstinacy with which the Russians had contested the field of Eylau, and Benningsen's exaggerated account of its results, had revived the hopes of the Prussian monarch, who refused to accept any terms but such as the Emperor Alexander would accede to. In the meantime the Russian emperor had ordered *Te Deum* to be sung for the exploits of his army at Eylau, and was therefore too much elated to feel a pacific disposition.

General Van Essen having, at the head of 25,000 men, advanced to Ostrolenka, along the two banks of the Narew, on the 16th February attacked the fifth corps of the French army, commanded by General Savary. The Russian infantry advanced in several columns against the city. They were suffered to enter the town; but when they had reached the middle of it, they were charged by the French with fixed bayonets; and, after a desperate resistance, they were driven back and compelled to take a position behind the sand-hills which cover the town. There they were vigorously attacked, and after much severe fighting, compelled to retreat with the loss of 1,300 killed, as many prisoners, seven cannon, and ten standards. Several subsequent actions, of more or less importance in themselves, but of little consequence to the issue of the war, were fought during the succeeding month. In order to recruit his forces, and adopt measures for prosecuting the war with increased vigour on the reopening of the campaign, Napoleon now determined to retire on the Vistula. On the day before he began the march for the disposition of the troops in winter quarters, he addressed the following proclamation to the army:—"Soldiers!—We were beginning to taste the sweets of repose, when the enemy attacked the first corps on the Vistula: we hurried to meet him; pursued him, sword in hand, for eighty leagues; he fled for shelter to his strongholds, and beyond the Pregel. In the com-

bats of Bergfried, Deppen, Hoff, and in the battle of Eylau, we have taken sixty-five pieces of cannon and sixteen standards; killed, wounded, or taken more than 40,000 of the enemy. The brave who have fallen on our side have fallen nobly, like real soldiers. Their families shall receive our protection. Having defeated all the projects of the enemy, we shall draw near to the Vistula, and resume our winter quarters. Those who shall dare to disturb those quarters shall have reason to repent of their rashness; for whether beyond the Vistula, or on the other side of the Danube—whether in the depth of winter or the heat of summer, we shall always be the soldiers of the grand army." Napoleon, on the 25th of April, fixed his head-quarters at Finkenstein.

The first and leading consideration in the choice of positions for winter quarters for the French army, was to cover the line of the Vistula, and to favour the reduction of Dantzic—a city where many dangerous movements might be made on the French rear. The siege of that fortress was accordingly ordered to be forthwith undertaken; and, in the meantime, the most strenuous exertions were made for the augmentation of the "grand army." Besides other means, the conscripts of 1808 were ordered to be raised; a new levy was made in Switzerland; and large bodies of Poles were raised in every direction.

The siege of Dantzic was entrusted to Marshal Lefebvre and a corps of 25,000 men. The place was defended by the Prussian general, Kalkreuth, and a garrison of 18,000, among whom were several Russian regiments. The operations, on both sides, were long and tedious. At length, on the 15th of May the Russian general, Kaminskoi, with 6,000 men, advanced from Brock to the Bug, and towards Pultusk, to the succour of the beleaguered city. In their attempt, they four times returned to the attack; but, being severely handled, they fled to their ships, and speedily returned to Königsberg. The outer works of Dantzic being at length taken, Lefebvre, on the 21st of May, ordered an assault; but, at the moment when the signal was given, Kalkreuth sent a flag of truce to capitulate. On the 27th the garrison, now reduced to 9,000 men, marched out of the city. Several thousands of artillery horses, 800 pieces of artillery, magazines of every kind, half a million of quintals of grain, immense collections of clothing, and great resources of

every kind, fell into the hands of the French.

After the battle of Jena, France and Russia, in concert with her allies, had consented to a congress of all the belligerents, to be held for the purpose of a general pacification; and though the negotiations had been interrupted by a series of hot actions, and that the King of Prussia and the Emperor Alexander had, after the battle of Eylau, declined to enter into any treaty for an armistice, or a general pacification, Napoleon, on the fall of Dantzic, again made to the Russian emperor a direct proposal for renewing the negotiations; and until these should be brought to some issue, he determined to remain on the defensive, employing himself in reviewing his troops and recruiting his armies.

The secret history of the negotiations for peace, and the circumstances which determined the allies to open the campaign, time has not disclosed. On the 5th of June, a vigorous attack was made on the French troops stationed at the *tête-du-pont* of Spanden on the Passarge. Twelve Russian and Prussian regiments rushed to the encounter, but were repulsed with considerable slaughter. Seven times they repeated the attempt to open a passage, and on each occasion were beaten back with loss. Immediately after the second assault, being briskly charged across the bridge by a regiment of cavalry, they were obliged to retreat with considerable loss in killed and wounded. A like unsuccessful attempt was made at the same time, by two divisions, to force the *tête-du-pont* of Lomitten, defended by a brigade of Soult's corps. On the 7th the Russian imperial guard, supported by three divisions of other troops, under the command of Benningsen, attacked the position of Ney on the right of the French line at Altkirchen, when Ney making a feint of retreating, the enemy pursued as far as Deppen, where the French made a stand, and after a desperate engagement on the 8th, put the Russians to flight, with the loss of 5,000 men in killed and wounded.

Napoleon being informed of the movements of the allies, on the evening of the 5th of June left his imperial camp at Finkenstein, and reaching Deppen on the 7th, took the command of the army. With the corps of Ney and Lannes, the imperial guard, and the cavalry of reserve, he advanced to Gutstadt. Part of the rear-guard of the Russian army, consisting of

10,000 cavalry and 15,000 infantry, attempted to dispute his march, but being attacked by the French cavalry under Murat, they quickly took to flight, leaving 1,000 prisoners in the hands of the French, and abandoning all their positions and redoubts between the site of the contest and Gutstadt, which the French entered on the same evening. On the 10th the French army moved towards Heilsberg, where the magazines of the allies were established; and on its march, falling in with the rear-guard of the allied army, consisting of 15,000 cavalry and several columns of infantry, the French cavalry immediately charged, but were repulsed again and again. Two divisions advanced to the support of the cavalry, while reinforcement after reinforcement, both of infantry and cavalry, were sent by Benningsen to the rear-guard from the main army, which was posted at Heilsberg, and where the Russian general had concentrated his forces, resolved to await the approach of his pursuers.

On the 11th, Napoleon marshalled the different corps of his army in so skilful a manner, that the Russians found themselves blockaded in their intrenched camp. A desperate battle ensued, and though the Russians maintained their positions from morning till near midnight, availing themselves of the darkness, they repassed the Aller, abandoning the whole of the country to the left, and leaving their magazines and wounded to the conqueror. On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and a large stock of different kinds of provisions. On the same day, at five o'clock, P. M., the head-quarters of the French army had arrived at Eylau. On the 13th, Murat, Soult, and Davoust had orders to manœuvre before Königsberg; while the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, and Victor, under the immediate command of Napoleon, advanced on Friedland, a large town on the western bank of the Aller. On the same day the 9th regiment of hussars entered the town, but was driven out by a powerful body of Russian cavalry. As a long narrow bridge connected the bank of the river on which the Russians lay, Napoleon determined to allure the enemy from his position, and induce him to cross the river to accept battle. The division of Oudinot was therefore the only force which was allowed to show itself in opposition; the main body of

the French army laying concealed in some thick woods in the rear of the town. Benningsen fell into the snare; and for the purpose of chastising so insignificant an enemy, ordered a few Russian regiments to cross the bridge and march to the attack. The resistance offered by the French was firm, but not such as to undeceive the Russian general respecting the character of the force with which he was engaged. His first division was reinforced by a second; and his opponents still maintaining the contest, sometimes retreating, at others renewing the fight, the Russian general by degrees transported his whole army, except a single division, to the western bank of the Aller, where they bivouacked for the night upon a small plain adjoining the town with the river about a mile in their rear.

Napoleon was on horseback by three o'clock on the morning of the 14th. Before five the French army was marshalled, and the artillery in position. Ney commanded the right wing, Lannes the centre, and Mortier the left. The corps of Victor and the imperial guard formed the reserve. The cavalry, under Grouchy, supported the left wing; Latour Maubourg's division of dragoons was stationed as a reserve behind the right wing; and La Houssaye's division of dragoons, with the Saxon cuirassiers, formed a reserve for the centre.

The Russian army was marshalled in the best order which the place and circumstances would admit. Its left wing extended to the town of Friedland, and its right a league and a-half in the opposite direction. A thick wood, at the distance of about a mile and a-half from Friedland, fringed the plain of the Aller, nearly in the form of a semi-circle, except at its extremity at the left, where there was an open space between the wood and the river. In front of the wood, about a mile from the town of Friedland, and nearly opposite to the centre of the Russian army, was the village of Heinrichsdorf. The field of battle lay between the left of this village and the Aller, to the south of Friedland.

The Russians, unconscious that they were opposed to more than the feeble corps they had encountered on the preceding day, commenced the contest soon after five o'clock. As soon as Napoleon heard the first report of the enemy's guns, he exclaimed, "This will be a fortunate day; it is the anniversary of Marengo." The French skirmishers now advanced briskly, and heavy columns of

infantry began to show themselves from the surrounding woods. Benningsen was now convinced that he was in the presence of the whole French army; but it was too late to correct his error; the divisions of Lannes and Mortier were pressing forward to the contest. To save his army from destruction, he determined to resume his communication with Wehlau, a town situated on the Pregel; and for this purpose 6,000 men were detached from the main body of the army, with orders to march to Allersberg, several miles down the river, for the purpose of taking possession of the bridge there, as a means of retreat.

Napoleon having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, suddenly changing his front and advancing his left, commenced the attack. The Russians, though exposed to a heavy cannonade, and to successive charges of infantry and cavalry, with the most obstinate valour maintained their ground till about four o'clock in the afternoon, when Napoleon, placing himself at the head of the French line, commanded an assault. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery made a simultaneous attack on all points, rushing forward with loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* The Russians, who were enclosed in a semicircle of glittering steel, and weakened with the loss of above 12,000 men, unable to sustain the shock, fled in terror to Friedland. The bridge and pontoons were soon crowded with the fugitives, and so hotly pressed by the French thundering in their rear, that the whole army must have been destroyed, had not the Russian imperial guard checked the pursuers. By this fortunate occurrence, the first division was enabled to pass the river; but having burnt the bridge and pontoons to prevent the passage of the French, the remainder of the discomfited host was compelled to pass the stream by two fords a little distance from the town. Soon the confusion of the Russians in Friedland appeared so great, that the leading French divisions were tempted to make an assault. After an obstinate resistance the streets were forced, and after a desperate struggle remained in the hands of the French. In this fiercely contested battle, the loss of the Russians was 17,000 in killed and wounded, and seventeen guns; that of the French was 10,000 men and two eagles. Benningsen, rallying his discomfited forces on the eastern banks of the Aller, pursued his flight towards the frontier of his own country: on the 16th he passed the Pregel, and continued

his retreat to the Niemen. The disastrous battle of Friedland having rendered the city of Königsberg untenable, it was taken possession of by Soult on the 16th of June. The Emperor Alexander now became desirous of peace.

On the 19th Buonaparte had advanced his head-quarters to Tilsit, on the Niemen. There, on the 21st, he received an invitation from Alexander, desiring an armistice, which Napoleon immediately granted, and accompanied it with a request for a personal interview to treat for a definitive peace. The first meeting took place on the 25th of June, in a pavilion upon a raft moored in the middle of the Niemen. At one in the afternoon, the two emperors embarked at the same instant from the opposite banks of the Niemen. The two boats arrived at the raft at the same moment, when the emperors disembarking, embraced each other, and, entering the pavilion, conversed together for two hours. On the following day the King of Prussia was present, when it was agreed that negotiations for peace should be entered into. In the interim, the intercourse of the two emperors was of the most intimate kind. Their mornings were passed in reviews, or in unattended rides; their evenings were devoted to *fêtes* and entertainments of every description. At length, on the 8th of July the treaty of Tilsit was proclaimed, by which Prussia was reduced to its ancient limits before the first partition of Poland in 1772. The greater part of the Polish provinces which had then been subjected to Prussia, were now annexed to the kingdom of Saxony, under the title of the "Duchy of Warsaw." The continental system (as the blockade of Great Britain was called) was imposed on Prussia, and then Alexander bound himself to enforce it throughout his dominions. By secret articles in the treaty, it was agreed between Napoleon and Alexander to divide the world between them. To Russia was assigned the empire of the east, while France should possess absolute sway in the kingdoms of the west. France was to make common cause with Russia "to wrest from the vexatious and oppressive government of the Turks all its provinces in Europe." Russia was to make common cause with France against England, and not to interfere with Napoleon in the seizure and appropriation of Spain, Portugal, and Great Britain. France abandoned Finland to Russia. It was one of the conditions of the secret articles, that Russia should place her own fleet at the

disposal of the French emperor, and allow him to obtain possession of those of Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal. On the 9th of July the two emperors took leave of each other on the banks of the Niemen, and on the 27th Napoleon reached Paris.

Immediately after the treaty of Tilsit, Marshal Brune was sent against the King of Sweden, whose army occupied Stralsund and its vicinity. A famous battle was fought in Pomerania, about eight miles from Stralsund, in which the Swedes were victorious; but

Brune's army being reinforced, and the Swedish king being unable to obtain any relief from his own kingdom, he evacuated Stralsund on the 19th of August, and on the following day landed his little army on the island of Rügen, and he himself crossed the Baltic to Stockholm. Rügen being found out to be untenable, early in September the Swedish troops capitulated to the French marshal, who soon after obtained possession of all the other Baltic islands on the German coast.

#### EXPEDITION TO THE RIVER PLATE, SOUTH AMERICA—ASSAULT ON BUENOS AYRES, AND DISASTROUS REPULSE.

THIS year is memorable for the abortive and disastrous expeditions fitted out by the Grenville, or "All the Talents" ministry, for the river Plate, Egypt, Constantinople, Copenhagen, &c., and which were entrusted to the guidance and command of men as incompetent and ill-informed as themselves. Had the whole British force directed in the course of this year against Buenos Ayres, Constantinople, Alexandria, Copenhagen, and Chili, been sent to co-operate with the Swedes and Prussians, in Pomerania, before the battles of Heilsberg and Friedland, the tide of war might possibly have been turned, or, at least, the campaign would not, in all probability, been closed with a peace of the ominous nature of that of Tilsit.

On the arrival of the despatches from Sir Home Popham and General Beresford, announcing the capture of Buenos Ayres, the government and British commercial public were so dazzled with the advantages likely to result from the conquest, that in the early part of October of 1806, an expedition, consisting of about 5,000 men, under the command of General Sir Samuel Auchmuty, convoyed by Rear-admiral Stirling, who was to supersede Sir Home Popham, was dispatched to the new conquest. But, in the meantime, Buenos Ayres having been recaptured (the only possession remaining in the hands of the British being Maldonado harbour, and the island of Gorriti, near its entrance), Auchmuty and Stirling, on their arrival on the 5th of January, 1807, determined to evacuate Maldonado, and retain only a small garrison in Gorriti. So elated with the prospect of the new conquest was the British cabinet, that towards the end of the same month of October, an addi-

tional expedition, consisting of 4,200 men, under Brigadier-general Craufurd, was sent on the wild purpose of the reduction of the province of Chili; but the government learning, soon after this expedition had set sail, that the English had been expelled from Buenos Ayres, orders were dispatched to Craufurd, who had reached the Cape of Good Hope, to sail for the Plate River, and effect a junction with the British troops there, for the recovery of that city. In the beginning of June, Craufurd united his forces with those of Sir Samuel Auchmuty, at Monte Video, a city of considerable strength, and mounting on its different batteries 160 cannon. The united force (including about 800 seamen and marines) amounting to above 9,000 men, it was determined to invest that city. On the 19th, a landing was effected about nine miles from the town: they immediately moved forward, and, in the evening, the ships of war and transports dropped off Chico bay; near to which, and about two miles from the town, the troops encamped, having had during the march a slight skirmish with the enemy. Such was the shallowness of the water in front of Monte Video, that the ships could lend no effectual co-operation in the siege beyond landing a part of their men, guns, and stores, and cutting off all communication between Colonia and Buenos Ayres. On the 20th, 6,000 men, cavalry and infantry, sallied out of the town, but, after an obstinate resistance, they were repulsed with the loss of about a fourth of their number in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 25th the breaching batteries were opened, and the lighter vessels of the squadron joined in a distant cannonade. The siege

continued till the 2nd of February, when a breach was reported practicable. In the evening a summons was sent to the governor, but no answer being returned, the breach was stormed an hour before daylight on the morning of the following day, and the town and citadel carried. The loss sustained by the army, from its first landing to the termination of the siege, amounted to 192 killed, 421 wounded, and eight missing; that of the navy on shore, to ten killed, twenty-four wounded, and four missing. None of the few Spanish ships of war were of value. The loss of the enemy was about 800 killed, 500 wounded, and above 2,000 prisoners. About 13,000 tons of merchant shipping were captured. On the 16th of March, the little town of Colonia surrendered. Late in the month of April, a strong body of the enemy advanced in the night to take the place by surprise, but were quickly repulsed.

Early in May, Lieutenant-general White-locke and Rear-admiral Murray arrived in the river. General Whitelocke, assuming the chief command, landed with the reinforcements at Granada de Barragon, about eight miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres: on the south side of the river he advanced to the village of Reduction, on the banks of the river Chiulo, where the enemy had constructed batteries and thrown up a formidable line of defence. The army soon bore down all impediments, and formed a line of circumvallation round Buenos Ayres. General Craufurd's brigade occupied the central and principal avenues of the town. Auchmuty's brigade was placed on the left of the line. Thus the town was nearly invested. Strange enough, the commander-in-chief determined to attack the place without waiting for his heavy artillery, and carry the place by the bayonet, without allowing the soldiers to load. Auchmuty's onset was successful. He possessed himself of the Plaza de Toros, took thirty-two pieces of cannon, and 600 prisoners. The other divisions moved with different success. They

were assailed by a heavy and continued shower of musketry, hand-grenades, bricks and stones, from the windows and tops of the houses; and at the corners of all the streets were saluted with volleys of grape-shot. The further they advanced into the city, the more obstinate was the resistance they encountered. Prodiges of valour were performed; charges were made and guns taken; but no effectual impression was made on the barricaded and fortified houses. At length, Craufurd's brigade, being cut off from all communication with the other columns, was forced to surrender, as was also Lieutenant-colonel Duff, with a detachment under his command. Still, however, the assailants were in possession of the Plaza de Toros, a strong post on the enemy's right, and the Recedencia, another strong post on his left; while Whitlocke himself occupied an advanced post on his centre. But already 2,500 of his men were either killed, wounded, or prisoners. This was the situation of the British army on the morning of the 6th of July, when General Linières addressed a letter to the British commander offering to deliver up all prisoners if the attack was discontinued, and the British would consent to withdraw from the shores of the river Plate in two months. These terms were agreed to by General Whitelocke and Admiral Murray. On Whitelocke's return to England, to appease popular indignation, he was tried by a general court-martial, held at Chelsea Hospital, on January 28th, 1808, and continued, by adjournments, until the 18th of March, when sentence of dismissal from the British service was passed on him, as totally unworthy to serve in any military capacity whatever. This incapable officer (like many others, whose imbecility and ignorance had entailed discomfiture and dishonour on the British arms) had been indebted for his preferment and appointment to the command in the campaign of Buenos Ayres, to court favour and secret parliamentary influence.

#### EXPEDITION TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

AMONG the ill-conceived and ill-fated military and naval expeditions of this year was that to Constantinople, for the purpose of obliging the Turks to renounce their alliance with the French. The circumstances

which led to this injudicious measure were:—By the treaty of Jassy, and its supplemental one of September 24th, 1802, which terminated the long and disastrous war which had raged between the Russians and

the Turks, it had been covenanted that the hospodars or governors of Wallachia and Moldavia should not be displaced without the consent of Russia. No sooner, however, was it evident that a war was impending between Turkey and Russia, than Napoleon Buonaparte dispatched his artful emissary, the *ci-devant* monk, Sebastiani, now a general, to induce the Porte to recall the reigning hospodars, Ipsilanti and Morusi, who were in the interest of Russia; and while placing in their stead Suzzo and Callimachi, who were inclined to an alliance with France, effect a powerful diversion of the Muscovite forces assembled on the banks of the Danube for the war now pending in the north of Germany. Sebastiani, in the prosecution of his master's designs, demanded that the passage of the Dardanelles and the canal of Constantinople should be shut against Russian ships; requiring, moreover, that the Bosphorus should not only be closed against Russia, but also all English ships carrying arms, clothes, ammunition, or provisions for the use of the enemies of France; threatening war in case of refusal, and pointing to the powerful French army then in Dalmatia, under Marshal Marmont, supported by those of Italy and Naples. This threat proved successful; for a few days afterwards a Russian brig, presenting itself at the mouth of the Bosphorus, was denied admission. The Russian ambassador protested against the infraction of the treaty which protected the shipping of his nation, and was supported in his protest by Mr. Arbuthnot, the British minister to the Porte, who conjointly threatened an attack on the Turkish capital by the fleets of their respective nations. The counsellors of the grand seignior, intimidated, recommended a temporary seeming concession to the demands of the allies; but, in secret, renewed their agreement with the French ambassador. Before the end of the year the Porte formally declared war against Russia.

As soon as intelligence of this declaration reached the cabinet of St. Petersburg, communication was made to the British government, accompanied with a recommendation to send a British fleet, with a large military force, capable of defeating French influence at the Porte, and cause a diversion of the military forces of France in favour of Russia. Besides repelling the designs of France, the cabinet of St. Petersburg, by this movement, hoped to be able to put into execution the long-cherished

design of Peter I., who had comprehended in his plan of conquest, not only settlements in the Baltic and Black seas, but in the Mediterranean, by the subjugation of the European provinces of Turkey, and finally of Constantinople and the entire Turkish empire. His successors on the Russian throne kept in view his designs, which had been carefully preserved in writing in the archives of the palace; and Catherine II., by the conquest of the Crimea, had advanced some steps towards their accomplishment. With these views, Russia, though professing peaceable dispositions, had invaded Turkey in Europe, and, at the close of 1806, was master of Bessarabia and Moldavia, and threatened to cross the Danube and join the revolted Servians under Czerni, who had revolted from the Porte, and was at this moment besieging Belgrade. To cover their designs, the cabinet of St. Petersburg now professed its wish to save the Ottoman empire from the grasp of the French.

To the solicitation of the cabinet of St. Petersburg the British government joyfully responded. Instructions were therefore sent to Lord Collingwood to reinforce Sir Thomas Louis, whom he had already, on the recommendation of Mr. Arbuthnot, and in anticipation of the rupture of the pending negotiations between the British and Turkish governments, dispatched with three ships-of-the-line and a frigate. Accordingly, a fleet, consisting of seven ships-of-the-line—three three-deckers, two 84's, and two 74's—besides frigates and bomb-ships, under the command of Sir Thomas Duckworth, was dispatched to force the passage of the Hellespont or Dardanelles, and, if certain terms—namely, “the surrender of the fleet and the arsenal”—were not acceded to by the Turkish government, to bombard Constantinople. This naval force cast anchor at the isle of Tenedos about the middle of February, 1807, where it was joined by the *Endymion* frigate, on board of which Mr. Arbuthnot had made his escape from Constantinople. The fleet, consisting of the *Royal George*, 100 guns, the *Windsor Castle*, 98 guns, the *Canopus*, 80 guns, the *Pompee Ajax*, *Repulse*, and *Thunderer*, 74 guns each, the *Standard*, 64 guns, and the frigates *Endymion*, *Active*, and *Juno*, passed the Dardanelles\* on the morning of the 19th. A

\* The channel of the Dardanelles, or, in classic phraseology, the Hellespont, is twelve leagues long, and between the capes Greco and Janizary, at its

Turkish squadron, consisting of a 64-gun ship, four frigates, and several corvettes and gun-boats, had been for some time at anchor within the inner castles. Orders were given to Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, the second in command, to bear up with three ships-of-the-line, and destroy the enemy's vessels. This division was closely followed by the other ships. At a quarter before nine o'clock the squadron had passed the outer castles, without deigning to return a shot to the Turkish fire, which did but little injury. But in passing the narrow strait between Sestos and Abydos, the squadron sustained a very heavy fire from both castles. In reply, so tremendous a cannonade was opened by all the British ships, as to compel the Turks to slacken their firing, so that the sternmost vessels passed with little injury. The Turkish squadron within the inner castles being now attacked by Sir Sidney Smith, was driven on shore and burned; and the guns of a formidable battery, to the number of more than thirty, on a point of land which the squadron had yet to pass, called Point Pesquiez, were spiked by a detachment of marines under the command of Captain Nicholls, of that corps.

In the course of the evening of the 20th, the British squadron came to anchor near the Isle of Princes, which lie on the edge of the sea of Marmora, and about the distance of eight miles from Constantinople. A ridiculous species of warlike courtship now ensued between the Sublime Porte and the British representatives. Flags of truce, with letters from Mr. Arbuthnot and Sir John Duckworth were sent to the Turkish government and Reis Effendi, the minister for foreign affairs, professing terms of amity, and reminding the Turks of the old friendship which had subsisted between them and the British, "who had fought together like brethren against the enemies of the Porte and of England." Sir John Duckworth, in his epistolary broadside, reminded the Sublime Porte, that "having it in his power to destroy the capital and all the Turkish vessels, the plan of operations which his duty prescribed to him, was, in consequence,

entrance, about three miles wide. About a mile up the strait are two forts, called the outer castles of Europe and Asia, where the channel is about two miles wide; but about three miles higher, a promontory contracts the channel to about three-quarters of a mile, and on each side of this narrow strait stands a castle, mounted with heavy cannon. These are called the inner castles of Europe and Asia, and are also known by the ancient classic

very clearly marked out;" and as a stimulant to the concession of his demand, he gave the Turkish government but half-an-hour after the translation of his note, to determine on his demand of the possession of the Turkish fleet, and of stores sufficient for its equipment, and the dismissal of Sebastiani, the French ambassador. Early on the morning of the 24th, the English admiral received a letter from the Reis Effendi, signifying the disposition of the Porte to enter into a pacific negotiation, and requesting that a plenipotentiary might be sent to meet the party chosen by the Sublime Porte for the purpose. Threats being still intermixed with professions and tokens of amity, the English admiral moved the squadron four miles nearer the city.

In the meantime, the erection and strengthening of the fortifications of which the English complained, proceeded with uninterrupted vigour and activity at many points on both the European and Asiatic sides of the canal of Constantinople. Men, women, and children; Turks, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, ulemahs, sheiks, and dervises, lent their aid. The Greek patriarch and a number of his clergy put their hands to the pickaxe and the wheelbarrow. At the end of four days, batteries, with breast-works, were mounted with 1,100 pieces of cannon and 100 mortars.

While the whole line of coast presented a chain of batteries, twelve line-of-battle ships and nine frigates, filled with troops, lay in the canal, with their sails bent, and apparently ready for action; seven of them being moored across the mouth of the harbour and the entrance of the Bosphorus, supported by a double line of gun-boats. Two hundred thousand men were in the city and suburbs, ready to advance at a moment's notice; and an innumerable quantity of gun-boats and sloops, converted into fire-ships, were in readiness for action.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 1st of March, the British squadron got under weigh and stood in line of battle, on and off Constantinople, during the day. On the

names of Sestos and Abydos. Above these castles the passage widens and then narrows, forming another constriction, which is scarcely more than half-a-mile, and is also defended by forts. The passage again widens, and after slightly approximating at Gallipoli, opens into the sea of Marmora. At nearly the opposite extremity of the small sea, and at about 100 miles from the entrance to it, stands the city of Constantinople.

approach of night it bore up for the Dardanelles. On the evening of the 2nd it reached the inner mouth of the straits, and came to anchor. At half-past seven, A.M., of the 3rd, the squadron again weighed, and proceeded down the channel in the same order as it had observed in going up. As it approached the old castles of Sestos and Abydos, it was saluted by a cross-fire of shot and shell, of the hottest kind, from the last-mentioned fort, and as it rushed rapidly down (not only the wind but also the current being in its favour), it ran the gauntlet between the castles and batteries on the European and Asiatic shores, to which it replied with occasional broadsides. During the two hours which the squadron was passing the closest and most dangerous part of the straits, the *Canopus*, *Repulse*, *Royal George*, the *Windsor Castle*, and the *Standard*, were the vessels which received the principal damage. The total loss of the British in repassing the Dardanelles, was twenty men killed and 138 wounded; and the total loss incurred in passing and repassing, amounted to forty-six killed and 235 wounded.

At length the fleet cleared the straits, and cast anchor off Tenedos, in such a situation as to blockade the Dardanelles. Here it was joined by eight sail-of-the-line, under the Russian Vice-admiral Siniavin, who having been bred in the British navy, and inspired with its inherent spirit of daring, requested Duckworth to return with the combined fleet, and renew the attack or the negotiations; but the British admiral declined to comply, uncourteously observing, that where a British squadron had failed, no other was likely to succeed. Duckworth, on his departure for the Nile, left Siniavin to blockade the Dardanelles.

From the time the British squadron took up its position near the Isle of Princes on the 20th of February, till that of its weighing anchor to repass the Dardanelles (which was on the morning of the 1st of March), such had unfortunately been the state of the weather, that it was not at any time possible for the squadron to have occupied a station which would have enabled it to commence offensive operations against the city; and if it had been otherwise, after combating a force which the resources of the empire had been employed for many weeks in preparing, it would not have been able to maintain a successful conflict with the enemy; and if, unfortunately, the conflict should be other-

wise, to repass the Dardanelles: and had they been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it would have been a doubtful point whether a passage would lay open. The fire of the two inner castles on the squadron, in its inward passage, had been severe; but the effects which they had on them in their return, proved them to have become doubly formidable. Blocks of granite, weighing each from seven to eight hundred pounds, were fired from huge mortars on the squadron during its repassage. One of these tremendous bullets, weighing 800 lbs., cut the mainmast of the *Windsor Castle* in two, and it was with difficulty that the ship was not destroyed: another penetrated the poop of the *Standard*, and killed and wounded sixty men.

After the departure of the English fleet from the Dardanelles, the fortresses on both sides of the strait were put into so effective a state of defence, that there was no hope of success to the most daring attack: the Russian admiral, Siniavin, therefore took possession of the islands of Lemnos and Tenedos, placing a garrison in the latter, and blockading Constantinople with ten sail-of-the-line and several frigates. Another Russian squadron cruised off the mouth of the Bosphorus, and effectually cut off all communication between Constantinople and the Black Sea. The capital of Turkey being thus cut off from some of its usual and most productive sources of supplies, the Capitan Pasha, Seid Ali, was ordered, with what force he could muster, to restore the communication with the maritime provinces, and particularly with the great granary of the capital, Egypt. By the middle of May, he with great exertion equipped a fleet of eleven sail-of-the-line, six frigates, some corvettes, and about fifty gun-vessels, and on the 19th, with this fleet, passed the Dardanelles, and finding that the Russian admiral had gone to the isle of Imbros, he steered for Tenedos. On the 22nd, the two fleets were in sight of each other; but the Russian fleet, consisting of twenty-two ships of war, of which ten were of the line, the Turkish fleet immediately crowded sail to escape through the Dardanelles. After a running fight of two hours, the Turkish admiral succeeded in sheltering himself under the guns of the castles which guard the straits, but with the loss of three of his ships, which stranded on Cap Janizary.

In consequence of this disaster, the Turkish fleet was not able to make its appearance outside the Dardanelles till the 22nd of June. On that day, ten sail of the line, with three frigates and five smaller vessels, anchored off the isle of Imbros. Shortly afterwards it steered for Tenedos, which it retook. On the 1st of July, the Russian fleet descried the fleet of Turkey, and, crowding all sail, soon came in contact with it. A battle ensued, which continued for seven hours, with great obstinacy on both sides. Four of the Turkish ships being carried by the wind out of the line of battle, and the contest, after the separation of those vessels, becoming unequal, four Turkish ships-of-the-line were taken, three burned, and above 1,000 Turks had perished in the contest. Seid Ali, though at one period of the action surrounded by five Russian vessels, fought his ship with admirable bravery and skill: of his complement of 774 men, 230 were killed and 130 wounded. The total loss of the Russian fleet, was 135 killed and 400 wounded—a circumstance which showed

their superior seamanship to that of the Turks.

After the defeat of the Turkish fleet, Siniavin appeared off Tenedos, and on the 9th of July, summoning the governor to surrender, the Turkish garrison, amounting to 4,600 men, capitulated on the 10th. The treaty of Tilsit having effected a total change in the politics of the Russian cabinet, Siniavin was instructed to conclude an armistice between his government and the Porte, which was signed on the 24th of August, and by virtue of that armistice, hostilities were not to recommence before March 21st, 1808. Siniavin having fulfilled his instructions, detached Admiral Greig, with two sail of the line, to take possession of the island of Corfu, ceded to Russia by France under the treaty just mentioned; and he himself, with the rest of the Russian fleet, hastened to proceed to the Baltic, before the expected rupture between Russia and England might render his entrance into that sea a difficult undertaking.

#### EXPEDITION TO EGYPT—CAPTURE OF ALEXANDRIA—DISASTROUS CONFLICT AT EL HAMET.

THE Grenville administration, apprehensive that a treaty subsisted between the Turkish and French governments, by virtue of which Egypt was to be given up to France, as the price of Napoleon Buonaparte's contemplated assistance against the Russians in the Crimea, resolved to send an expedition to the shores of the Nile at the same time that Sir John Duckworth threatened the bombardment of Constantinople.

For this purpose, on the 6th of March, the 74-gun ship *Tiger*, Captain Hallowell, the *Apollo* frigate, and thirty-three sail of transports, having on board about 5,000 troops, under the command of General M'Kenzie, sailed from Messina, in Sicily. During the night of the 7th, the *Apollo* and nineteen sail of the transports parted company on account of the boisterous weather. On the 15th, the *Tiger*, and the remaining fourteen transports reached the Arabs' Tower, when Captain Hallowell stood in towards Alexandria, to ascertain from Major Misset (the British resident) the strength and disposition of the garrison and inhabitants, before the transports appeared in sight of the coast. A favourable report being made, the

transports were called in from the offing; and, in the course of the evening, the squadron anchored off the entrance of the western harbour. A summons was immediately sent to the governor, demanding the surrender of the city and fortresses, which being rejected, between six and seven hundred troops, and fifty-six seamen, with five field-pieces, were disembarked, without opposition, near the ravine which runs from Lake Mareotis to the sea. On the evening of the 18th, the troops moved forward and carried the enemy's advanced works with little loss. On the 19th, the *Apollo* and missing transports appeared in the offing, and effecting a junction with the *Tiger*, proceeded with all the transports to Aboukir Bay, where, on the following day, the remainder of the troops were landed without opposition, the castle of Aboukir having been previously taken possession of. On the morning of the 20th, General Fraser addressed a manifesto to the inhabitants of Alexandria, urging them to force the governor to capitulate, and save the city from an assault. The governor immediately sent out a flag of truce, offering capitulation; and on the 21st

of March, Alexandria, with its fortresses and harbour, were in possession of the English. In the course of the following day, Sir John Duckworth arriving with his squadron from his injudicious attempt on Constantinople, it was determined to reduce Rosetta and Rhamanieh, the possession of which (commanding two of the mouths of the Nile) was necessary for the supply of Alexandria with provisions. Accordingly, 1,200 men, under Major-general Wauchope, were, on March 27th, detached to possess themselves of Rosetta. Wauchope, on reaching the place, finding the gates of the town open, blindly rushed with his whole force into the streets. The Albanian commandant allowed them to enter and cram themselves in close columns in the crooked, narrow streets, where he assailed them with musket, rifle, and carbine ball from every doorway, window, and house-top. In a moment, 300 of the assailants lay dead, together with Wauchope himself; and before the survivors could extricate themselves, another hundred had fallen under the murderous fire of the Albanians.

Undismayed by the failure just mentioned, M'Kenzie determined on another attack on Rosetta; and for its execution detached 2,500 men under Brigadier-general Stewart. On the 9th of April, Stewart took post on the heights, when, summoning the town to surrender, and receiving an answer of defiance, he began to form his batteries. Instead of trusting to his own resources, and driving on the siege with vigour, he waited for the junction of the Mameluke cavalry from Upper Egypt, which the beys had promised him; and for the purpose of facilitating a junction with the expected succour, he detached Colonel Macleod, with 700 men, to seize an important post at the village of El Hamet. In the meantime, Mehemet Ali, the Turkish sultan's representative, had collected a large force at Cairo for the relief of Rosetta, and immediately put it into motion. Orders were forthwith sent to Macleod to retreat from his position to the main body; but these orders were intercepted, and the detachment at El Hamet completely cut off. On the 23rd, the besiegers of Rosetta were assailed by a very superior force, and being driven from all their positions, retreated to Alexandria, with the loss of above 1,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. During this calamitous affair, Mehemet having collected an immense force of horse and foot between

Cairo and Alexandria, and the inhabitants of the last-mentioned city having entered into a conspiracy with him for the expulsion of the English, on the 22nd of August, General Fraser sent a flag of truce to the pasha, offering to evacuate Egypt if the English prisoners taken at Rosetta, El Hamet, and elsewhere, were delivered up. These conditions being assented to, the surviving remnant of the British army set sail from the scene of its inauspicious operations, on the 23rd, for Sicily.

The following narrative of the disastrous affair of El Hamet, from the pen of one of the captives while a prisoner at Cairo, drawn up April 22nd—namely, the day after the calamity—is highly interesting and instructive:—

“On the 21st of April, about one o'clock, I received orders to march with the company under my command, along with the company of the 35th regiment, commanded by Captain M'Alister, to reinforce the army at El Hamet, about four miles from Rosetta, which had this morning been taken command of by Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of the 78th regiment, and was at the same time considerably reinforced. On our arrival at the village of El Hamet, about four o'clock, P.M., we were ordered to the position on the left, which was close to the river Nile.

“From the Nile, for about three miles towards Lake Elko, there is a deep canal cut to convey the waters of this river, when at its height, to the adjacent fields: on both sides of this canal the earth is raised to a considerable height, which is as firm as a rock, so that it is impossible to pass anywhere along this canal, except at particular places, where small passes have been left for that purpose, of which there are three or four between the river and the village of El Hamet; the latter being situated on the canal about a mile and a-half from the river.

“On this canal, at three different places, the troops were posted soon after our arrival. At the first position about 250 men were stationed, and one 6-pounder, under the command of Major Vogelsang, of De Roll's regiment (but Colonel Macleod remained here all night), on the left of the canal, and close by the Nile: here it was found necessary to throw up a work, to cover our men from the fire of the enemy on the opposite side of the river. At the second position, about 300 men and one 6-pounder, under the command of Major Mohr, of De Roll's

regiment, were posted immediately in front of the village of El Hamet, where the earth was not raised nearly to the height it was at any other part: and at the third position, about 150 men and a 3-pounder, under the command of Captain Tarleton, of the 35th regiment, about half-a-mile or more beyond Major Mohr's position. The passes which I have mentioned were properly guarded, and the sentries all along the heights of the canal communicating with each other.

"A short time after our arrival, and I believe before the troops were altogether posted as above stated, about 200 of the enemy's cavalry made an attack on our right, which they forced. It must be observed that this was very easy to be done, as, from our limited numbers, it was impossible to command a large space of ground from our right post towards Lake Elko, so that their cavalry could have passed our right at any time. At the same time that they forced our right, a number passed at one of the passes I have mentioned, between our first and second position. This pass was, unaccountably, not guarded at the time, and the enemy were led through it by an Arab, whom we afterwards shot. The enemy appeared very soon to have repented of their rashness, as they quickly retired, with some loss.

"About dark, Captain A'Court, with three dragoons, was sent to Rosetta to inform Brigadier-general Stewart of this circumstance, and, I believe, to ask for further reinforcements. About two hours afterwards the general arrived at our post, having been first at Major Mohr's: after having given his orders to Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, he returned to Rosetta with a guard of a sergeant and thirteen men.

"In this state we remained perfectly quiet all night. I cannot say whether any reports were made to Colonel Macleod of any Djerms having arrived at the enemy's post during the night. At daybreak on the morning of the 21st, Lieutenant-colonel Macleod went to visit our posts on the right; but very soon after he had gone away, it was seen that a vast number of Djerms had arrived at the enemy's post during the night. Lieutenant Dunn, of the artillery, was immediately sent after Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, to inform him of this circumstance. On the report being made to the lieutenant-colonel, I believe he determined to order the troops to retreat, and fixed on the ground over which Lieutenant Dunn was

to march with his gun, and where the different detachments were to effect a junction. Colonel Macleod in a short time returned to the left, when he ordered Lieutenant Dunn, with the 6-pounder, to retreat as soon as a corporal and four men (who had been sent to fill up some ditches over which the gun was to pass) should return. The second company was ordered to accompany the gun as a guard, and the rest of the detachment was to follow when the gun was at a certain distance. When Lieutenant-colonel Macleod had given these orders, he went off to the right (accompanied only by an orderly and a bugler on foot), I suppose to give the necessary orders to the other detachments to retire to the place previously fixed on. Lieutenant Dunn, with the 6-pounder and all the men attached to it, two camels with ammunition, &c., and lieutenants Macgregor and Byrie, with about thirty men of the third company of the 78th regiment, began their retreat. The moment we began to move, the enemy on the opposite side of the river made signals to those on our side to advance, as we were retiring: at this time I think it was about seven o'clock, and full two hours after daylight. When we had retired about half-a-mile to the right, and in the rear of the village of El Hamet, and, I suppose, when near the place which had been fixed on for the junction of all the detachments, Lieutenant Dunn ordered the gun to halt, while he went to a small height a little in front and to the left, to ascertain whether he was at the proper position, and if the other detachments were advancing towards us. On his return, in a few minutes, the rest of our detachment was close to us; Captain M'Alister, of the 35th regiment, with his company, a few men of De Roll's regiment, with a 6-pounder, from Major Mohr's detachment, were also very close to us, so that they arrived almost at the same moment: both were closely followed by the enemy's cavalry, and they had some men wounded before they came up with us. It was necessary to order a square to be formed instantly, as the enemy's cavalry were round about us in some force, and, of course, gaining strength every minute. Unfortunately, the square was formed, I suppose, without adverting to the position in which we then were, which was rather low, with some rising ground near it covered with bushes. In a very few minutes numbers of the enemy's infantry planted themselves

behind these bushes, and also behind little sand-hills round about us, so that they had an opportunity of taking a deliberate aim at us, while their cavalry galloped about and timely warned their infantry of the few skirmishers whom we were able to send out, so that a great number of the enemy's shot told; while I am certain that few of ours, in proportion, had effect, on account of the enemy rarely appearing uncovered within shot of us, except their cavalry, who galloped about and fired random shots at us, and then galloped off: even this kind of firing frequently told on us.

"I think we continued in this situation full two hours, anxiously expecting to be joined by Lieutenant-colonel Macleod and the other detachments, when, to our great astonishment, we were informed by some men who had made their escape, that Colonel Macleod and all the other detachments had been cut to pieces, except a few who had been taken prisoners. In a few minutes after, this information was confirmed by Captain Mackay, of the 78th regiment, and Assistant-surgeon Gibson, of the 20th light dragoons, who had fortunately made their escape from the dreadful carnage, although the first-mentioned had been severely wounded within one hundred yards of our square. We had now no other hopes than that of being reinforced from the main body at Rosetta, where we were certain that they must have known of our being attacked by a superior force, as a corporal of De Roll's regiment had taken a horse, and made his escape to them at the commencement of our being engaged; indeed, they must distinctly have heard us being engaged, and even have seen us in that condition from the tower of Abermundour, near Rosetta, where we had a detachment, and which was only three miles from us. I think it was about this time that we saw the magazine at that place blow up, and which induced us to think that the main body had retired from that place, and were on their march to join us. With these too sanguine hopes we were encouraging the men, who were much fatigued, many of them having worked all night, and few of them having had anything to eat since the preceding day, besides the weather being excessively hot. About this time there was little or no firing on either side, as very few of the enemy's infantry were to be seen near us, though numbers of their cavalry kept hovering about us. The cause of the suspension of the fire was, I suppose, that they were

engaged in cutting off the heads of the slain, and conveying to their posts those whom they had taken prisoners.

"At this time it was proposed that we should retrograde a little, and take up a better position, or, if possible, fall back on the main body; but, on reflection, it was deemed best not to move, as we had a great number of men wounded, lying in the centre of our square, who, had we moved, would have been left to the cruelty of our savage enemies; we should also have been obliged to abandon our guns, as most of the horses had been either killed or wounded, as also several of the gunners. In this predicament it was therefore deemed advisable to hold out until the main body, or at least a reinforcement, should come to our relief. While in this state of desperate hope, the enemy returned to the attack with treble their former number, and with a spirit increased by the appearance of our forlorn condition, both their cavalry and infantry advancing much closer to us than they had hitherto done; but the latter still cautiously availing themselves of the cover of the bushes. They now entirely surrounded us, and advanced so close, and in so great numbers, that our few skirmishers were obliged to fall back; so determined they seemed now, that it appeared as if they intended, by a bold push, to break in upon us at once. A brisk fire from our square, however, kept them at bay. But as their force, both infantry and cavalry, increased every moment, and as they had now brought one of their great guns to bear on us, our men were falling very fast.

"About two hours after the report of the disaster which had happened to Colonel Macleod and the other detachments, as there appeared no hope of relief from Rosetta, and that many of our men were killed and a greater number wounded, and that only six rounds of ammunition remained for the 6-pounders, and only half a cask of musket cartridges, it was deemed advisable by the commanding-officer to send out a flag of truce—a handkerchief tied to a pike—which had advanced scarcely fifty yards from the square, when the enemy rushed in upon us from all quarters, with the most hideous yells; and every one, as he came up, laid hold of one, two, or more, and dragged us along to their post, about three miles off, where they rifled our pockets and stripped us of everything we had. On our arrival as prisoners at Cairo, we were marched through all the principal streets, preceded by the heads of

the slain English, carried on long poles. Beneath the windows of our prison upwards of one hundred of our comrades' heads were piled after they had been skinned and stuffed with straw. The British loss at El Hamet, had been—in killed, ten officers and 300 privates; and in wounded, seven officers and 160 privates. The whole rank and file present in the disastrous affair had been only about 700."

#### EXPEDITION TO DENMARK AND BOMBARDMENT OF COPENHAGEN.

AFTER the battle of Friedland and the peace of Tilsit, the whole continent of Europe lay prostrate at the feet of Napoleon Buonaparte: he had become the absolute disposer of the north and north-east of Germany: he placed garrisons in the Hanse Towns, and now determined to extend his power over Denmark. Among his other designs for accomplishing his ambitious dreams of universal dominion, was that of the annihilation of British commerce, by excluding it not only from the ports of France, Italy, and Holland, but also from all the ports of Europe. For this purpose, as soon as the suspension of military operations allowed of a moment's repose, he issued a number of portentous acts. By a decree, dated Hamburg, 11th of November, and another at Milan, 27th of December, he declared the whole island of Great Britain in a state of blockade, and prohibited and compelled the other continental powers from all commercial intercourse with the British dominions. No nation was allowed to trade with any other country in any articles the growth, produce, or manufacture of any of the British dominions, all of which, as well as the island of Great Britain itself, were declared to be in a state of blockade. These arbitrary decrees having been evaded by the ingenuity of the commercial community, and the imperious wants and cravings of men for the respective manufactures and colonial produce of the great family of nations, the ruler of the French people enforced these decrees, by means of new regulations, with greater and greater rigour. In consequence of these decrees, and their more stringent additions, the commerce of Great Britain during the months of August, September, and October of this year, and that part of the year 1806 in which the Berlin decree of November had been carried into effect, was not only greatly cramped, but materially injured. A protective and self-defensive system was therefore necessary for its protection, and even salvation. This was accomplished by the Orders in

Council of the British government. An order of council, dated January 7th, 1807, containing a measure of retaliation, having been evaded and turned to the advantage of the enemy, in the carrying on a circuitous trade to Great Britain, new orders of council were therefore issued on the 11th and 21st of November of this year, allowing neutrals to trade with countries at peace and in amity with Great Britain, on the condition of touching at the ports of this country, and paying the customs or taxes imposed by the British government.

The British ministry having ascertained that the court of Copenhagen was in treaty with the Emperor of the French for the surrender of the Danish fleet and maritime stores, and that a powerful French force was assembled in the north of Germany and Hanover to enforce a compliance of Denmark with the demands of France, early in the summer of this year a powerful expedition, consisting of twenty-four sail-of-the-line, upwards of forty frigates, sloops, bomb-vessels, and brigs, together with nearly 400 transports, having 27,000 troops on board, was fitted out in the British ports, destined for Copenhagen; to enforce the surrender of the Danish fleet and marine stores, to be kept in trust by the British government until the conclusion of a general peace, when it was to be restored to Denmark. Admiral Gambier was appointed to the fleet, and Lord Cathcart, who had been previously dispatched to the shores of the Baltic with some troops, to act as auxiliaries to the King of Sweden, and who was then stationed at Stralsund and the isle of Rügen, was appointed to the command in chief of the army.

On the 28th of July, Gambier set sail from Yarmouth Roads with the principal division of the fleet; and, on the 1st of August, when off the entrance of Gothenburg, he detached Commodore Keats with four ships-of-the-line, three frigates, and ten brigs, to the passage of the Great Belt, to cut off any

supplies of Danish troops which might attempt to cross from Holstein to Zealand and the capital. That officer led his line-of-battle ships through a navigation little known and intricate, without the smallest accident, and stationed his squadron so effectually, as to intercept all communications between Zealand, the Isle of Fühnen, and the main-land of Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland; and thus Zealand was placed in a complete state of blockade. Admiral Gambier himself proceeded to the Sound, passed the castle there without molestation or danger, and cast anchor in Elsinore Roads. By the evening of the 9th of August, all the transports were safely collected round the admiral; and Lord Cathcart, arriving with the troops from Stralsund and the Isle of Fühnen, assumed the command of the whole. At this time the Crown Prince was with the main body of the Danish army, between 20,000 and 30,000 strong, at Kiel in Holstein.

Though warlike preparations were the prominent feature in this expedition, conciliatory measures were to be resorted to to prevent hostilities; and with that intent, though the precautionary measure of obstructing the passage of any troops across the Belt had been taken, the whole army was to remain inactive till the result of a negotiation should be known. For this purpose, Mr. Jackson, who had for several years resided at the court of Berlin as envoy for Great Britain, was instructed by the British ministry to accomplish that purpose. The answer of the Crown Prince was an angry and indignant refusal; and immediate orders were issued to put Copenhagen in a state of defence.

Contrary winds had kept the British fleet stationary in Elsinore Roads until the morning of the 15th, when, at an early hour, the men-of-war and transports weighed, and worked up to the Bay of Wedbeck, about midway between Elsinore and Copenhagen. There the bulk of the fleet under Gambier anchored, while a small squadron proceeded up the Sound to make a diversion. On the morning of the 16th a part of the land troops were disembarked at the village of Wedbeck, without opposition; and after some ineffectual attempts of the enemy to annoy its left wing by the fire of their gun-boats, and to impede its progress by sallies, which were always repulsed with loss, it closely invested the city of Copenhagen on the land side. The fleet then weighed and made all sail for Copenhagen, where, taking an advanced anchorage, it formed an impenetrable bloc-

kade by sea. Before quitting Wedbeck the British admiral and general issued a proclamation, notifying to the inhabitants of Denmark the motives of their undertaking, the conduct which would be observed towards them, with an assurance that as soon as the demand of the British government should be acceded to, hostilities would cease. The Danish reply was a counter-proclamation or edict, ordering the seizure of all British vessels and property.

On the 17th the Danish gun-boats, taking advantage of a calm, set fire to an English merchant vessel, fired at some of the transports coming from Stralsund, and also attacked, with round and grape shot, the pickets of the British army; and on the evening of the same day, Gambier, with sixteen sail-of-the-line, came to anchor in Copenhagen Road, about four miles to the north-east of the Trekroner, or crown battery, which had fired with so terrible an effect into Nelson's ship during the attack of the British here in the year 1801.

By the 21st the island of Zealand was completely surrounded by the British ships, which prevented all ingress and egress. On the 22nd, General M'Farlane's division having been landed the preceding evening, joined the army, and encamped in rear of head-quarters; and on the 23rd, Lord Rosslyn, who had landed with another division of troops in Kiøge Bay, joined the main army, and covered its centre. While the British army was engaged in securing its positions, the Danish praams and gun-boats, manœuvring in shallow water, made several furious attacks on the British batteries, and cannonaded the right of the British line, composed of the guards, who had taken up their position in the suburbs of Copenhagen; but a battery being brought to bear on the gun-boats, they were driven away with considerable loss. On the 29th, Sir Arthur Wellesley marched to Kiøge, where a large body of the Danish troops and militia had taken up a strong entrenched position, with the view of molesting the besiegers in their rear. Sir Arthur, attacking the enemy, soon completely defeated and dispersed them, taking prisoners upwards of sixty officers and 1,100 men, with fourteen cannon, and stores. The Danes, in their flight, throwing away their arms and clothing. On the 1st of September, Commodore Keats was detached to blockade Stralsund, to prevent the French sending reinforcements to the island of Zealand.

On the 1st of September, the gun and mortar batteries being nearly finished, the British commander-in-chief summoned the Danish major-general to surrender the fleet; and, on that officer's requesting time to consult the Crown Prince on the subject, and the British general and admiral refusing to allow delay, on the evening of the 2nd the land-batteries and the bomb and mortar-vessels opened a tremendous fire upon the town, and with so great effect, that, in the course of a short time, the town seemed to be in a general conflagration. The Danes manfully replied with shot and shell. The bombardment continued during the whole night, and presented so terrible a spectacle, that the city and space immediately around it had all the appearance of a volcano in a state of eruption. The bombardment was resumed on the evening of the 3rd, and lasted all night; and on the morning of the 4th, as no symptoms of surrender were indicated, it was resumed with redoubled fury, shot and shell raining, without a moment's intermission, on the devoted city, from above fifty mortars and howitzers, twenty 24-pounders, and all the bomb-vessels afloat. On the evening of the 5th, the Danish governor sent out a flag of truce, requesting an armistice for time to treat for a capitulation; but on the British commanders replying that no capitulation would be granted but on condition of the surrender of the whole of the Danish fleet, on the morning of the 7th the articles were signed and ratified, and the British put in possession of the citadel and of all the ships of war and naval stores. Within the space of six weeks, seventeen ships-of-the-line, with frigates and sloops,\* were towed out of the inner harbour to the road, and the arsenal and storehouses completely cleared. Some of the ships were old, and not worth repairing.

On the 20th of October the last division of the army was re-embarked, and possession of the citadel delivered over to the Danes. The total loss of the expedition, on shore and afloat, amounted to fifty-three killed, 179 wounded, and twenty-five missing. On the 21st the British fleet, with its prizes and its transports, sailed from Copenhagen Roads in three divisions; and at the close of the 7th it reached in safety Yarmouth Roads and the Downs. As soon

as the British fleet had passed the Sound, the Crown Prince declared war against England; and on the 4th of November, the British government ordered reprisals for the Danish depredations against English merchantmen in the Baltic, and against the ships, goods, and subjects of Denmark. On the 4th of September, three days before the completion of the capitulation, the English had taken possession of the Danish island of Heligoland, situate off the mouths of the Weser and the Eider, in the German Ocean, for the purpose of obtaining a safe asylum for English men-of-war and cruisers in those dangerous waters, and also as a dépôt for British manufactures and colonial produce, to assist in evading Napoleon Buonaparte's continental system.

In the autumn of 1806, it has been already stated, that in consequence of Napoleon Buonaparte's threat of his intention of reducing Spain and Portugal under his dominion, a squadron of eight sail-of-the-line, under Earl St. Vincent, had been dispatched to Lisbon, with an offer of money and troops to repel the invader; or, should that endeavour be deemed impracticable, to convey the prince-regent, his family, and effects to Rio Janeiro; but the sudden hostility of Russia and Prussia compelling the French emperor to direct his whole energies against these powers, the offer was declined. But in this year, Napoleon resuming his design, and a French army being actually on its march for the accomplishment of this object, similar proposals were again made by Rear-admiral Sir Sidney Smith. As the armies of France had already passed the frontier, the prince, appointing a regency to govern the kingdom during his absence, decided to embark on board his own fleet, consisting of eight sail-of-the-line, four frigates, and four smaller vessels, for the Brazils, under the protection of Sir Sidney Smith, who having accompanied the Portuguese fleet to lat.  $37^{\circ} 47' N.$ , and long.  $14^{\circ} 17' W.$ , on the 6th of December detached Captain Moore, with three British ships-of-the-line, to convoy the Portuguese fleet for the remainder of the voyage, while he himself, with a portion of his squadron, proceeded to watch the motions of the nine Russian sail-of-the-line, under Vice-admiral

\* The precise number of ships taken were—seventeen ships-of-the-line, one 60, two 50, six 46, two 32-gun frigates, fourteen corvettes, sloops, brigs, and schooners, and twenty-four gun-boats. The most

valuable part of the seizure consisted of naval stores, which occupied above 20,000 tons of shipping. The ordnance brought away consisted of 2,041 long guns, 202 carronades, and 222 mortars.

Siniavin, who, finding it dangerous to continue his voyage to the Baltic, had anchored in the Tagus, and whose presence there being deemed suspicious on account of the menacing tone which Russia had recently assumed towards England, Sir Sidney blockaded the Russian fleet in the harbour of Lisbon. The Portuguese fleet had not left the Tagus, when the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries, appeared on the hills above Lisbon, under the command of General Junot. On entering the capital, the French general disarmed the inhabitants, and levied heavy contributions for the maintenance of the French and their Spanish auxiliaries.

After Portugal had fallen under the dominion of the French, a squadron, under the command of Sir Samuel Hood, and a land force, under Major-general Beresford, took possession of the island of Madeira, which was to remain under the protection of Great Britain during the war, but to be restored to Portugal on the conclusion of a general peace.

A treaty of amity had, on the 31st of December, 1806, been entered into between England and America, but had not been ratified by the president of the congress; the American government wishing to connect with it the general question respecting the right of searching American vessels for British seamen and deserters; but the British government, deeming it inconsistent with the maritime rights of Great Britain to abandon the "right of search," both nations remained in a state of suspense between pacific and hostile relations.

But the discouragements arising to British commerce from the incipient misunderstanding with the United States, were, in some degree, counterbalanced by the commercial and friendly intercourse established between Great Britain and General Christophe, who, having defeated and destroyed the Emperor Dessalines, governed a large part of the island of St. Domingo, under the title of the "President of Hayti." This intercourse between the Haytian republic and Britain had been promoted by Christophe's denouncing and delivering up for punishment a number of turbulent persons in the southern part of Hayti, who had concerted measures for promoting revolt and revolution among the negroes in Jamaica.

Another event fortunate for British commerce happened on the first day of this

year (1807), and which may be deemed one of the most daring enterprises of the war, as, from the nature of its defences, it might be deemed almost impregnable by any force which could be brought against it from the sea. The brilliant event was the capture of the island of Curacoa from the Dutch. The island is situated about forty miles from the coast of Venezuela. The little islands Aruba and Benair, respectively situated to the east and west of it, are its dependencies. Captain Brisbane, in the *Arethusa*, had been sent by Rear-admiral Dacres, commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, to watch the island and intercept the trade of the enemy. While employed on that service, ascertaining that the Dutch had a custom of drinking out the old year and in the new one, he determined to avail himself of their jollity and its consequent imbecility, and laid his plans for taking the place by a *coup-de-main*. Accordingly, on the morning of the 1st of January, his squadron was so close off the harbour's mouth as to be ready to run in with its boats manned, land a party of seamen and marines, surprise the fort of Amsterdam, and summon the governor to surrender. The harbour's mouth is only eighty fathoms wide, beset with rocks, and across it were moored two frigates, and two large schooners of war. The harbour was defended by regular fortifications of two tiers of guns. Fort Amsterdam alone mounted sixty-six pieces of cannon; and a chain of forts on the commanding heights of Misleberg and Fort Republique, was within distance of grapeshot, and enfiladed the whole harbour. Soon after day-break, the British frigates *Arethusa*, *Latona*, *Anson*, and the *Fisgard*, of 44 guns each, made all possible sail in close order of battle. The vessels appointed to intercept their entrance were taken by boarding; the lower forts, the citadel, and town of Amsterdam, by storm. The port was entered at a quarter after six in the morning; before ten a capitulation was signed. This unparalleled morning's work was achieved with the loss of only three men killed and fourteen wounded.

In the month of December, the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John, and Santa Cruz surrendered, without resistance, to a squadron commanded by Sir Alexander Cochrane, and a small military force under General Bowyer; and many merchant vessels captured.



ABERCROMBY, SIR RALPH.



ADMIRAL SIR J. JERVIS.



ADMIRAL SIR SYDNEY SMITH.



ADMIRAL LORD HOWE.



ADMIRAL DUNCAN.



## WAR IN PORTUGAL AND SPAIN—NAPOLEON'S INTRIGUES.

THE Emperor Alexander, intoxicated with the prospect of acquiring the empire of the East, which had been guaranteed to him by Napoleon at the peace of Tilsit, refused to grant an audience to Lord Leveson Gower, who had been dispatched to St. Petersburg to reconcile the irritated czar, and renew the alliance between Russia and England. Thus a rupture was occasioned between England and Russia.

To connect the momentous events of this year with those of the preceding, and explain their course and origin, a brief retrospective view of the treaty of Tilsit is necessary.

By the secret articles of that treaty, all the maritime forces of the continent were to be employed against England, and, for that purpose, it had been agreed between Napoleon and the Russian emperor, that the French emperor should endeavour to obtain possession of the fleets of Spain and Portugal, as well as those of Denmark and Sweden. To put this plan into execution, the French emperor, under cover of enforcing the Milan and Berlin decrees, demanded of the court of Lisbon—1. To close the ports of Portugal against England. 2. To detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal. 3. To confiscate all English property: denouncing war in case of a refusal. To further ensure the purpose of the French emperor, a treaty was concluded at Fontainebleau on the 27th of October, 1807, by which it was agreed—1. That Spain should grant a free passage through her territories, and supply with provisions a French army appointed to invade Portugal, and that a body of Spanish troops should co-operate in the invasion. 2. That as soon as Portugal should be reduced to subjection, certain of its provinces should be divided between the King of Etruria (the grandson of the King of Spain), and Manuel Godoy (the Prince of Peace,\* and the Spanish queen's paramour:) the province of Entre-Douro-e-Minho was to be the King of Etruria's share, under the denomination of the Kingdom of Northern Lusitania; and the sovereignty of the Algarves and Alentejo was to be Godoy's inheritance, who

\* This title he obtained from negotiating that treaty with France by which Spain was removed from the first grand coalition against the French republic.

was thenceforward to be styled "Sovereign Prince of the Algarves." The city of Lisbon, and the provinces of Tras-os-Montes, Beira, and Estremadura, were to be under the guardianship and safe keeping of France until a general peace. In execution of this treaty, a French army, consisting of 30,000 men, under the command of Junot, crossed the boundary river of France and Spain (the Bidassoa), and commenced its march through Spain for the Portuguese frontier.

When Napoleon's order was communicated to the prince-regent of Portugal, hoping to ward off the storm, he acceded to the shutting up of his ports, but refused to comply with the other two demands, as being contrary to the principles of the law of nations, and to the treaties which subsisted between England and Portugal. But on the approach of the French army, he not only closed his ports, but proceeded, by an order dated November 8th, to confiscate all English property. On the publication of that order, Lord Strangford, the British ambassador, removed the armorial bearings of England from the gates of his residence, and demanded his passports. On the 17th he proceeded to the British squadron, commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, who immediately established a rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus. A few days afterwards, in consequence of Napoleon's proclamation in the *Moniteur* that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe, the intercourse between the court of Lisbon and the British ambassador was renewed. Lord Strangford, under due assurances of protection and security, proceeded to Lisbon on the 27th, where he found the prince-regent and the court preparing for their departure to the Brazils. On the 28th a proclamation was issued, in which the prince-regent announced his intention of retiring to the city of Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace, and of appointing a regency to administer the government at Lisbon during his absence from Europe. On the morning of the 29th, as already narrated, the Portuguese fleet, consisting of eight ships-of-the-line, four frigates, and other vessels, set sail from the Tagus, with the prince, the court, and about 18,000 of his adherents. Before the fleet had left the Tagus, the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries, appeared on the 30th on the

hills above Lisbon. Sir Sidney Smith, after escorting the prince-regent and Portuguese fleet to a certain latitude of safety, returned to blockade the Tagus, in which the Russian squadron, under Siniavin, lay. Junot, on his entry into Lisbon on the 30th, immediately disarmed the inhabitants, levied contributions, and treated the country as a conquest of France. To consummate Portuguese degradation, on the 1st of February, 1808, a proclamation of Napoleon was issued, dated Milan, December, 1807, by which Junot was appointed governor of Portugal, with instructions to administer it in the name of the Emperor Napoleon: a large body of Portuguese troops was forthwith marched out of the Peninsula to join the French armies in the north of Germany; and a contribution of 100,000,000 francs was imposed for the maintenance of the army of occupation, now termed "the army of Portugal."

While these designs were in execution against Portugal, preparations were going forward on the Pyrenean frontier against Spain, whose king Napoleon had determined to displace, having decided at the same time that the houses of Bourbon and Braganza should cease to reign. In prosecution of this design, he began to bestow portions of the Spanish dominions on other powers. To England he offered to cede the Spanish settlement of Puerto Rico; and to the dispossessed family of Naples he proposed to transfer the Balearic Islands, on condition that his brother Joseph should be put in possession of Sicily. The discovery of these designs so irritated the cabinet of Madrid, who had not only for the last ten years placed its fleets and treasures at the disposal of France, but had annually contributed nearly three millions sterling towards the expenses of the wars in which the French empire was engaged, that it secretly entered into a convention with Baron Strogonoff, the Russian ambassador at Madrid, by which it was agreed, that as soon as a favourable opportunity occurred, by the French armies being far advanced on their march to Berlin, the Spanish government should commence hostilities on the Pyrenees and invite the co-operation of England.

The whole of this secret negotiation was known to Napoleon before he entered on the Prussian war; but dissembling his resentment, he determined to strike a decisive blow in the north of Germany, before he

entered on his designs in the Peninsula. The Prince of Peace having issued a proclamation at Madrid, by which he invited "all Spaniards to unite themselves under the national standards, in order to enable the nation to enter with glory on the lists which were preparing," Napoleon instructed his ambassador at Madrid to demand an explanation. Satisfied with the flimsy pretext, that the warlike intention indicated in the proclamation was directed against an anticipated descent of the Moors in Spain, and conciliated by the consent of the cabinet of Madrid that the flower of the Spanish army, amounting to 12,000 men, under the command of the Marquis Romana, should march to the shores of the Baltic to cooperate with the French armies in the north of Germany, he suspended his designs against the Peninsula for a season, and of which the peace of Tilsit presented him the opportunity of availing himself.

The views of Napoleon on the Spanish peninsula required the aid of skilful diplomatists, as well as that of powerful armies, towards their attainment. Accordingly, Beauharnais was dispatched to Madrid, to avail himself of the dissensions in the Spanish counsels, and counterpoise the enormous power and ambitious designs of Godoy, who was plotting the changing of the order of succession to the throne, and securing to himself the regency; and, in furtherance of these views, he designed the marriage of the heir-apparent, Ferdinand the Prince of Asturias, with the sister of his own wife. Beauharnais was instructed to declare, that it was indispensable that the prince should espouse a princess of the Napoleonic imperial family: to which proposal the prince wrote a letter to the French emperor, imploring him to permit him the honour of an alliance with his imperial family, and denouncing Godoy as guilty of conspiring the death of Charles IV. and mounting the throne himself.

To thwart the wishes of the prince in his desired marriage with a member of Napoleon's family, Godoy caused him to be arrested by order of the Spanish king; and on the following day a proclamation was issued from the Escorial, in which the Prince of Asturias was charged with conspiring the dethronement and death of his father. At the same time despatches were forwarded to Napoleon, imploring his counsel and assistance.

On the receipt of this letter, Napoleon immediately transmitted instructions to the

French armies assembled at Bayonne to cross the frontier. The second army of the Gironde, consisting of 24,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, under General Dupont, passed the Bidassoa in the beginning of January, 1808, and moved on Valladolid. A third army, consisting of 25,000 infantry and 3,000 horse, under Marshal Moncey, soon followed. At the same time, 12,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, under General Duhesme, entered Catalonia from the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, and directed their march towards Barcelona. Soon the frontier fortresses of Pamplona, Barcelona, Fort Monjuic, San Fernando de Figueras, and St. Sebastian, which command the three great roads by Perpignan, Navarre, and Biscay, across the Pyrenees, fell by dishonourable stratagems into the hands of the enemy. Thus the whole of Spain north of the Ebro was in the hands of the French before a hostile shot had been fired; and soon a formal demand of its incorporation with France was made to the Spanish government, and acceded to. The removal of the Spanish fleet to Toulon took place on the 6th of February. At length the arrival, on March 15th, of Murat at Burgos, with the title of "Lieutenant to the Emperor," revealed the design of Napoleon to appropriate to himself the whole of the Peninsula; allowing (as the *procès-verbal* for the cession of the provinces north of the Ebro phrased it) "the willingness of his majesty the emperor to grant permission to the King of Spain to bear the title of the Emperor of the Indies."

Godoy, alarmed at these proceedings, and fearing that they would drive the Spanish people into a general insurrection, and that his head would be called for, advised the king to follow the example of the prince-regent of Portugal, and depart for Cadiz, with a view to embark for the colonies in South America. The terror of the wretched old king and his infamous wife was increased by the reception of a letter at this moment from Napoleon, who, preserving his hypocritical mask of friendship, apprised "his friend and ally, the King of Spain, of his approaching visit, in order to cement their friendship by personal intercourse, and arrange the affairs of the Peninsula without the restraint of diplomatic forms;" at the same time pretending deeply to regret the coolness which his catholic majesty had exhibited on the subject of the matrimonial alliance of his son with an imperial princess

of France. The imbecile Charles replied, that he desired nothing so much as the instant conclusion of that honourable and auspicious marriage; but, as if doubting the professions of his august ally's intention of cementing their friendship by a personal interview, he redoubled his haste to place the Atlantic between himself and his dear friend and ally. Apprehensive of the royal flight, Napoleon sent orders to Admiral Rosilly, who had the command of the French squadron at Cadiz, to take such a position as to be able to arrest the fugitives, should they make the attempt to escape.

The flight of the king and queen, with their favourite Godoy, was fixed for the night of the 17th of March, and troops were assembled at the royal residence of Aranjuez, for their protection. But as soon as the carriages drew up to the door of the palace, the people, who had assembled in tumultuous masses, cut the traces of the carriages; and at the same time a furious mob surrounded the hotel of the favourite Godoy, shouting they would have the head of the traitor. Forcing open the doors of the house, they ransacked every apartment in search of the object of their indignation, who had concealed himself under a pile of mattresses in a garret, where he lay for six-and-thirty hours, consumed by heat and thirst. On the morning of the 19th, Godoy, no longer able to bear his painful confinement, quitted his hiding-place, and solicited a little water from a lifeguardsman. The soldier immediately gave the alarm of the discovery, when a crowd, seizing the unfortunate favourite, was about to dispatch him; but a few guards being collected on the spot, conveyed him to the nearest barrack. When the condition he was in became known to the king and queen, they conjured their son Ferdinand to save him—only to save him—and then assume the crown. Ferdinand, on whom all eyes were now turned, as the only person capable of arresting the public disorders, hurried to the barrack at the head of his guards, prevailed on the mob (on his promise that Godoy should be brought to trial) to allow him to be conveyed to the prison of Aranjuez. In the course of the day Charles IV. renounced, by proclamation, the throne in favour of Ferdinand, who was immediately proclaimed king, under the title of Ferdinand VII.

On receiving the news of the revolution which had taken place at Aranjuez, Murat began his march to Madrid, which he

entered on the 23rd, at the head of a brigade of imperial guards; took military possession of the capital, and appointed Marshal Grouchy governor. Here Ferdinand, and the grandees of his party, presented Murat with the sword of the French king, Francis I., which had been preserved in the royal armory as a memorial of his captivity among the Spaniards after the battle of Pavia. Murat received the sword with great ceremony, to be "by him placed in the hands of his majesty the Emperor of the French." At the same time he received two letters from Charles IV. and his wife, Maria Louisa, earnestly entreating him to take "the poor Prince of the Peace" under his protection: the king addressed him as his "very dear brother;" the queen as "sir, my brother."

Murat, desirous of furthering the views of his imperial master, recommended the old king to represent to Napoleon his abdication as a forced act. This the imbecile Charles did in a letter, and offered to submit his fate and that of the queen to his arbitration.

Buonaparte, seeing affairs now ripe for putting into execution his design of seizing the Spanish crown, dispatched General Savary to induce Charles and his son to meet Napoleon at Bayonne. Ferdinand fell into the snare, and entered the fortress of Bayonne on the 20th of April. As it was certain that if Godoy could be got to Bayonne, the queen would soon follow him and bring her husband in her train, Murat released Godoy from prison at Aranjuez, and sent him, under a strong escort, to Bayonne. There, being courteously received by Napoleon, Godoy wrote to Charles and his wife to express the great pleasure the Emperor of the French would have in seeing them at Bayonne, when he would take the forced abdication of the king into consideration. On the 30th of April, Charles and Maria Louisa reached France.

Buonaparte now proceeded without delay to carry his project into execution. On the 5th of May, Charles and his son Ferdinand abdicated the crown of Spain in favour of Napoleon, and were relegated to different localities in France, with annual pensions for their support. Ferdinand took, in exchange for the crown of Spain and the Indies, the palace, park, and farms of Navarre, and an annual pension of 400,000 francs, to be paid out of the treasury of France: to Charles, the château of Cham-

board and the imperial palace of Compiègne, with their parks, forests, and farms, and a civil list of 30,000,000 of Spanish reals, to be paid out of the French imperial treasury for the like renunciation. As by this treaty Napoleon was to elect to the Spanish throne whomsoever he thought proper, on the 23rd of June he issued a decree appointing his brother Joseph to the crowns of Spain and the Indies; and the Spanish junta, or Assembly of Notables, convoked at Bayonne, swore fealty to him as their lawful sovereign.

While these events were in operation, commotion was hourly increasing in the capital. At length, in the beginning of May, matters came to extremities. On the 2nd of that month (the day fixed for the departure of the Queen of Etruria and her two infant sons for Bayonne), the populace of Madrid assembled in great numbers to witness their departure. As the carriages drove off, surrounded by the French cavalry, the princess and her child being observed in tears, a conflict ensued between the escort and the populace; but the crowd was easily dispersed by several discharges of grape-shot from two cannon which a detachment of foot soldiers had brought up for the defence of their comrades. Instantly the city was in a tumult; the people everywhere attacked the French soldiers who were strolling through the streets separately, or in small parties. From four to five hundred French soldiers are said to have fallen under the Spanish long knife. Immediately Murat poured numerous battalions, supported by artillery, from all quarters into the city. By rapid discharges of grape, and repeated charges of the Polish lancers and the Mamelukes of the imperial guard, the mob was dispersed. At length the insurrection was suppressed, with the loss of 200 lives on the side of the French; while that of the populace amounted to 1,200. Many individuals who were seized in the streets were shot by night in parties of tens and dozens in the Prado, the Puerto del Sol, and on the steps of the church of Senora de la Soledad. The massacre was continued on the following morning, and did not cease until Murat was moved by the earnest intercession of the Spanish ministry. On the 5th of May, Murat published a proclamation of amnesty.

This massacre excited the most unbounded indignation throughout Spain. The flames of insurrection broke out simultaneously in many towns and villages of New Castile,

and spread rapidly to Old Castile, Navarre, Andalusia, Valencia, Catalonia, the Biscayan provinces, and to almost every town and district not occupied by French troops and garrisons. Even before the explosion occurred at Madrid an insurrection had taken place at Toledo. In the northern provinces the insurrection also broke out, and provisional juntas were established in an orderly manner; but in the cities of the south and east of Spain frightful atrocities were committed. At Valencia, Carthagen, Granada, Malaga, and other places, all official persons who were supposed to be agents or partisans of the French, and the French merchants and traders who were resident in those cities, were massacred. To repress the outbreak, Napoleon poured reinforcements into Spain with all possible expedition, and ordered the principal towns along the great road from Madrid to Bayonne to be strongly occupied.

For the clear apprehension of the movements of the French armies, and their facility of communication in the Peninsula, and the subsequent operations of the patriots and the British army, it seems necessary to give a brief geographical description of that locality.

The peninsula comprehending Spain and Portugal is washed on all sides by the sea, and is united to France by an isthmus 250 miles in breadth, across which the line of demarcation between France and Spain is formed by the Pyrenees—a chain of mountains the second in elevation in Europe, extending from the angle of the Bay of Biscay, in a south-easterly direction, to their abutment on the Mediterranean. Across the Pyrenees, frequent lateral valleys present communication between the two countries; of which, however, from natural obstacles, none have been made practicable for carriages except two—one at each extremity of the range. At the western extremity, the road from Bayonne follows the sea-coast to the river Bidassoa, there separating the two countries, over which a ferry carries the traveller into Spain, by Traun, a small open town, two miles below which, at the mouth of the Bidassoa, stands the town and fortress of Fontarabia, one of the keys of Spain. From the Bidassoa the road leads in a slanting direction to the south-west, gradually ascending the mountain for fifty miles, and then crossing the ridge, descends into the plain of the Ebro. From the Ebro the road bends round to the westward by Burgos,

Valladolid, and Segovia, to Madrid, which town is distant 300 miles from the frontier of France. The communication from France to Spain, at the eastern extremity of the Pyrenees, proceeds from Perpignan, across the plain of Roussillon to the foot of the mountains, there washed by a deep and rapid torrent, then up a winding valley to the summit of the gorge of Bellegarde, which here divides France from Spain, and is completely commanded by the fortress of that name impending over its western side. The descent on the south, shorter than that on the north, brings the traveller to Tunquera, a small village, and the first place which occurs on the Spanish frontier; the mountains there consisting only of one ridge: the distance across, from plain to plain, by the road, is only five miles. From La Tunquera the road gradually approaches the coast of the Mediterranean, passing by Figueras and Gerona to Barcelona, and thence by Lerida and Saragossa to Madrid, distant by this route 360 miles from the frontier. Another much-frequented pass, but fit only for mules and horses, is situated on the road leading south from Bayonne to Madrid by Pamplona, and which is the shortest course to the capital.

In addition to the natural rampart of the Pyrenees, certain positions commanding the most practicable entrances into the kingdom were fortified. The fortress of Fontarabia, at the mouth of the Bidassoa, is the key at that point. Twelve miles further westward, on a low isthmus between two small bays, stands the seaport of St. Sebastian; and the lofty peninsula and rocky hill on which it stands, and which connects the isthmus with the main-land, is crowned by a castle, which commands the town and the inlets of the sea on each side.

Access to the interior of Spain by the direct road from Bayonne, across the Pyrenees to Madrid, is barred by the town and fortress of Pamplona, situated on a slight elevation, partly surrounded by a small river, in the midst of a long plain, from two to three miles in breadth.

France, by means of the fortress of Bellegarde, being in possession of the eastern pass of the Pyrenees, Spain had constructed the fortress of Figueras, which is situated eight miles from the foot of the Pyrenees, and completely commands all the surrounding country. About twenty miles to the southward of Figueras stands Gerona, washed by the river Ter. Barcelona is situated on

the margin of an extensive plain. On the north-east extremity of the town stands a citadel; and on the opposite extremity, on a detached conical hill, overhanging the sea, stands Montjuic, which commands the town, the harbour, and the adjoining plain. Ninety miles westward from Barcelona, on the road to Madrid, stands Lerida, on the western bank of the Segre. Such are the principal points of defence on the northern frontier of Spain against attacks by land.

The intrusive King Joseph entered Madrid on the 20th of July, and was proclaimed king on the 24th. By this time a local government had been established at Seville, under the title of the "Supreme Junta of Spain and the Indies." This body issued a formal declaration of war against the intrusive king, and ordered the Marquis of Solano, the governor of Cadiz, to seize the French squadron, consisting of five sail-of-the-line, under Admiral Rosilly, which had been blockaded in that harbour since the battle of Trafalgar; but that officer hesitating to obey the order, the populace rose in insurrection, and massacred him. The French squadron surrendered on the 9th of June.

As early as the 8th of April, the Spanish general, Castanos, who was in command of the Spanish troops at the camp of St. Roque, under the rock of Gibraltar, had dispatched a confidential agent to Sir Hew Dalrymple, governor of that fortress, requesting aid for the cause of the patriots. Sir Hew furnished some supplies, lent assistance to transport the Spanish troops at Ceuta to the shores of Spain, and encouraged the merchants of Gibraltar to open a subscription for the patriots. In the meantime all classes presented themselves to be enrolled in the public service, and each of the twenty-four universities of Spain furnished its quota of volunteers, some of them designating themselves "the company of Brutus;" others, "the company of Cato," "the company of the people;" and by other allusions to the great cause of freedom. Every incentive which could be drawn from the religious character of the Spaniards was employed to rouse the people to arms. A proclamation from the pope, Pius VII., to the Spanish people, together with a civil catechism, or brief compendium of the obligations of a good Spaniard, was industriously circulated in every province, town, village, and hamlet. Sermons were preached in favour of the good cause, and

extracts from them printed and distributed. The juntas, in their proclamations, talked gravely of the patronage and protection to be expected from the "Lady of the Pillar." At Valladolid, Saragossa, Valencia, and Seville, miracles were solemnly proclaimed prognosticating a favourable issue to the efforts of the patriots.

At the same time that the juntas had recourse to measures for exciting and forming the whole mass of the male population capable of bearing arms to enrol themselves for the defence of their country, they invoked the aid and co-operation of all nations friendly to the rights of independent states and kingdoms. The supreme junta of Asturias invited the Poles, Italians, and Portuguese, bearing arms in the ranks of the French, to join the standard of freedom.

But it was to the English nation and their own colonies that the Spanish patriots looked for the most efficient assistance. They accordingly sent a deputation to London, and their appeal to British philanthropy was cordially replied to by the transmission of immense supplies, consisting of arms, clothing, and warlike stores, to Corunna, Santander, Cadiz, Gibraltar, Valencia, Malaga, and other seaports. An alliance, both offensive and defensive, was made between Spain and Portugal and Great Britain. The Spanish prisoners in England, to the number of several thousand, were liberated, clothed, and sent to Spain to join the patriot standards, and subscriptions were opened in London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and many other places, for aiding the cause of the patriots. Lord Collingwood was dispatched with the British fleet to Cadiz, whither also 5,000 men, consisting of six English regiments and the two Swiss regiments of Meuron and Watteville, under the command of General Spencer, followed; but advice having been received, that a French force had assembled at Tavira, with the intention of entering Spain by the river Guadiana, the force under Spencer was, at the entreaty of Morla, the governor of Cadiz, sent to the Guadiana. In consequence of this movement, the French retired in all directions on Lisbon, with the exception of some weak detachments, left to occupy the small forts and other positions on that side of Portugal. The Portuguese, animated by the presence of the English, who had lauded at Agamante, rose almost universally against the French. Deputations were sent from

every part of Portugal to Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who commanded the naval forces of Great Britain in that quarter, soliciting succours.

When the insurrection first broke out, of the fourteen provinces into which Spain is divided, four (namely, Navarre, Biscay, and the two Castiles) were in the hands of the French; and above 100,000 French troops were in the Peninsula. At Bayonne was an army of reserve, more than 20,000 strong, under General Drouet; and close in its rear other French corps were collected. Fifty thousand men, under the orders of Murat and Marshal Moncey, were either stationed in Madrid, or encamped in its vicinity. Bessières, with 23,000 men, called "the Army of the Western Pyrenees," was posted at Vittoria and Pamplona, for guarding the two roads to Madrid, and securing the communication between that capital and Bayonne. General Duhesme, with 13,000 men, called "the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees," was posted in Catalonia, on the eastern or Mediterranean coast. From the army near the capital detachments were sent to take possession of Cadiz and Valencia; that to Valencia under General Dupont, and that to Cadiz under Marshal Moncey.

The reduction of the city of Valencia would be an important step towards that of the whole province, and also open a channel for continuing the operations of Marshal Moncey, and of General Duhesme in Catalonia. That of Cadiz, besides the importance of its harbour, ships, and naval arsenal, would terminate a military line of posts from Bayonne, by Vittoria, Burgos, Madrid, Cordova, and Seville, which would completely divide the Peninsula from north to south, and cut off all co-operation between the eastern and western divisions of the Peninsula.

The first military operations of importance were those of Bessières in Biscay and Old Castile. On the 14th of June, Bessières found himself confronted by the Spanish general Cuesta, who was at the head of the forces of the four western provinces of Galicia, Asturias, Estremadura, Leon, and certain districts of Biscay, and who occupied the heights of Medina de Rio Seco, a few leagues from the city of Valladolid. The old Spaniard, with his raw levies and a few Walloon regiments, risked a general action, and sustained a complete defeat, having lost above 5,000 in killed and wounded, and all

his artillery and ammunition. Little mercy was shown by the French cavalry in the pursuit, a report having gained ground in the French army that the Spaniards had brought with them ropes, fetters, and chains, for the purpose of binding the prisoners whom they might take, in order to deliver them over as criminals to galley slavery. By this victory the communication of the French with Junot in Portugal was opened. Cuesta, with the remains of his discomfited forces, retired to Galicia. Prior to this discomfiture, one of Bessières' divisions, under Verdier, had, on the 6th, routed the patriots at Logrono, and a second under Lasalle had, on the 7th, dispersed the armed peasantry at Torquemada; and in each case the fugitives were pursued with merciless severity. By these successes the whole country in the upper part of the valley of the Douro was reduced to submission; and requisitions and taxes were levied without control.

The army under Dupont, towards the close of May, having crossed the mountains of the Sierra Morena, on the 7th of June that general advanced to Cordova, of which he took possession, and gave up to pillage for three days. On the 13th he advanced beyond Cordova; but obtaining information on the 16th that General Castanos was marching against him at the head of 25,000 infantry, 2,000 horse, a heavy train of artillery, and at least 25,000 armed peasants, he, on the 17th, retreated towards the mountains which he had crossed. On the evening of the 18th he reached the town of Andujar. There he determined to wait for the reinforcements from Madrid, which Savary had promised him; but his enraged troops cried for vengeance on the town of Jaen, which had massacred the sick and wounded of the French army left in hospital there, and a battalion of infantry and some cavalry were dispatched under the command of one Baste, a naval officer. The inhabitants of the old Moorish town were given up to fire and sword.

Dupont having taken up a strong position at Andujar, with the Guadalquivir in front, and to the natural strength of the place having added deep intrenchments, Castanos was unwilling to waste any part of his force in attacking him in his intrenched camp, and therefore determined to cut off his supplies by coming between him and a division of his army under General Vedel, posted at La Carolina, a town at the southern mouth of the valley of Despenas Perros.

The situation of Dupont having now become critical, he quitted his position at Andujar, and fell back on Baylen, a town distant only a short march from Andujar. The Guadalquivir flowed between the French and the main body of the patriot army. On the 16th of July, Castanos crowned the heights of Argovilla, right in front of Andujar, while part of his force, having forded the Guadalquivir, slid in between Andujar and Baylen, thus separating Dupont and Vedel. At daybreak of the morning of the 20th, Dupont attacked the Spanish army; but instead of attacking in full force, he employed his best troops in guarding the baggage, which was enormous, and consisted of the plunder and pillage he had collected on his march. The attack was, consequently, loose and spiritless, and was easily repelled by the Spaniards. At a critical moment some Swiss battalions deserted and went over to General Reding, their countryman, who commanded a division of the Spanish army. At length, about noon, Dupont hoisted a flag of truce, and proposed an armistice, to which Reding assented; but while both parties were collecting their wounded, Vedel with his division had reached the battle-field, and attacked the division of La Pena, which had been detached in pursuit of Dupont, Castanos having supposed that he contemplated a retreat on the night preceding the battle. By the intercession of General Merescot, an engineer in the French service, Vedel was allowed to participate in the terms of the armistice; by the conditions of which Dupont's troops and Vedel's troops became prisoners of war, to be sent to San Lucar and Rota, and there embarked for France; but when they reached the shores of Cadiz Bay, they were thrown into the Spanish hulks or prison-ships: subsequently, the survivors were sent to the island of Cabrera, one of the Balearic group, lying about ten miles from the easternmost point of Majorca.

On receipt of the news of the battle of Baylen, the intrusive King Joseph immediately determined to abandon Madrid, retire behind the Ebro, and establish his court at Vittoria. Accordingly, on the 1st of August, Bessières' *corps d'armée*, posted at Mayorga, escorted Joseph, his court, and such of the Spanish grandees as were in his interest, to Burgos. On the 3rd a despatch arrived at Seville, addressed by Grouchy to Castanos, inviting the Spanish general to detach a part of his army to

Madrid, to occupy the capital, in order to ensure its tranquillity and protect the French sick in the hospitals. Castanos entered Madrid on the 23rd.

Marshal Moncey was not more successful in Valencia than Dupont had been in Andalusia. As he advanced into the province, he found the villages deserted and the rocks covered with armed peasantry. In the steep and rugged mountains with which the province is interlaced, he encountered, on the 21st of June, some troops of the line and a body of Valencian insurgents; and after a resolute resistance put them to flight. Having crossed the mountains, he advanced on Valencia. On the 25th and 26th he was attacked at Bunolos, and between Cuarte and Mislata, by General Caro, a nephew of the Marquis Romana, and suffered considerable loss in cavalry and infantry on both occasions. On the 27th he arrived before Valencia, and on the 28th opened a heavy fire on that city. The Valencians returned his fire with some pieces of artillery planted at the gates of the city, and by showers of musketry from the tops of the houses. On the evening of the 29th he relinquished his attack, and began a hasty retreat, during which he had to maintain a conflict with Caro. An impetuous charge with the bayonet made such havoc on the French disorganised forces, that they rapidly retired to their fortified camp between Cuarte and Mislata, and thence towards Madrid, having lost above 5,000 men in killed and wounded, and 1,500 prisoners. A detachment which he had left at Cuença was surprised and cut to pieces. To punish the insurgents he sent his colleague, Caulaincourt, who, on the 3rd of July, delivered over the town to the flames, and massacred the inhabitants.

The campaign of Aragon was still more glorious to the patriots than those of Andalusia and Valencia, and its capital has acquired an enduring reputation with Numantia and Saguntum in the annals of Rome. Its inhabitants were among the first of the Spanish patriots who rose in insurrection to repel the aggression of the French. On the 25th of May, in answer to a manifesto of Murat, announcing the change of dynasty on the Spanish throne, and requiring the submission of the Spaniards to the intrusive king, they displaced the captain-general of the province, who had betrayed an inclination to submit to the enemy, and elected in his stead Don Joseph

Palafox, the youngest of three brothers of one of the most distinguished families in Aragon.

At the commencement of his command, the neighbouring provinces of Navarre and Catalonia were in possession of the French; the passes of the Pyrenees leading to Aragon were open; and Murat, with the main body of the French forces, was stationed at Madrid. Though thus surrounded, and that he could not collect more than 220 regular troops, he did not despair; but, animated by the patriotism and confidence reposed in him by his countrymen, he published a proclamation, encouraging the Aragonese in their noble ardour, and declaring war against France. To repress the insurrection, immediate measures were resorted to by the invaders.

Early in the month of June, a French force of 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, under Lefebvre-Desnouettes, marched from Pamplona against Saragossa. As they approached the city, a tumultuous assembly of 10,000 infantry and 200 horse, under the command of the Marquis of Lazan, marched out of the city to await the advance of the enemy in a favourable position behind the Huecha. After a succession of skirmishes at Tudela and other places, the patriots were completely overthrown at Gallur and Alagon on the 13th and 14th of June, and on the evening of the last-mentioned day the enemy appeared before the city, and took up a position in the valley on the opposite side of the town to that which was situate on the Ebro.

Saragossa is situate on the right bank of the Ebro, with a suburb on the left bank connected with it by a stone bridge. The immediate vicinity is flat, but on the southern side, and at the distance of a quarter of a league, rises Mont Torrero, which commands all the plain on the right bank of the confluent of the Ebro, which runs close to the walls of the town. The low brick wall which surrounds the city is pierced by eight gates. Massive piles of convents rise in many quarters of the city.

Few guns being on the ramparts, the Aragonese hastily planted some cannon before the gates of the city, and also in some favourable positions without the town, particularly on the Torrero. On the 15th the French sent a detachment against the outposts on the canal of Aragon, while their main body attempted to storm the city by the Portillo gate. The patriots, attacked at

the same moment both in their outposts and at the city gates, fought without order, but with extreme fury; and as all were animated by the most exalted patriotism, their efforts, after a severe conflict, were crowned with success. Lefebvre, convinced that it would be in vain to persevere in his assault, withdrew his troops to a position out of the reach of the patriot cannon, leaving 400 men and twenty-seven baggage waggons in the hands of his opponents.

Having thus repulsed the enemy, Palafox left Saragossa for the purpose of collecting reinforcements and providing resources for the approaching siege of the city. Uniting his force at Belchite with 4,000 new levies under the Baron Versage, he marched to Epila, where, being suddenly attacked by the enemy on the right, after an obstinate resistance he was compelled to yield to superior numbers and discipline. With the wreck of his small force he retired to Calatayud, and on the 2nd of July, with great difficulty, threw himself into Saragossa.

Meanwhile the French, having received reinforcements of troops and artillery from Pamplona, began to occupy several military positions in the plain, covered with olive-trees, which surrounds Saragossa. With these resources the enemy renewed his assault, and in a short time had not only invested nearly half the town, but had obtained possession of the Torrero—a capture which prevented the city from having communication with the country except by the Ebro. At this period of the siege, General Verdier, who had brought the reinforcements and artillery train from Pamplona, superseded Lefebvre-Desnouettes in the command.

During these operations of the enemy, the patriots were actively employed in placing their town in the best possible state of defence which their slender resources would admit. They tore down the awnings from their windows, and forming them into sacks filled with sand, piled them up before the city gates, in form of batteries, digging around them deep trenches. They either pulled down or set fire to the houses in the environs of the city, to prevent the enemy availing himself of their cover and protection. Gardens and olive-trees were cheerfully rooted up by the proprietors, wherever they impeded the defence of the city or covered the approach of the enemy. The exertions of the men were animated by the women, who formed themselves into parties for the relief of the wounded, and for carry-

ing water and provisions to the batteries at the city gates; while the children carried cartridges to the same places, undismayed by the fire of shot and shell which fell around them.

During these operations the enemy kept up a vigorous bombardment of the city; and amidst the terror and confusion thus produced, made repeated attacks on the gates of El Carmen and Portillo. At the same moment a powder-magazine, in the heart of the city, blew up; and in an instant a whole street was reduced to a heap of ruins. The heroic Saragossans had scarcely recovered from their consternation, when the enemy reopened his bombardment, and renewed his attack on the sand-bag battery before the Portillo gate. The battery was several times destroyed, and as often reconstructed under the fire of the enemy. Here an act of heroism was performed by a female, who has acquired an enduring celebrity. Augustina, a young woman about twenty-two years of age, arriving with refreshment at the battery of the Portillo at the very moment when the fire of the enemy had destroyed all who manned it, and the surrounding persons hesitating to rescue the guns, Augustina rushing forward over the wounded and the slain, snatched a match from the hand of a dead artilleryman, and undauntingly fired off a 26-pounder. Then, leaping upon the gun, she made a solemn vow never to quit it alive during the siege. The men around her, stimulated by this daring act of intrepidity, rushed forward to the battery, and again opened so tremendous a fire, as to compel the enemy to withdraw.

On the 2nd of July, the strong convent of San José was assaulted and taken. During the bombardment of the 2nd and 3rd of August, the foundling hospital, which contained the sick and wounded, unfortunately caught fire. All attention to personal interest instantly disappeared. Everybody, both males and females, hastened to the relief of the sufferers, undaunted by the shot and shell which were falling around them, and the flames of the building before them. On the 4th of August, tremendous batteries were opened on the quarter of the city called Santa Engracia. In an instant the mud walls opposite to the batteries vanished, and the convent of that name was quickly on fire, and tottering in ruins. At the same moment a powder-magazine blew up with fearful devastation in the public

walk of the Cosso. The French columns immediately rushed through the entrance occasioned by the destruction of the convent walls into the city, took the batteries before the adjacent gates on the reverse, and after a sanguinary conflict, penetrated to the Cosso, which is nearly in the centre of the city. The enemy being now in possession of one-half of Saragossa, the French general demanded a capitulation in the following note:—

“Quartel-general, Santa Engracia—la capitulacion. VERDIER.”

(Head-quarters, Santa Engracia—the capitulation.)

Palafox's answer was—

“Quartel-general, Zaragoza. Guerra al cuchillo. PALAFOX.”

(Head-quarters, Saragossa. War to the knife.)

The summons of surrender having been rejected, preparations for the assault were made.

One side of the Cosso was now in possession of the French, while the Saragossans maintained their positions on the opposite side, throwing up batteries at the openings of the streets, within a few paces of similar batteries of the enemy, and keeping up an incessant fire from the windows and roofs of the houses. The intervening space was soon heaped up with dead, either thrown from the windows of the houses in which they had been slain, or killed in the conflicts in the streets. From this enormous accumulation of dead bodies, a pestilence being apprehended, French prisoners were pushed forward, with ropes attached to them, to remove the dead bodies and bring them forward for burial. As the office was beneficial to both parties, no annoyance was offered by the enemy. By this contrivance, the evils which would have arisen from the corruption of so vast masses of dead, which were festering and putrefying under the heat of the sun, were in some degree diminished.

Such was the vigour of the resistance of the patriots, that the besiegers made but little progress from the 4th to the 12th of August. The reinforcement of 3,000 men, consisting of Spanish guards and Swiss, who found an entrance into the town, under the command of Don Francisco Palafox, the brother of the captain-general, tended also greatly to impede their progress. On the night of the 13th, the enemy kept up a fierce and destructive fire; but at daybreak

of the following morning it suddenly ceased, and the besieged, when the sun rose, beheld with astonishment the enemy traversing the plain in full retreat towards Pamplona. The reverses which attended Moncey and Dupont in Valencia and Andalusia were, no doubt, the cause of the breaking up of the siege of Saragossa.

About the same time that Lefebvre began the siege of Saragossa, Duhesme, who commanded the French army in Catalonia, was directed to reduce Gerona. But after having made two attempts to carry it by storm, he was forced, by the vigorous sallies of the Geronese and the movements of the Cata-

lonian peasantry, who threatened to attack him in flank and rear, to break up the siege and retreat to Barcelona. In a second attempt, in August, he was equally unsuccessful.

While these events were in operation in Spain, symptoms of an alarming effervescence were manifested in Portugal. No sooner was the intelligence of the Spanish insurrection and their glorious successes known, than the mountaineers of Tras-os-Montes, and the inhabitants of the Algarves, the Alentejo, and Entre-Douro-e-Minho were in open revolt; and, at the same moment, a British army appeared off the coast of Portugal.

#### SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL—BATTLE OF ROLICA.

FROM the moment the insurrection in the Peninsula had assumed a serious aspect, the British ministry determined to aid the patriots with military succours. Accordingly, in the month of June, Sir Arthur Wellesley was, for the purpose, appointed to the command of a force, consisting of about 9,000 infantry and one regiment of light dragoons, which had been assembled at Cork for the purpose of an expedition against North America. Two smaller divisions, amounting to 5,000 men, under generals Anstruther and Ackland, were afterwards prepared, and set sail from Ramsgate and Margate; and orders were sent to Sir John Moore, who was at the head of 12,000 men in Pomerania, whither he had been sent to aid the King of Sweden against Russia, to return forthwith to England, to form a further reinforcement. Though Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of the Cork expedition, Sir Harry Burrard was to supersede him in the command-in-chief when the expedition landed in Portugal; and Sir Harry was to retain the chief command only till the arrival of Sir Hew Dalrymple from Gibraltar, of which fortress he was lieutenant-governor.

On the 12th of July, Sir Arthur sailed with the expedition from the Cove of Cork, and as soon as the fleet was clear of the coast of Ireland, he proceeded in a fast-sailing frigate to Corunna, whither he arrived on the 20th, and immediately held conferences with the junta of Galicia, and to whom he offered the assistance of the force under his command. The junta replied, that they did not want men, but only

money, arms, and ammunition. But they expressed their conviction that the British army might be of great service to the Portuguese and their own nation, if it co-operated with the Spanish and Portuguese forces which were collecting at Oporto. Having supplied the junta with £200,000, and assured them of the speedy arrival of extensive military stores, he set sail from Corunna on the night of the 21st, and next day joined the fleet and transports conveying the expedition. On the 24th he arrived at Oporto, where, in a conference with the warlike bishop, he found that 3,000 men were collected there, full of ardour, but badly armed and disciplined. Of the Spanish troops he could hear nothing. Having made arrangements with the bishop for the supply of mules and horses for the use of the British army when landed, he sailed for the Tagus, in order to obtain information from Sir Charles Cotton, who was off Lisbon, relative to the strength and position of the French troops near that city, and the practicability of forcing the entrance of the Tagus, and attacking the forts in the vicinity of that capital. While on board the admiral's ship he received a letter from General Spencer, who was then, with about 4,000 men, off Cadiz. That force had been destined to be employed in co-operation with the Spanish forces under Castanos, in their operations against Dupont; but as the junta of Seville did not consider the aid of Spencer's corps necessary, it was still at Cadiz. Sir Arthur, deeming his own force inadequate to commence offensive operations, gave orders to General Spencer to join him.

Sir Arthur having acquainted himself, as accurately as he could, with the numerical strength and disposition of the French army, determined to land his forces in Mondego Bay, as he was not likely to meet any opposition in the landing. On the 31st the whole fleet was assembled in the bay, and on the following morning the disembarkation commenced, and was completed on the 5th of August, by which time General Spencer, with his division, had come round from Cadiz, and was immediately put on shore. The entire force now under the command of Sir Arthur was 13,000 infantry, and between four and five hundred cavalry; but 150 of the 20th light dragoons were dismounted.

Having effected his landing, Sir Arthur issued the following proclamation to the people of Portugal:—"The English soldiers who land upon your shores, do so with every sentiment of friendship, faith, and honour. The glorious struggle in which you are engaged is for all that is dear to man—the protection of your wives and children; the restoration of your lawful prince; the independence, nay, the existence of your kingdom; the preservation of your holy religion. Objects like these can only be attained by distinguished examples of fortitude and constancy. The noble struggle against the tyranny and usurpation of France will be jointly maintained by Portugal, Spain, and England; and, in contributing to the success of a cause so just and glorious, the views of his Britannic majesty are the same as those by which yourselves are animated."

On the morning of the 9th the British army began that memorable march which was destined never to be finally arrested or materially interrupted, till the British arms had passed in triumph from the coasts of Portugal to the shores of Calais. On the 13th the advanced guard entered the town of Leyria. There the Portuguese general, Freyre, was posted with 5,000 men, whose demand that his corps should be henceforward supplied with provisions by the English commissariat not being complied with, on the ground that there were scarcely provisions sufficient to supply the English troops, he refused to advance with the British, and was with difficulty prevailed on to allow a brigade of infantry and 250 horse (in all not exceeding 1,500 men) to join Sir Arthur. On the 15th they were at Caldas, on the road to Torres Vedras, which runs

parallel to the sea-coast, at a short distance from it. On the 16th, a slight skirmish took place with the enemy at Obidos, occasioned by the eagerness of the English in following up the pursuit of the enemy. Junot, on the landing of the English, sent forward Laborde's division, consisting of 5,000 men, of whom 500 were cavalry, to keep them in check. Laborde, however, unable to offer any effective resistance to the advance of the British, retired before them.

In order to give time to Junot to concentrate his forces in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, Laborde took post at Roliça, a village about twelve English miles from Caldas, and situated on an eminence at the southern extremity of a valley, which is closed at that end by mountains, which come in contact with the hills forming the valley on the left. In the centre of the valley, and about eight miles from Roliça, stand the town and old Moorish fort, from which the enemy's pickets had been driven on the 16th. Laborde drew up his force on the small eminence or elevated plateau in front of Roliça, and lined the hills on both sides with detachments, for the purpose of annoying the assailants; and as there was reason to believe that Loison, who was at Rio Mayor on the 16th, would join Laborde on the right in the course of the night, Wellesley accordingly marshalled his troops for the attack. The army breaking up from Caldas on the 17th, was formed into three columns. The right, consisting of the Portuguese infantry and fifty horse, under Colonel Trant, was directed to turn the enemy's left and penetrate into the mountains in the rear; the left, under General Ferguson, was to ascend the hills at Obidos, and menace the right by turning it on the mountains, in order to watch the motions of Loison; while the centre, under Sir Arthur in person, attacked the enemy's position in front. As the centre advanced, the corps on the right and left moved simultaneously forward to the points of attack. Laborde, now fearful of being outflanked, rapidly fell back and took up a stronger position higher up in the gorge of the pass, and shut in by close rocky thickets on both sides. Thither he was quickly followed by his opponent. The difficulties of the ground over which the central columns had to move were great. In some places it would not admit of more than three or four men abreast, and in its progress it was much annoyed by the tirailleurs or riflemen posted in ambush among

the coppices of myrtle and underwood with which the ravines and precipices were covered. Such was the impetuosity of the attack of the 29th regiment, which was the leading corps, that, assailed as soon as it reached the summit of the heights in front, and from the ambushes on either side, it wavered and broke, and its gallant colonel (Lake) was killed in the act of rallying his men. But at this critical moment, the 5th and 9th regiments advancing, the 29th rallied, and the united body rushing forward with irresistible impetuosity, the enemy, after two hours' contest (during which Laborde thrice rallied his troops and brought them back to the charge), succumbed, and the position was carried before either of the flank attacking columns had menaced the enemy's rear. On the appearance of the two flank columns on his right and left, Laborde, fearing to be cut off, made a hasty retreat into the hamlet of Azambuxeira, and in the course of the night directed his march to Torres Vedras, where he was joined by Loison. In this brilliant action—(the precursor of the series of victories which imparted tone and character to the British arms, and revived their glories, which, from the incompetency of the leaders of the various expeditions that had left the English shores during the war, were on the decline)—the loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 480; and that of the enemy 600, and three pieces of cannon.

On the following morning (August 18th), orders were issued for the pursuit of the enemy; but as intelligence had been brought to head-quarters that generals Anstruther and Ackland, with their brigades, had arrived on the coast, the line of march

was directed by Lourinha to Vimeira, for the purpose of covering the disembarkation of the newly-armed troops.

In the meantime Junot, who had been informed of the large reinforcements expected under Sir John Moore, with the determination of attacking the British army before these reinforcements should arrive, had collected all his disposable force, and formed a junction at Torres Vedras with the retreating divisions of Laborde and Loison; by which junction he was at the head of 14,000 men, including 1,200 cavalry and twenty-six pieces of cannon. At this time the English army consisted of 16,000 men, besides Trant's Portuguese; but its cavalry was only 180, and 200 Portuguese horse; and it had only eighteen guns.

Sir Arthur's intention was now to turn Junot's strong position at Torres Vedras, and, by the coast-road, gain Mafra with a powerful advanced guard; while the main-body of his army moved forward and seized the adjoining heights, and thus intercepted the French line of retreat by Montachique to Lisbon. But Sir Harry Burrard arriving on the evening of the 26th in Maceira Bay, Sir Arthur went on board his vessel, and reported the position of the army and his intended plan of operations; but Sir Harry, who was a general of the routine seniority system, objected to the plan as a hazardous operation. But the enemy, in the meantime, was in the active preparation of measures which disproved the old routine general's tactics and policy.

Sir Arthur, satisfied that he was on the eve of a battle, had concentrated his army in excellent positions at Vimeira, and on the hills surrounding the village.

#### BATTLE OF VIMEIRA.

IN expectation of the coming fray, the British army was under arms before day-break of the 21st of August. About seven o'clock, a cloud of dust at the distance of a league and a-half from the British outposts, plainly indicated the approach of the enemy. At eight o'clock some French cavalry were seen crowding the heights to the southward, and sending forward scouts in every direction. Soon column after column were discerned marching in order of battle. It was now evident that the

enemy was bearing down in great force on the British left. Some changes of position were made in the British army with great celerity; four brigades crossing the valley from the heights on the south to those on the north of the Maceira, in order to counteract the enemy's design on the left. The battle now began.

Laborde, with his division, advanced against the British centre, while Brennier moved against the left; the reserve, under Kellermann, and the cavalry, under Marga-

ron, being ready to support any point where their aid might be required. The attack was made with great bravery and impetuosity, but was as gallantly met by the British. At first the light troops of the 50th regiment were driven in with great vigour, and 2,000 men, with loud cries and all the confidence of victory, were rushing upon that corps, which scarcely numbered 700 bayonets, when its gallant colonel (Walker), throwing part of his line back so as to form an obtuse oblique angle, received the enemy when within pistol-shot with so effective a discharge, both on his front and flank, and at the same time vigorously charging with the bayonet, that the column broke and fled in the utmost confusion. At the same moment Fane, after a desperate conflict, repulsed an attack on the village of Vimeira, and captured seven pieces of cannon; but while the few cavalry in this quarter were pursuing the retreating foe, Margaron's powerful squadrons assailed them and cut half of the feeble party to pieces. Kellermann, taking advantage of this check, threw part of his reserve into a pine wood which flanked the line of retreat, and sent the remainder to reinforce the divisions of Brennier and Solignac, who were maintaining a desperate conflict with Ferguson's brigade on the hills to the left, where the road to Lourinha traversed the steep heights to the north of Vimeira. Kellermann's attack from the pine wood was, after a desperate struggle, repulsed by the 43rd; and that on the left, after repeated discharges of musketry on both sides within pistol-shot, was repelled with levelled bayonets, and the enemy was driven headlong down the steep, with the loss of all his artillery.

But Brennier's brigade still remaining undiminished, Junot determined to make an attempt to recover the fortune of the day. Forming that corps under cover of the neighbouring rocks and woods, he advanced with rapidity on the victors of the right and centre, who were lying on the ground after their success, and, being thus surprised, were momentarily driven back, and lost the guns which they had captured. Rallying, however, upon the heights in their rear, they returned to the charge, and attacking the enemy, not only recaptured their lost artillery, but drove the French down the hill in so headlong a manner, that Solignac and Brennier's brigades fled in different directions; and the whole brigade of the former would have been made prisoners, had

not an order from Sir Harry Burrard (who had been present in the field during the engagement, but had declined receiving the command, or in any manner interfering with Sir Arthur Wellesley's dispositions till the enemy was repulsed) obliged General Ferguson to halt in the midst of his success. The broken French, astonished at the remiss conduct of the old English general, rallied and fell back to the heights on the opposite side of the valley, having lost 2,000 men in killed and wounded, 400 prisoners, thirteen cannon, and a large quantity of ammunition; while the loss of the victors, in killed and wounded, amounted to 800.

Such was the victory of Vimeira—the *prestige* and forerunner of that series of decisive victories and splendid triumphs which placed the arms of Great Britain on the highest pinnacle of fame, and revived the remembrance of the glories of Crecy, Agincourt, Poitiers,—of Blenheim, Ramillies, Malplaquet; and that long list of triumphant conflicts which has imparted unfading renown on the prowess and might of the British soldier, when well-officered and commanded. The decisive success of the day had opened to the victors a passage to Lisbon, the broken columns of the enemy having been cut off from their retreat to the capital by the north-eastern direction, which they had taken in their disorderly flight. Of this advantage Sir Arthur determined to avail himself, and the troops were preparing to put his orders into execution, when Sir Harry Burrard, who had assumed the command, arrested them in their career of certain success by his ill-judged determination to desist from pursuit, and halt at all points. Never, in the annals of warfare, was a more injudicious measure resorted to. Had (as Sir Arthur proposed) Hill's brigade and the Portuguese, who, quite fresh and vigorous, having not fired a shot during the action, marched direct for the defile of Torres Vedras, while he himself followed up his victory by a general and rapid movement forward, the enemy, whose columns were intermingled in great confusion on the opposite heights to which they had retreated, would have been completely cut off from the capital Junot, availing himself of his antagonist's error, by a forced and circuitous night march, regained the defile of Torres Vedras, from which he had been separated by the north-easterly direction he had taken in his flight, and secured his retreat to Lisbon. Sir Arthur, in the bitterness of his disappoint-

ment at seeing the glorious result which his talents had secured rifled from him by the ill-judged determination of his superior, turning to the officers of his staff, said, with an affected gaiety, "Gentlemen, we have nothing more to do than go and shoot red-legged partridges."

On the next day—namely, August 22nd—Sir Hew Dalrymple, arriving in a frigate from Gibraltar, landed at Maceira Bay, and superseded Sir Harry Burrard. Having consulted with Sir Arthur and Sir Harry, he determined to advance, on the 23rd, against the enemy, who was posted at Torres Vedras; but in the course of the 22nd, General Kellermann appeared with a flag of truce at the British outposts, with a proposal from Junot for a suspension of arms, with a view to the evacuation of Portugal by the French army. Among the terms proposed were, that the French army should be transported in English vessels to any of the ports between Rochefort and L'Orient, with its arms and baggage, and private property of every description; and, secondly, that the Russian fleet under Admiral Siuiavin, then in the Tagus, should be considered as in a neutral harbour, and should not be pursued, when it left that harbour, without the grace-time or delay fixed by maritime law. The first condition was acceded to by all the English generals; but Sir Arthur Wellesley and Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, refusing to agree to the second one, a separate convention was subsequently concluded with the Russian admiral, by which it was stipulated that the Russian fleet should be conducted to England, and detained as a deposit till the conclusion of a general peace. On the 23rd the British army made a forward movement from Vimeira to Ramalhal, near Torres Vedras, but within the boundary stipulated by the terms of the armistice.

When Sir Hew received Sir Charles Cotton's answer that he declined to sanction the condition relative to the Russian fleet, he sent, on the 25th, the quartermaster-general, Lieutenant-colonel Murray, with a letter to Junot, apprising him of the British admiral's decision; but that if he waived the exception in favour of the Russian fleet, he was willing to conclude the condition on the terms specified in the accompanying memoranda, which had been drawn up by Sir Arthur Wellesley; and in which the British hero, with that frankness and sense of honour which were the peculiar characteristics of all his transactions, em-

phatically said—"Some mode must be devised to make the French generals disgorge the church plate which they have stolen."

Junot endeavouring to procrastinate the completion of the convention, Colonel Murray was sent to him on the morning of the 27th, with instructions drawn up by Sir Arthur, to break off the negotiations. This decisive measure, in conjunction with the arrival of the army under Sir John Moore in Maceira Bay, brought matters to a crisis; and, on the 29th, a draft of the proposed convention, signed by Kellermann, being brought to the British head-quarters, it was read, article by article, in the presence of Sir Hew Dalrymple, Sir Harry Burrard, Sir John Moore, generals Hope and Fraser, and Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the objections and proposed alterations minuted down by Sir Arthur; but that part of those objections and alterations made by himself, he afterwards complained were not attended to by those who concluded and ratified the treaty. On the same day, at the hour of noon, the term for the suspension of hostilities having expired, the British head-quarters were moved to Torres Vedras, from which Junot had withdrawn. On the 30th, Junot signed the definitive convention; and, on the following day, Sir Hew Dalrymple, having convened generals Moore, Hope, and Fraser, in their presence, and with their approbation, ratified it. Sir Arthur Wellesley was not present at the ratification of the convention, as he was then at Sobral with his division. In a letter addressed to Lord Castlereagh at this time, the future hero of the Peninsula expressed an earnest desire to be allowed to quit the army and return home. A copy of the convention accompanied Sir Hew Dalrymple's despatches to the British secretary of state, dated from Cintra, a village about thirteen miles from Torres Vedras, and twenty-five from Lisbon; and from that circumstance obtained the name of the "Convention of Cintra." In pursuance of the convention, the forts on the Tagus were taken possession of by the British troops on the 2nd of September; and, on the 8th and 9th, a British corps marched into Lisbon, to secure tranquillity and protect the embarkation of the enemy, who, before the end of the month, had entirely quitted the capital. On all the forts the flag of Braganza was hoisted, and a council of regency and a provisional government, in the name and on the behalf of the prince-regent of Portugal, was established. Sir John Hope was appointed governor of Lisbon.

The intelligence of the convention of Cintra was received both by Spain and Portugal, and the people of Great Britain, with a universal burst of indignation. Petitions from all parts of the kingdom being forwarded to the throne, calling for an investigation, a board of inquiry, consisting of four generals and three lieutenant-generals, was appointed to sit in Chelsea Hospital and investigate the reprobated convention. Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard were recalled, in order to be examined by this board. Sir Arthur Wellesley requested to be examined. The court was convened on the 14th of November, and continued sitting with adjournments. By their report they exonerated all the generals, stating, that "on a consideration of all the circumstances, no further military proceeding was necessary on the subject." But neither the ministry nor the people agreed with the award. Sir Hew Dalrymple was not permitted to resume the lieutenant-governorship of Gibraltar; but Sir Harry Burrard, who was much more censurable, resumed his command of the London district. In December, Sir Arthur Wellesley resumed his office as chief secretary for Ireland.

A few days previous to the departure of Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard from Portugal, for the purpose of attending the court of inquiry instituted for the investigation of the Cintra convention, despatches from Lord Castlereagh reached Sir John Moore\* with his appointment to the command of the British troops, to co-operate with the Spanish armies in the expulsion of the French from Spain. Intimation was also given him that a corps of 10,000 men, under Sir David Baird, was about to sail for Corunna, in order to form a junction with him.

Sir John Moore's instructions were to assemble all the disposable troops in Portu-

\* This really good man and accomplished officer, prior to his appointment to command in Portugal, had been sent in May, 1808, with an expedition consisting of 12,000 men, in conjunction with the fleet under Admiral Keats, to aid the King of Sweden in the impending contest between Sweden and the coalesced powers of Russia, France, and Denmark, and thus effect a diversion of the contemplated invasion of the Peninsula by Napoleon. The English expedition reached Gottenburg on the 17th of May, but was not permitted to land until the Swedish forces were collected. It was then proposed that the combined forces should attack Zealand; but Sir John ascertaining that that island was filled with a far superior force to that of the allies, and that it could be readily protected from French and Spanish troops from Fühnen, the Swe-

gal, and to advance on Valladolid, where he was informed Baird's division would effect the junction with the main body of the army under the command of Sir John.

It will be necessary here to give a brief statement of the condition of Spanish affairs at this period.

In order to give direction to the public force, correspondent to the will and sacrifices of the people, in their struggle with the powerful enemy by whom their country was assailed, it was necessary to appoint local governments in the respective provinces. These governments were entitled *juntas*, and administered the authority of the nation for the purpose of maintaining internal order and tranquillity, regulating the affairs and finances of the respective provinces, and adopting measures for the expulsion of the common enemy. But as soon as the capital had been freed from the invaders, and the communication between the provinces re-established, it became necessary to collect the public authority which, from necessity, had been divided into as many separate jurisdictions as there were provincial governments, into one focus or centre, from which the strength and will of the nation might be called into action. A supreme and central junta, formed by deputies nominated by the respective provincial *juntas*, was therefore installed at Aranjuez on the 25th of September, 1808, and which was acknowledged by all the other constituted authorities in the kingdom: the meeting was opened with great form and ceremony, and among its first acts was the administration of a solemn oath to be faithful to Ferdinand VII. By it a council of war was appointed, and the disposition of the available forces of the kingdom into three grand divisions; but so disposed as to form together one grand army. The eastern wing was commanded by Joseph Palafox, dish king proposed the landing in Finland—which, after a rapid succession of sanguinary battles, Sweden had been compelled to cede to Russia in November of the present year—and taking up a position there. The notion of encountering the powerful force of the coalesced powers of France and Russia with the small means of the allies being too preposterous to attempt, Sir John Moore remonstrated with the king on the impracticability of the measure, which incurring the resentment of the king, he directed Sir John's arrest; but Sir John, with considerable address, baffled the design and withdrew his troops. On his return to England he was appointed third in command of the British forces serving in Portugal, and sailed on the 20th of July from Portsmouth to his destination. Admiral Keats compelled the Russian fleet to take refuge in port.



THE BATTLE OF TALAVERA.



the north-western by Blake, and the centre by Castanos, who was commander-in-chief.\* In addition to the grand army, there was one in Estremadura, and another in Catalonia. Besides taking cognizance of the internal affairs of the mother country, the central junta declared that the colonies in Asia and America should no longer be considered as dependent provinces, but should enjoy all the privileges of the Spanish nation.

While the British general was preparing for his advance into Spain, he received, in his communications with the central junta and the Spanish generals, intelligence that the French, weak in numbers and organisation, were lying behind the Ebro, menaced by superior Spanish armies capable of preventing any advance of the enemy; whereas, the truth was, they were on the left side of that river, and the boasted successful armies of the patriots had been scattered as the dust before the wind. These reverses occurred as follows:—

Agreeably to the plan of operations which had been sanctioned by the central junta, Castanos crossed the Ebro. He was suffered by his wily enemy to push forward detachments, and take possession of Lerin, Viana, Caporoso, and other French posts on the left bank of that river, the French offering no other opposition to his onward march than was necessary to conceal their own plan of operations. Marshal Moncey was directed to advance with the left wing of the French army along the banks of the Alagon and Ebro, and instead of opposing the passage of the patriot army, to decoy Castanos across the latter river, by presenting to him a weak front. The stratagem having completely succeeded, Ney with his corps passed the Ebro, and dashing forward with great celerity, seized the Spanish posts at Logrono and Calahorra, and cut off the communication between Blake's army and that under Castanos.

In a series of actions from the 31st of October, Blake's army had been driven from post to post—from Durango to Guenas, from Guenas to Valmaseda, from Valma-

seda to Espinosa. In a strong position there it made a stand, in order to save its artillery and magazines, but in vain; for after a gallant resistance during two days, it was obliged to retreat with precipitation. Again, at Reynosa, the patriots had been obliged to consult their safety by so precipitate a flight as to abandon their artillery and throw away their arms and colours. Blake took refuge with the remains of his broken army in the Asturias. In the meantime, the Estremaduran army, under Count Belvidere, was, by a stratagem similar to that which had drawn Castanos to the left bank of the Ebro, allowed, without opposition, to advance to Burgos, of which the count took possession, having been abandoned by the enemy. Here the French attacked his army, and almost annihilated it. Belvidere, with the remnant of his broken forces, fled to Lerma and thence to Aranda. Thus two of the greatest armies with which Sir John Moore had been ordered to co-operate, were no more.

The armies of the north of Spain and Estremadura having been thus annihilated, the French directed their attention to the central army under Castanos. A battle ensued at Tudela, on November 23rd, which fixed the fate of the campaign, and laid the road open to Madrid. At break of day, Marshal Lannes attacked the patriot army, consisting of 45,000 men, and by nine o'clock they abandoned the field of battle and all their artillery. Four thousand Spaniards were killed, and 5,000 taken prisoners in the pursuit. On the 29th of November, a division of the enemy, under Victor, advanced on the pass of the Sierra Morena, called Puerto, or the Guadarama gate. It was defended by 13,000 men of the army of reserve, under General San Juan. The Puerto, a narrow neck of land forming the pass, was intersected by a trench, fortified by sixteen pieces of cannon. While a part of the French forces advanced to the Puerto by the road, other columns gained the heights on the left. A discharge of musketry and cannon having been main-

\* Blake's army had received an important augmentation. About 10,000 men of the 16,000 which Napoleon had cajoled the Prince of Peace to forward to the shores of the Baltic, to aid him in the contest in the north of Europe, had escaped from Jutland, in the British fleet commanded by Admiral Keats. These men, under the command of the Marquis Romana, were forwarded in English transports to the coast of Galicia. As the horses (1,100 in number) of these men could not be embarked, they

were turned loose on the beach. According to the testimony of Admiral Keats, the poor animals, as if participating with their riders in abhorrence of submission to the yoke of the French, as soon as they found themselves liberated upon the sands from control, forming themselves into squadrons, they charged violently, with loud cries, against each other, and continued the contest, surrounded by the dying and the dead, while life animated any of them.

tained by both sides for some time, Moutbrun, at the head of the Polish cavalry, making a desperate charge, the contest was decided; the Spaniards taking to flight, and abandoning their artillery and colours. Advanced portions of the French cavalry appeared on the 1st of December before Madrid. In the course of the next day an assault was made on the town, but though the enemy was beaten back several times from some of the gates, they at last succeeded in obtaining possession of the Alcala gate and the Retiro. The junta then hoisted the white flag, and on the 4th surrendered the city.

Napoleon was now at hand to put, as he thought, the finishing stroke to his designs on Spain. Having finished his *tête-à-tête* conferences with the Emperor Alexander

at Erfurt,\* in which the two emperors had arranged the partition of Europe between themselves, and the subjugation of England, Napoleon hastened back to Paris. With his usual celerity, setting out from Rambouillet on October 30th, he arrived at Bayonne on the 3rd of November; and on the 8th, accompanied by 12,000 men, he reached his brother's head-quarters in the city of Vittoria, and immediately took the entire direction of the Spanish campaign. On the 2nd of December he was present with the French forces before Madrid, and on the 4th received the surrender of that city and the submission of the Spanish nobility. The central junta having taken to flight, Napoleon fixed his head-quarters at Chamartin, a country-house four miles from Madrid.

#### THE SPANISH CAMPAIGN OF SIR JOHN MOORE—THE ADVANCE OF THE BRITISH ARMY TO SALAMANCA, AND ITS DISASTROUS RETREAT FROM SALAMANCA TO CORUNNA.

On his appointment to the chief command, Sir John Moore assiduously directed his attention to equipping the troops for immediate motion, and examining the state of the country, whether it would admit of the whole force moving forward in one direction. Obtaining information that the entire army could not find subsistence on the great eastern road to Elvas, no magazines having been formed in that direction for so large a body of troops, and that the road by Almeida was not practicable for artillery, he detached 6,000 men, consisting of five brigades of artillery, and, for their protection, four regiments of infantry and the whole of the cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Hope, to march by Elvas on the Madrid road, to Badajos and Espinosa. On account of the defective state of the magazines, and the poverty of the military chest, the main body of the army could not be put into motion until the 18th of October. On that day, two brigades, under General Paget, moved by Elvas and Alcantara. Two brigades, under General Beresford, marched

by Coimbra and Almeida; and three brigades, under General Fraser, by Abrantes and Almeida. The last-mentioned five brigades were accompanied by a brigade of light artillery, under Captain Wilmot. For the purpose of facilitating the march, the different regiments of each division followed one another in succession. The several divisions having marched off, Sir John left Lisbon on the 27th of October,† and joined that part of the army under his immediate command. On the 5th of November he reached Atalaia, where he discovered that the roads were practicable for artillery, instead of being impassable, as had been represented by the Portuguese authorities. General Baird, with his division, cast anchor in Corunna harbour on the 13th of October, but the provisional junta refused to allow the troops to land until they received orders to that effect from the central junta, which orders did not reach Corunna till the 27th of the month. Though the weather was very unfavourable, incessant rain falling during the whole march, the troops reached

\* During the conferences at Erfurt, the two emperors indited a joint letter to the King of England, with an offer of peace. As the overture was designed to lull the British government into a neglect or delay in furnishing assistance to the Spanish patriots, it was not accepted.

† It seems necessary to state here, that at the time the patriotic outbreak took place in Spain, Mr.

Charles Stuart was the British *chargé d'affaires* at the court of Madrid; but, for some inexplicable reasons, he had been superseded prior to Sir John Moore's campaign by Mr. Hookham Frere, as minister plenipotentiary, a gentleman better adapted for the bower of literary leisure than the busy scenes of political affairs. Many of the disasters which overtook the army may be traced to this appointment.

Almeida on the 8th of November, and on the 11th the advanced guard crossed a rivulet which divides Spain from Portugal, and marched to Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 13th of that month, Sir John and the advanced guard arrived at Salamanca, whither all the troops coming from Portugal and Sir David Baird's division from Corunna, were directed to assemble. Moore had not been more than a few days there before he received an express from General Pignotelli, the governor of the province, apprising him that the French army had advanced to Valladolid on the 13th of November, which is only twenty-seven leagues distance from Salamanca. At the time of receiving this report, by which he ascertained that the enemy was only three marches distant from him, he had only three brigades of infantry, and not a single gun, the rest of the troops being in long line of march to join him, and many of them not having yet passed the frontiers of Portugal—a course of movement rendered unavoidable on account of the scantiness of subsistence on the line of march, and the apathy of the Portuguese government and their officials to provide the necessary supplies. Orders were now forwarded forthwith to generals Baird and Hope, to concentrate their divisions, and advance with all speed to Salamanca.

The state of affairs in Spain was now hourly becoming more and more critical. The Spanish tumultuary armies in the north of Spain had been scattered and almost annihilated; and the victorious French were received throughout all the extent of the conquered country as friends, and lived in free quarters on the wretched inhabitants. At this time General Hope, with his division, reached Madrid, from which city he wrote a letter, dated November 20th, to Sir John Moore, furnishing some hints as to the treacherous conduct which Morla, the ruler of the junta, subsequently adopted; but five days afterwards, the British general received a letter from Mr. Frere, giving a favourable account of the state of Madrid, and its capabilities of resisting the enemy; though Napoleon was rapidly advancing on that city with 80,000 men, and that that fact was known to the central junta. To further the projects of Morla and his fellow-conspirators for the capture and destruction of the British army, by placing it in the power of Napoleon, Sir John Moore received from Mr. Frere a letter, addressed to that gentleman by Martin

de Garay, dated November 24th, requesting Sir John to appear personally at Aranjuez or Madrid, to arrange with the junta some points of dispute subsisting between him and the Spanish generals; but Sir John penetrating the design, declined to accept the invitation, and leave the troops at Salamanca in the present threatening posture of affairs. Sir John having now determined to retreat upon the frontier of Portugal, transmitted orders to Baird's division in Galicia, and that of Hope's in Leon, to meet him on the Tagus, for the purpose of the concentration of the British army. The idea of retreat being generally disapproved by the army at Salamanca, Sir John assembled the general officers, showed them the intelligence which he had received, and told them that he had not called them together to request their counsel, or to induce them to commit themselves by giving any opinion on the subject—that he took the responsibility entirely on himself; and only requested that they would immediately prepare for carrying it into effect.

While Sir John was putting into execution his measures for retreat from Salamanca, two Spanish generals—namely, Don Bentua Escalenti, the captain-general of the armies of Granada, and Brigadier Don Augustin de Bueno, arrived at his headquarters with a letter from Martin Garay, the secretary of the supreme junta, containing a very flattering account of the state and strength of the Spanish armies, and asserting that General San Juan, with 20,000 veteran troops, was in possession of the pass of Somo-sierra, which he had fortified so strongly, as to render the approach to Madrid impracticable. At the same moment the British general received the most flattering account of the Spanish armies in a letter from Mr. Frere, dated November 30th. In order to prove the falseness of their statements, Sir John Moore, at this interview, introduced to the Spanish generals Colonel Graham, who had just returned from Madrid, and had been informed by San Juan himself of the complete discomfiture of his force, and the possession by the enemy of the Somo-sierra pass: This completely disconcerted the Spaniards, and satisfied them that the design of leading Sir John and his army into a trap, which had been concerted between Morla and Napoleon, was frustrated. No doubt, Mr. Frere had been induced to write his latter fallacious account of the

state and strength of the Spanish armies, in consequence of Morla's false representations to him.\*

Besides the insidious mission of the Spanish generals, Morla sent a person named Charmilly, a French emigrant, to the British general, and used his influence with Mr. Frere, to prevail on him to stop the retreat of the British troops, and lead them into a snare, by bringing them into the neighbourhood of Madrid. He also, in conjunction with his traitorous confederate, the Prince of Castelfranco, while exerting all his influence to induce the inhabitants of that city to submit to the French, sent the following mendacious despatch, dated December 2nd, by a government messenger, to the British general:—

"To his Excellency Sir John Moore, commander of the army of his Britannic Majesty.

"Most excellent Sir,—The junta, military and civil, formed of all the united authorities of the kingdom, established in the king's name for the defence of the country, are threatened by the enemy; and have the honour to lay before your excellency a *true* and *just* representation of affairs at this moment.

"The army which General Castanos commanded, and which amounts to about 25,000 men, is falling back on Madrid in the greatest haste, to unite with its garrison; and the force which was at Somo-sierra, of 10,000 men, also is coming for the same purpose to this city, where nearly 40,000 men will join with them. With this number of troops the enemy's army, which has presented itself, is not to be feared.

"But the junta, still apprehending an increase of the enemy's forces to unite with that at hand, hope that your excellency, if no force is immediately opposed to you, will be able to fall back to unite with our army, or take the direction to fall on the rear of the enemy. And the junta cannot doubt, that the rapidity of your excellency's movements will be such as the interests of both countries require.

"With great consideration, &c.,

"THE PRINCE OF CASTELFRANCO.

"THOMAS MORLA.

"Madrid, Dec. 2nd, 1808."

The Prince of Castelfranco and Morla

\* Even on the 3rd of December, when Madrid was in possession of the enemy, Frere wrote a letter, bearing that date from Talavera, urging Sir John to advance on Madrid, and expedited it by one Charmilly, who, in his interview with Sir John, described in lofty terms the patriotic zeal with which all ranks

were deputies of the supreme junta entrusted with the government of Madrid; and the last mentioned was the person appointed to concert all military movements with the English general. The letter containing their perfidious statement was written on the very day the capital had begun to capitulate, and the Spanish chiefs were crouching at the feet of the conqueror. At the very moment they were penning the falsehood of the approach of Castanos' force to Madrid, they were cognizant that the army had been cut off from the capital by Bessières, and was fleeing in indescribable confusion to Cuenza; and instead of the corps of the brave San Juan being about to enter Madrid, the perfidious traitors had ordered the gates of that city to be shut against them—an act which so irritated the corps, that in misapprehension of the cause, they rose in mutiny and murdered their general, who was one of the ablest of the Spanish commanders; and after the commission of the abominable crime, they fled in confusion to Almaraz.

The British general, having penetrated the design of the enemy, and of the treacherous Morla and his prince confederate, immediately dispatched orders to Sir David Baird and General Hope to expedite their motions and endeavour to effect a junction with him; as, in his letter to Sir David, he says—"If Madrid falls, we shall have a run for it." Baird was ordered to send on his brigade to Benavente, in order to effect a junction with the main body of the army when it should, in its retrograde movement from Salamanca, reach that town. Hope was ordered to bring up his division, by rapid marches, to Salamanca. On the 7th of December, Sir John having received an address from the junta of the city of Toledo, declaring their resolution "to die in defence of their country," pleased with the rising spirit of resistance to the enemy which it indicated, sent an officer to that city to concert measures for its defence, in hopes that he would still be able to retain his position in the south of Spain, should this spirit gain ground; but the braggadocio junta, instead of obeying, or even displaying a spark of courage and patriotism, on the approach of the French took to their heels, of persons at Madrid were animated; adding, that the whole inhabitants of the city were in arms, and had united with the troops. The streets, he said were barricaded, batteries were erecting around the town, and the peasants were enthusiastically flocking to the capital to resist the enemy.

leaving the scene of their vapouring boasts in the possession of the enemy. Madrid having fallen, Napoleon resolved to allow the discomfited Spaniards no time to rally, but to disperse their dispirited troops and penetrate to the south, to compel Moore either to retreat or accept battle under the most discouraging circumstances. At this very moment, Bessières was chasing the central army of the patriots on the road to Valencia; Victor had entered Toledo; Mortier was marching to Badajos; Lefebvre was proceeding against Saragossa; Soult was preparing to enter Leon; while the emperor at Madrid was ready to support all their movements for the complete subjugation of Spain. To carry this design into execution, 200,000 veteran troops were already in the Peninsula. To oppose this overwhelming army, the British troops were the only effective force; for the Spanish armies had already been dispersed; and such of them as had been rallied from their disastrous flights, were too dispirited to feel an inclination to enter again into contest with their fierce and relentless foes. This amount of English force consisted of Baird's division (10,722 men) and the main army under Sir John Moore, together with Hope's division, of 18,628 men: in all, 26,900 infantry, and 2,450 cavalry. The artillery consisted of fifty guns, but of too small calibre to be effective; one brigade consisted of useless 3-pounders.

The Spanish central junta, still having recourse to their usual dissimulation of disguising their calamity (though they did not deny the capitulation of Madrid), in their communications with the English general, informed him that the indignant inhabitants had refused to deliver up their arms, and that the French had not ventured to enter the city. They, moreover, exaggerated the strength of their own forces, and depreciated that of the enemy. They added, that powerful Spanish corps were advancing to the relief of the capital.

Sir John Moore, as he neither—from want of proper information—entirely believed nor distrusted these reports, considered himself compelled to make every effort in his power for the relief of the capital. Accordingly, on the 10th of December, he advanced from Salamanca. The movement was made from the left flank, by brigades, towards the Douro. The reserve and General Beresford's brigade were marched to Toro, there to unite with the cavalry under Lord Paget,

who had reached that place from Astorga. The commander-in-chief moved with the remaining divisions towards Relaejos and Tordesillas, at which last-mentioned place he purposed to unite the different divisions, and thence march to Valladolid. The intention of this movement was to threaten the enemy's communication between Madrid and France; and, if a favourable opportunity offered, to attack Soult's corps, or any other of the covering divisions which should present themselves. At the same time, Moore's object was to co-operate with the Marquis Romana's army in Galicia, and effect a junction with it should he be compelled to retreat towards the north.

On December the 12th, Lord Paget, with the principal part of the cavalry, marched from Toro to Tordesillas; while Brigadier-general Stewart, commanding the 18th and king's German dragoons, was moving from Arevalo. In his march, the brigadier obtaining information that a party of French cavalry and infantry were posted in the village of Rueda, he dispatched Captain Dashwood secretly to reconnoitre the place in the night, and mark the positions of the sentries and videttes. Early on the following morning, the brigadier rapidly proceeded to the village with a party of the 18th dragoons, and surprising the enemy, either killed or took almost the whole detachment.

On the 14th of December the British head-quarters were at Relaejos, and on that day an intercepted despatch from Berthier to Marshal Soult was brought to the commander-in-chief, by which it appeared that Soult's corps was stronger than it had been represented; and therefore the design of marching to Valladolid was no longer advisable, lest Sir David Baird should be attacked in his movements to effect a junction with the main body of the army. In order to approach nearer to Sir David, a movement to Toro was deemed necessary; when, a junction having been effected, Sir John purposed to advance towards Soult, and attack him before he was reinforced, or any French corps should be pushed forward on the British right flank, to endanger the retreat. With this design the army marched to Toro, which it reached on the 16th. The cavalry, under Lord Paget, were now pushed so forward, that their patrols reached as far as Valladolid, and had frequent successful skirmishes with the enemy's cavalry. In one of these combats,

Colonel Otway charged a detachment of the enemy, and made the whole of them prisoners. On the 18th of December, Sir John Moore's head-quarters were at Castro-Nuevo, and Sir David Baird's at Benavente. On the 20th, the main army reached Mayorga, when a junction was effected with Baird's division; but the cavalry and horse-artillery were advanced to Monasterio Melga Abano, within three leagues of Sahagun, where 700 of the enemy's cavalry were posted. At this period of the campaign, the effective force of the British army was 23,000 infantry, and about 2,300 cavalry.

As soon as Lord Paget received information of the enemy's cavalry being posted at Sahagun, he determined to attack them. Accordingly, at two o'clock on the morning of the 21st, he set forward to put his design into execution, dispatching General Slade, with the 10th hussars, along the Coa, for the purpose of entering the town, while he proceeded towards it, in another direction, with the 15th dragoons and the horse-artillery. Approaching the town at dawn, he surprised a picket, except two or three men who escaped and gave the alarm. Without the least delay he pushed forward, but discovered the enemy formed up not far from the town, having been apprised of the hostile approach by the fugitives. The opposing squadrons manœuvred for some time, each endeavouring to gain the flank of its opponent. The disadvantage of the ground was unfavourable, at first, to the British attack; but that disadvantage being surmounted, a rapid charge was made on the enemy, who had wheeled into line to receive the charge. Owing to this injudicious formation and position, they were overthrown in a moment, and dispersed in every direction, leaving 157 prisoners in the hands of the victors, besides a considerable number of killed and wounded.

On the day of this successful cavalry charge, the British head-quarters reached Sahagun, where, as the troops had suffered much from the forced marches and the severity of the weather (the ground being covered with snow, and the roads bad), a halt was made for one day, to enable them to recover from their fatigue.

After the defeat of the cavalry at Sahagun, Marshal Soult had withdrawn a detachment from Guarda, and concentrated his troops, to the amount of 18,000, behind the river Carrion. Seven thousand men were posted

at Saldana; 5,000 at the town of Carrion; and detachments were placed to guard the fords and bridges. In this position the British general determined to attack the French. Accordingly, the disposition was made for an attack, and the generals had received their instructions; but, just as they were on the point of advancing, information was received that French reinforcements had arrived at Carrion; that the corps marching to the south had been that on the road to Badajos, and the one destined for Saragossa halted at Talavera, and Napoleon was marching with a powerful force from Madrid against the English army. The forward march of the troops was therefore instantly countermanded. To Soult orders had been transmitted to give way if attacked and to decoy the British general as far eastward as possible; and, at the same time, to push on a corps towards Leon, on the left flank of the British army. Should the English general attempt to retreat, he was ordered to impede the movement by every means in his power. Thus Napoleon hoped to be able to surround the English army, and compel its surrender. To effect this purpose, Buonaparte, while his generals advanced in an irregular crescent in concentric lines on that army, had marched from Madrid with a force consisting of 32,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, direct against the British position. The advanced guard of the cavalry passed through Tordesillas on the same day (the 24th) that the van of the English army quitted Sahagun. Both armies were in motion to the same point—Benavente.

For the purpose of passing the river Esla without the interruption which might have occurred had the whole army taken one route to it, as also to cover the magazines and stores which had been deposited at Benavente and Zamora, Sir John directed Sir David Baird to take the route by Valencia, while the main body of the army under his own immediate command advanced by Castro-Gonzalo. The defence of the passage of the river by Mansilla, he requested the Marquis Romana to undertake.

On the 24th, the advanced guard of Napoleon's army marched from Tordesillas, which is distant fifty miles from Benavente, and strong detachments of cavalry were pushed forward from Villapardo and Mayorga; in which last-mentioned place, Lord Paget, on the 26th, fell in with one of them. He immediately ordered Colonel Leigh to attack that corps with two squadrons of

the 10th hussars, which had halted on the summit of a hill. One of Leigh's squadrons was kept in reserve; the other rode briskly up the hill, and on approaching the top, where the ground was rugged, was reined in to refresh, or enable the horses to recover their breath, though exposed to a severe fire from the enemy. When the squadron had nearly gained the top of the hill, a rapid charge was made against the enemy, who was completely overthrown, with the loss of 100 prisoners, and a considerable number killed and wounded.

On the night of the 26th, the only part of the British army which remained at Castro-Gonzalo were the cavalry, the horse-artillery, and a light corps; Hope and Fraser's divisions had marched to Benavente. On the 27th the rear-guard crossed the Esla, and having previously blown up the bridges, followed the same route.\*

It is now the painful duty of the historian to acknowledge that disorder and insubordination began to appear in the British army. In an order issued from head-quarters, dated Benavente, December 27th, the commander-in-chief, while he acknowledged that their conduct had hitherto been exemplary, and did them much honour, observed, that "the insubordination of the troops in the column which marched by Valderas to this place, exceeds what he could have believed of British soldiers." "Bravery alone," said he, and justly so, "is not the only qualification of the soldier; but patience and constancy under fatigue and hardship, obedience to command, sobriety, firmness, and resolution in every situation in which soldiers may be placed, are permanent duties and obligations." Perhaps it is fair to acknowledge, that the troops were irritated at the churlish manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, and the knowledge that the French army was supplied by them with all it required, without payment.

The English general had now to determine his line of retreat to the coast—a determination he had suspended as long as possible, wishing to maintain himself in the mountains, in order to aid the patriot cause, and avail himself of any favourable circumstance

\* Maxwell, in *The Givouac*, thus describes the hardships endured in crossing this river:—"Early next day our sufferings opened with the crossing of the Esia. The river was already rising, and one huge and ill-constructed ferry-boat was the only means by which to pass over a whole division, its baggage, and its camp followers. The waters were increasing, the rain fell in torrents, the east wind

to promote it. But he was soon convinced that that hope was fallacious. He therefore determined to begin his march to Vigo. To that town there are two roads; but that by Orense, though the shortest, is neither practicable for artillery nor for any species of waggon; consequently the army, on the 28th, took the road by Astorga; and orders were transmitted to Sir David Baird, who was still at Valencia, to march to that point. Lord Paget was ordered to bring up the rear with the cavalry. But before the party under his lordship's command was in motion, a detachment of the enemy's cavalry was observed trying a ford near the bridge which had been blown up; and presently between five and six hundred of the imperial *garde à cheval* plunged into the river, and crossed to the opposite shore. The British pickets, to the number of 220 men, were quickly assembled by Colonel Otway, retiring slowly before the superior force of the enemy, and bravely disputing every inch of ground with him. The van and rear squadrons of the combatants repeatedly charged each other. But at length a small party of the third dragoons arriving to the assistance of the British, the united force charged the enemy with so much fury, that the front squadron broke through the hostile lines, and was momentarily surrounded by the enemy's rear squadron wheeling up; but the gallant band extricated itself by charging back through the enemy, when, quickly rallying, it re-formed with the rest of the pickets. The opposing squadrons were now sharply engaged, occasionally intermixing with one another. At this moment Lord Paget reached the field, and endeavoured to drive the enemy further from the ford, till the 10th hussars, who were forming at some distance, were prepared to engage in the contest. As soon as that regiment joined their fellow-combatants, it was wheeled into line in the rear of the pickets. The pickets then, supported by the 10th hussars, charged the enemy; but before they could close with him he wheeled round, fled to the ford, and plunged into the river. Being hotly pursued, seventy prisoners, among whom was General Lefebvre, their commander, and fifty-five blew with cutting violence, mules kicked, men cursed, and women screamed; and in short, was noise and disorder. Fortunately, a contiguous ford was declared practicable. The infantry and their equipages passed safely; and before the flood rose so high as to bar their passage, the whole column was safe upon the right bank."

killed and wounded, were the trophies of the victors. The loss of the British, in this brilliant affair, was about fifty in killed and wounded. At night, Lord Paget drew off the cavalry, and followed the reserve to La Baneza.

As the intelligence which had been hitherto received was not so decisive as to enable the British commander-in-chief to determine whether he should, in his last resource, retire on Vigo or Corunna, he deemed it necessary to detach a light corps of 3,000 men, under General Craufurd, on the road to Orense, which is the shortest route to Vigo, with instructions, if pursued, to take up a position behind the river Minho, and there endeavour to check the advance of the enemy. This measure was adopted to prevent the enemy seizing the Orense road, and thus deprive the British of the chance of obtaining possession of Vigo; or lest, by forced marches of light detachments, the French should seize some of the passes in front, and thus retard and embarrass the retreat to Corunna. The rest of the army advanced to Astorga, where it was joined by Baird's column. Here Sir John not only found the town filled with the Marquis of Romana's troops in a sad state of destitution, but learned that the guard left by that general to defend the bridge of Mansilla, had fled as soon as it was charged by a part of Soult's cavalry, and that Leon, which had promised to make a stout defence, had opened its gates to the same marshal as soon as he presented himself before them, and had gratuitously furnished his troops with as many rations as they required.

Astorga being one of the depôts which had been formed for warlike stores, with the view of the joint offensive operations of the British and Spanish armies, and affording the Marquis Romana the means of supplying his disorganised troops with muskets and as much ammunition as they could carry, he determined to push forward to Orense, in front of the British; a measure highly prejudicial to the retreat, as his force not only consumed the provisions, but blocked up the road with their mules and carts on the British line of march.

So far the English general had, by his firmness and promptitude, foiled the hopes of Napoleon, who fully expected to have been able to reach Benavente before, or at least as soon, as the English troops; and

Soult had also indulged the hope that Moore's army would be so much retarded by Napoleon's front attacks, that he might, by forced marches through Leon, reach Astorga before him. The timidity of the Spaniards at Mansilla, and the immediate submission of Leon, facilitated the possible execution of his hopes. Had either events happened sooner, the British army must have been surrounded: but the hopes of Napoleon and his lieutenant were foiled—Astorga was in possession of the British.

On the 30th of December the advanced guard and the main body of the British army moved on to Villafranca, and were followed, on the 31st, by the reserve under General Paget. Both bodies marched to Camberos that evening, and were followed by the cavalry at night. The pickets on the road from La Baneza, who were posted to watch Napoleon's cavalry, and those at the bridge of Orbigo to attend to Soult's, retired as the enemy advanced. The cavalry reached Camberos at midnight, when the reserve immediately resumed its march, and arrived next morning (January 1st, 1809) at Bembibre, at the very moment that the preceding divisions were in motion for Villafranca.

The scene of drunkenness and insubordination which occurred here among the stragglers of the army was not only disgraceful, but highly injurious to the interests of the retreating columns. The stragglers from the preceding divisions so crowded the houses, that it was with difficulty the reserve could find any accommodation; while groups of the half-naked and famished peasants of Romana's army, added to the confusion and diminished the supplies. The French at this moment pursued so closely, that during the night their patrols fell in with the British cavalry pickets. On Napoleon reaching Astorga, he was joined by Soult's corps, when their united force amounted to 70,000 men. Other corps, whose original destinations had been countermanded, were hastening to effect a junction. Here the French emperor reviewed his troops; and, convinced that the British army could not be intercepted, but was beyond his reach, he transferred the command to Soult and Ney, with orders to pursue the English and drive them into the sea; and set out on his journey to Paris, to prepare for the impending struggle with Austria.

## CONTINUATION OF THE DISASTROUS RETREAT FROM SALAMANCA—BATTLE OF CORUNNA.

THE British troops had, from the very commencement of the retreat from Salamanca, been subject to great privations, and had suffered much from the severities of the weather. Now their distresses and privations were rapidly accumulating. Deluges of cold rain fell, chilling and drenching the troops, and the unfortunate women and children who accompanied them. When they halted, it was with difficulty they procured fuel to dress their food or dry their clothes. The provisions were often scanty, for the drivers of the carts in which the baggage, magazines, and stores were transported, were so terrified at the approach of the French cavalry, that they deserted their wains, and, as the bullocks and mules could not be made to move except by the native drivers, the stores were frequently lost or destroyed to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. The unfriendly conduct of the natives contributed also to aggravate the sufferings and privations of the troops, as they often fled from their houses on the approach of the English; barring their doors, and carrying off their carts, mules, horses, oxen, forage, and provisions.

On account of the drunkenness and disorderly conduct of the stragglers of the preceding divisions at the little town of Bembibre, at which place the extensive wine-vaults had been forcibly entered when Sir John marched from it with the reserve and the cavalry to Villafranca, on the morning of the 2nd of January, Colonel Ross was left with the 20th regiment and a small detachment of cavalry, to cover the town; while parties were sent to warn the stragglers—who now amounted to nearly 1,000 men—of their danger, and to drive them, if possible, out of the houses. Some few were prevailed on to move; but neither threats nor the approach of the enemy could induce the greater number to quit the place. At length the rear-guard was compelled to march and leave the offenders to their fate; yet a small detachment of cavalry covered the whole, and did not quit the town until the enemy was at hand; then, terrified at the approaching danger, the road was immediately filled with armed and unarmed Spanish and British stragglers, waggons, carts, mules, women and children—all intermingled in the greatest confusion. In this

alarming state, four or five squadrons of French cavalry were seen moving from Bembibre, against the detachment (a patrol of the 15th hussars) which had been by the superior force compelled to retire, and was closely pursued for several miles. As soon as the French dragoons reached the motley group of stragglers, they galloped through the long line, slashing at them mercilessly to the right and left; and the unfortunate men were so intoxicated, that they neither attempted to resist or escape. The tumult continued till checked by the reserve under General Paget, who repulsed the assailants.

The reserve halted at Cacabelos, and the greatest part of the cavalry at Villafranca; at which last-mentioned place the stragglers had repeated the irregularities which they had committed at Bembibre, having plundered the magazines and broken open the wine stores. To prevent the repetition of the offence, Sir John ordered one of the offenders to be executed; and to convince the troops of the calamitous consequences of their drunkenness and quitting their corps, some of the stragglers, who had been shockingly mangled, were shown through the ranks.

On the 3rd of January, four or five thousand cavalry were seen cautiously advancing towards Cacabelos. The 95th, and a detachment of British cavalry, who occupied a hill about a league in front of that place, were ordered to retire through the town over the bridge; but while the two rear-companies of the rifles were passing along a street, the cavalry picket retreated precipitately through them, and the enemy's cavalry, taking advantage of the slight disorder occasioned, pursued so closely, that a few of the 95th were taken prisoners. The enemy's dismounted chasseurs advancing rapidly, crossed the river in great force, and attacked the 95th, the cavalry joining in the onset. This gallant regiment being too weak to present an effective resistance, was ordered to retreat up the neighbouring hills among the vineyards; from which position it so galled the enemy's cavalry which advanced to the attack, that they were repulsed with considerable slaughter, leaving General Colbert, who commanded the advanced guard, among the slain. Towards the evening the reserve withdrew to Villafranca, and as the enemy pressed the pursuit, a night march

was made to Herrieras. The country being now rough and mountainous, and therefore not adapted to cavalry movements, that arm was sent forward to Lugo, at which place Sir John, having received a favourable description of the ground in its front, determined to make a stand and offer the enemy battle. He accordingly sent despatches to generals Hope and Fraser, who commanded the advanced divisions, to halt; as also to General Baird, who was far in front.

On the 4th, accounts were received from the engineers respecting the ports of Vigo and Corunna. As the latter was the more favourable for the embarkation, and was three marches nearer than the former, Sir John determined to retreat on Corunna, and immediately sent off two expresses, by different routes, to Sir Samuel Hood at Vigo, requesting him to send the transports forthwith round to Corunna.

While the reserve was on its march to Nogales, it intercepted between thirty and forty waggons filled with arms, ammunition, shoes, and clothing for the Marquis of Romana's army; but which it was now impossible that he could receive. As there were no means of transporting these stores forward, some of the shoes, and such articles as were wanted, were distributed among the troops as they passed, and the rest were destroyed. On the morning of the 5th the reserve left Nogales, which was entered by the enemy soon after the rear had quitted it. Near this place, two carts filled with dollars to the amount of £25,000, and which had been brought forward from Corunna, falling behind the line of march, the casks were broken open, and the money was rolled down a precipice on the side of the road. The troops under the immediate command of Sir John Moore now approaching Constantina, a small town which is commanded by a steep height in its vicinity, it was feared that the column would, in descending the path which led across the hill, be severely annoyed by the enemy. To protect it, the rifles and the horse-artillery were halted at the top

\* Colonel Leith Hay gives the following account of the wretched condition in which the British troops reached Lugo:—"Next were to be seen the conductors of baggage, toiling through the streets, their laden mules almost sinking under the weight of ill-arranged burdens swinging from side to side, while the persons in whose charge they had followed the divisions appeared undecided which to execrate most, the roads, the mules, the Spaniards, or the weather. These were succeeded by the dull, heavy sound of the passing artillery; then came the

of the eminence, while the rest of the reserve retired over it. The enemy not choosing to attack the position, as soon as the rear of the reserve reached the bridge of Constantina, the rifles and artillery corps followed them. No sooner had they reached the bridge, than the enemy advanced in great force against it, but they were received with so well-directed a fire from the artillery, and so determined a spirit by the rear-guard, that after repeated endeavours to gain the disputed point, they were driven back with considerable loss. Late at night the rear-guard of the reserve received orders to retire on Lugo.\* Here, on the 7th, Sir John, in a proclamation, announced his intention of giving battle to the enemy. No sooner was the order issued than all disorder among the British troops ceased, and the line of battle so attenuated before, was, as if by enchantment, filled with obedient and resolute soldiers: for, as the historian of *The War in the Peninsula* has well said—"A British army may be gleaned, but cannot be reaped; whatever may be the misery, the soldiers will always be found ready at a fight."

The enemy had appeared on the 6th in front of the British position, and on the following morning commenced a cannonade. Towards evening they attacked the right of the British line; but their principal efforts being directed on the left, Sir John hastened to that part of the line, and speaking some words of encouragement to the men, they rushed forward with fixed bayonets, and drove the enemy down the hill with considerable slaughter. This effort having been deemed merely an attempt of the enemy to reconnoitre the British position, the army was, early on the following morning, marshalled, and offered battle to the enemy; but the challenge was declined. To remain in this position was hazardous and impossible. The enemy might push forward corps on either flank of the British by lateral roads, and thus cut off communication with the coast, and surround the English army. From want of provisions it would Spanish fugitives from the desolating line of the armies. Detachments with sick or lamed horses scrambled through the mud, while, at intervals, the report of a horse-pistol knelled the termination to the sufferings of an animal that a few days previously, full of life and high in blood, had borne its rider not against, but over, the ranks of Gallia chivalry. The effect of this scene was rendered more striking by the distant report of cannon and musketry, and more gloomy by torrents of rain, and a degree of cold worthy of a Polish winter."

have been impossible to remain two days where they were. The resumption of the retreat was therefore indispensable; and to obviate the annoyance of attacks on the rear-guard, orders were issued to the different brigades to march that night, leaving fires burning to deceive the enemy. But owing to the darkness of the night, the severity of the weather, and the badness of the roads, together with the mistakes of the guides, the columns made but little progress, and at dawn the troops found themselves not far distant from the point from which they had started at ten o'clock the preceding night, having by mistake countermarched over the very ground they had been traversing. On the following day's retreat, during which the rain fell incessantly, the first halt was at Valmeda, and as there was no shelter, the troops were exposed to the drenching torrent. Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, the reserve was on its march in the night towards Betanzos, where the other divisions of the army had halted; but as the advanced guard of the enemy came up on the evening of the 9th, and hung on the rear of the retreating columns, General Paget was ordered to take up a position with a portion of the rear-guard some miles from Betanzos, to protect the stragglers.

On the 11th the army marched from Betanzos, when Sir John, desirous of examining the positions near Corunna, left the reserve under General Paget, and proceeded with the main body of the army for that place. During the march, many were the anxious glances cast towards the sea, to discover whether the transports had arrived; out, to the sad discomfiture of the weather-beaten, worn-out, exhausted wayfarers, only a few coasters and fishing-boats were discernible on the wide expanse of the dreary and desolate ocean. On reaching this point of their toils and sufferings, the guards and General Fraser's brigade were quartered in the town, General Hope's division in the suburbs, and the reserve, under General Paget, at El Burgo, near the bridge of Mero, and in the villages on the San Jago road.

Sir John was now actively engaged in examining the positions, natural and artificial, in the neighbourhood of Corunna. The former were considerable, and consisted of two ranges of hills, surrounding the town in the manner of an amphitheatre; the first being about four miles distant, the

second, one. The village of Elvina was situate midway between the second ridge of hills and the town. Had it been possible for the British army to occupy the farther range of hills, it could have defended itself against a superior force; but as the position was too extensive for the numbers of the British, an attempt to occupy it would have rendered their right and left flanks liable to be turned, and enabled the enemy to penetrate to Corunna. Sir John Moore therefore determined to occupy the second range of inferior heights. As soon as the army had reached Corunna, the lading of the few ships which were in the harbour was begun.

On the morning of the 12th the enemy was observed moving in force on the opposite side of the river Mero. They took up a position near the village of Perillo, on the left flank, and occupied the houses along the river. Some of the English officers were now so disheartened, that in their melancholy depression at the aspect of affairs, they recommended Sir John to propose to the French marshal terms of submission, on condition that the British army was permitted to embark unmolested. This recreant advice was indignantly rejected by the commander-in-chief.

On the 13th Sir David Baird's division marched out of Corunna, to occupy the position on the nearest range of hills. The other divisions rapidly followed. The arrangement of the British army was:—

General Hope's division occupied a hill on the left, which commanded the road to Betanzos, but the height of which decreased gradually towards the village of Elvina, taking a curved direction. Sir David Baird's division was next in station, and at this village, and inclining to the right, the two divisions formed nearly a semicircle. The rifle corps, under Colonel Beckwith, stationed on the right of Baird's division, formed a chain across the valley, and communicated with Fraser's division, which was drawn up near the road to Vigo, and about half-a-mile from Corunna. The reserve, under General Paget, occupied a village on the Betanzos road, about half-a-mile in the rear of Hope's division.

In making arrangements for the approaching battle, Sir John had been occupied since daybreak. About an hour before mid-day he returned to head-quarters, and sending for Brigadier-general Stewart, he desired him to proceed to England, and communi-

cate to government the state of the army and the approaching crisis, adding that he was incapable of writing, on account of the fatigue which he had undergone; but having taken two hours' rest and some refreshment, he wrote off his last despatch.

In the course of the evening of the 14th, the transports from Vigo hove in sight, and soon came into the harbour. Immediately the embarkation of the remainder of the sick, the dismounted cavalry, the best of the horses (the rest having been shot, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy), and fifty-two pieces of cannon, was proceeded with. Only eight 6-pounders were kept, to be employed in the approaching battle. On the same day, a magazine of 4,000 barrels of gunpowder, deposited on a hill, and which had been sent from England for the use of the patriots, was, after as many barrels had been conveyed to Corunna as the few mules and carts there could accomplish, blown up with an explosion so terrific, that the city was shaken to its foundation, the earth shook for leagues around, and the waters of the ocean heaved and swelled as in a violent storm.

On the 15th the enemy advanced to the height on which the magazine had been blown up, and directly opposite the British position; and frequent fusilades took place between the outposts of the hostile armies.

On the morning of the 16th, no intention appearing on the part of the enemy to attack, preparations were made for embarking the army, which was fixed to take place that night. On that day the commander-in-chief issued his last order. About noon he proceeded to visit the outposts, to explain his intentions to the general officers. But he had not proceeded far on the road towards the position of the army, when he received a report from General Hope, "that the enemy's line was getting under arms." Expressing his apprehensions that there would not be daylight enough to profit sufficiently from the advantages which he anticipated as certain, he hastened to the scene of action. Already the advanced pickets and the enemy's light troops, who were pouring rapidly down the hill on the right wing of the British, were engaged. On reaching the field, Sir John immediately dispatched orders to the generals at the different points. General Fraser's brigade, which was in the rear, was ordered to move up and take position on the right; and General Paget was ordered to advance with the reserve to support Lord William Bentinck.

The enemy now commenced a destructive cannonade from eleven heavy guns, which soon overpowered the English 6-pounders. At the same moment four strong columns of infantry advanced from the French position, two of which were directed against the British right wing, which was the weakest point. The third column directed its march against the centre, and the fourth slowly moved on the left wing, along the road from El Burgo. A fifth column halted half down the descent of their position, towards the left.

The right wing appearing the object of the enemy's principal attack, an aide-de-camp was dispatched to desire General Paget to bring up the reserve to the right of Lord William Bentinck's brigade, consisting of the 4th, the 42nd, and the 50th regiments.

The two hostile lines, though separated by low stone-walls and hedges, now advanced against each other, while showers of balls flew about in every direction. As they closed, the left of the enemy's line extending beyond the right flank of the British, a body of the enemy was observed moving up the valley to turn it. To meet the emergency, the 4th regiment, which formed that flank, immediately fell back, refusing their right, and making an obtuse angle with their left. In that formation they commenced a heavy flanking fire against the advancing enemy—a movement which so pleased Sir John Moore, who had taken his station near them, and was watching the manœuvre, that he called out to the regiment—"That is exactly what I wanted to be done." At the same moment, riding up to the 50th, he addressed that gallant corps with some words of encouragement, which so animated the men, that they rushed forward and drove the enemy, who had gained possession of Elvina, out of the village. Then proceeding to the 42nd, and saying to them, "Highlanders, remember Egypt!" that regiment also rushed forward, driving the enemy before them till they were stopped by one of the low stone-walls which intervened between the two armies.

Prior to this movement, Sir John, seeing the position of the 42nd critical, had directed Captain Hardinge to order up a battalion of the guards to the left flank of the highlanders. While Captain Hardinge was reporting to the commander-in-chief that the guards were advancing, a cannon-ball struck Sir John on the left shoulder, and beat him

to the ground. Though the shot had carried away the left shoulder and part of the collar-bone, leaving the arm hanging by the flesh, the intrepid sufferer raised himself and sat up, "without a muscle of his face altered, or the least indication of sensation of pain," looking intently on the highlanders, who were warmly engaged; and when told by Hardinge that they were advancing, his countenance immediately brightened. As the blood was flowing fast, he was carried off the field in a blanket, by six soldiers of the 42nd and the guards. While being removed, he ordered Captain Hardinge to report his wound to General Hope, who, as Sir David Baird had been wounded in an early part of the action, assumed the command.

General Paget, conformably to his orders, had hastened to the right with the reserve. Colonel Beckwith had also dashed forward with the rifle corps, and had penetrated so far on the enemy's flank as nearly to have carried a piece of their artillery, but was forced to retire before a corps of much superior force which was moving up the valley. This corps General Paget attacked with the reserve, and quickly repelled it. Pressing forward, he bore down all opposition in his front, so that the enemy, perceiving their wing exposed, entirely withdrew it.

The enemy's onset on the centre had been gallantly resisted by General Manning's horse and Leith's brigade; and their efforts on the left wing had been unavailing, as the position on that side was strong. One of their corps had taken possession of a village on the road to Betanzos, but it was quickly dislodged, with loss, by some companies of the 14th, under Lieutenant-colonel Nichols.

The enemy had now fallen back on every point; but light beginning to fail, all pursuit was desisted from, as it was well known that reinforcements would reach the French, so as to render the retention of their position impossible. Orders were therefore issued for the troops to move from the field by brigades at ten o'clock at night, and march for Corunna for embarkation. To cover the retreat of the columns, the pickets left to guard the ground lighted many fires. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded, had been between seven and eight hundred; that of the enemy about 2,000: the great disparity of loss having occurred by fresh muskets being served out to the English from the stores in Corunna just prior to

the action. The English army consisted of 14,500 men; that of the French exceeded 20,000.

To cover the embarkation, a rear-guard of 2,000 men, under General Beresford, occupied the lines in front of the town; and a corps of reserve, under General Hill, was stationed on a promontory behind the town. The whole army being embarked during the night, the pickets were withdrawn before daylight, and immediately went on board the transports; so that the only force which remained ashore now was the rear-guard.

As soon as the enemy perceived that the English position was abandoned, they pushed on some light troops to the heights of St. Lucia; and about noon of the 17th, placed some cannon upon a rising ground near the harbour, and fired at the transports. The masters of the vessels were so frightened, that they cut their cables, by which misconduct four of the transports were stranded. The troops of the stranded transports being put on board other ships, and the vessels burnt, the fleet set sail from the harbour. At two o'clock of the 17th, General Hill's brigade embarked under the citadel; and during that night and the following morning, General Beresford sent off such of the sick and wounded as could be safely removed; and, lastly, the rear-guard, about noon, entered the boats and reached the fleet without the least interruption from the enemy; so strongly had the bloody repulse they had experienced inspired them with respect for British valour. As the transports (in which were Beresford's troops) joined the fleet, signal was made for sailing, and the whole, under a strong convoy, made for England.

As Sir John Moore had been heard frequently to declare, that if he should be killed in battle he wished to be buried where he had fallen, he was interred in a grave dug by a party of the 9th regiment on the ramparts of the citadel, his body retaining the uniform in which he had been killed, wrapped up in his military cloak and blanket.

When Marshal Soult took possession of Corunna, he ordered a monument to be erected to the memory of Sir John Moore; but the French consul, to whom the duty was delegated, having omitted to put the marshal's design into execution, at a subsequent period the Marquis of Romana and one of Sir John Moore's countrymen erected

a monument, bearing the simple but touching inscription:—

“JOHN MOORE,  
LEADER OF THE ENGLISH ARMIES,  
SLAIN IN BATTLE, 1809.”

Thus ended the first English campaign in Spain during the struggle of the patriots for independence. In it the English army

had sustained its ancient renown: not a piece of artillery, a standard, nor a single military trophy had fallen into the enemy's hands; for the useless 3-pounders which had been abandoned were spiked, and all the ammunition and baggage which could not be carried forward were destroyed.

#### SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S SECOND CAMPAIGN IN PORTUGAL.

THE British cabinet having determined to resume military operations in Spain on behalf of the patriots, invited Sir Arthur Wellesley to the command of the forces destined for that purpose. To provide an adequate military force, two acts of parliament were passed to give greater activity to enlistment from the militia. But as Soult had, since the evacuation of Spain by the English army after the battle of Corunna, invaded the north of Portugal, and obtained possession of Oporto, though garrisoned by thrice the number of his army, it was determined first to undertake the liberation of that country from the French yoke. Accordingly, Sir Arthur was requested to furnish his opinion of the best mode of accomplishing that purpose. In a memorandum dated 7th of March,\* the British general stated his opinion, that the Portuguese military establishment should be increased and put into a state of efficiency, and officered by British officers; by which Portugal might not only be defended, but which would be highly useful to the Spaniards in their contest with the enemy, and which might eventually decide the contest. In furtherance of this advice, General Beresford, with the rank and title of field-marshal in the Portuguese service, was appointed generalissimo of the forces in Portugal, and a number of English officers took service in the Portuguese army.

In prosecution of the magnificent plan which his genius had conceived, Sir Arthur, resigning his office of secretary for Ireland, prepared to proceed to the scene of action. On the 15th of April he set sail from Portsmouth for Lisbon in the *Surveillante* frigate, which was nearly lost in a storm at the back of the Isle of Wight, the night after she quitted Spithead. On the 22nd he arrived at Lisbon, and took the command of the army, which had been for some

time in the hands of Sir John Cradock. In a moment, his presence infused new life and confidence into every department of the government and the army. The Portuguese, both civil and military, were enthusiastic in their reception of him, and no longer despaired of the liberation of their country from the thralldom of the oppressor. On the 28th he proceeded to Coimbra, where the head-quarters of the army were established. From that city he, on the 9th of May, moved forward with an army consisting of about 25,000 British and Portuguese forces, on Oporto, for the purpose of dislodging Soult from that city, and clearing the northern provinces of Portugal of the enemy; with the design also of turning Soult's left flank, and thus cutting off his retreat by Braga, or through Tras-os-Montes, to Astorga and Leon. The army advanced in two columns. The right, consisting of 6,000 infantry and 1,000 horse, under Marshal Beresford, proceeded to the Upper Douro, by Viseu and Lamego, for the purpose of co-operating with Silveira, who was in possession of the line of Tamega and the bridge of Amarante. The left, consisting of 15,000 infantry and 1,600 horse, under the immediate command of Sir Arthur, moved by the Vauga direct on Oporto. General Mackenzie, with 3,000 British and 4,000 Portuguese, advanced to Alcantara and the eastern frontier of Portugal, in order to protect that part of the country from Lapisse and Victor's movements, who were stationed in Estremadura. The English general had hoped to be able to surprise and cut off that part of Soult's force on the left or southern side of the Douro, in its retreat from the Vauga to that river; but the French marshal obtaining information of the approach of the English, rapidly withdrew them, except the rear-guard, behind the Douro. At the same time he dispatched Loison to dislodge Silveira from the bank

\* See Gurwood's *Wellington Despatches*.

of the Tamega and the bridge of Amarante, a task which the French general did not find much difficulty in performing.

In its march towards Oporto, the British advanced guard fell in with the outposts of the enemy at Vendos Nevos. Their main body, consisting of 4,000 infantry and a few squadrons of cavalry, was posted on the heights above Gijon, having their front covered by wood and broken ground. Their flank was soon turned by General Murray's

brigade; and at the same time, their right being vigorously attacked by a Portuguese brigade, their centre was driven in by the rifles. By a rapid retreat, the enemy reached the Douro on the night of the 11th of May, which they instantly crossed, and burned the bridge of boats at Oporto. They were closely pursued by Sir Arthur, who appeared on the southern bank of the river on the 12th of May, about a mile above the city of Oporto and its suburb, Villa-Nova.

#### PASSAGE OF THE DOURO.

EARLY on the morning of the 12th, the British commander-in-chief dispatched General Murray to cross the Douro at the ferry of Avintes, about five miles above Oporto; and the brigade of guards was directed to cross the river below Villa-Nova, and as near as possible to Oporto, while the main body of the army attempted to effect a passage from the Serra convent at Villa-Nova, to an old building entitled the Seminary (*Seminario*), on the opposite bank, by means of any boats which could be obtained. Three boats having been procured by Colonel Waters, twenty-five of the Buffs were quickly ferried over in one of them, and the two others rapidly following, and having deposited the men on the bank of the river, returned for fresh loadings, until the first battalion of the regiment—consisting of 1,000 men, under the command of Major-general Sir Edward Paget—were established in the building. The French at last perceiving the British on the right side of the river, cavalry, infantry, and artillery hurried forth from the city, and coming furiously down on the Seminary, attacked the Buffs, who gallantly maintained their position till supported successively by the 48th and 66th regiments, under General Hill, on whom the command soon devolved, Sir Edward Paget being wounded. The well-directed fire of the battery of twenty guns on the projecting promontory on the heights of Villa-Nova, at last became so powerful as to drive the enemy from all sides of the building, except the iron gate on the north. In the meantime, the brigade of guards and the 29th regiment, under General Sherbrooke, had been ferried over the river in large boats brought to them by some of the citizens of Oporto, and charging the enemy through the streets,

appeared on Soult's flank; while Murray's column, which had crossed at Avintes, showed itself on the French left, and threatened their line of retreat. Soult, seeing his desperate situation, ordered a retreat. Soon the city was evacuated—horse, foot, and artillery tumultuously rushing from it, being fiercely assailed in their flight past the Seminary by repeated volleys from the troops which had debouched from that building to attack them. They fled with the greatest rapidity, and in the utmost confusion, towards Amarante, with the intention of passing through Tras-os-Montes into Spain; lost 500 men in killed and wounded, many prisoners, five guns, and a large quantity of ammunition in the action; and leaving in Oporto 700 sick, and fifty French guns in the arsenal. The English loss was twenty-three killed and ninety-eight wounded. At four o'clock, Sir Arthur sat down to the dinner which had been prepared for his opponent. The enemy was pursued for a short distance, but the harassed state of the troops caused the pursuit to be suspended for that night.

On taking possession of the city, Sir Arthur published the following proclamation:—"I call on the inhabitants of Oporto to be merciful to the wounded and prisoners! By the laws of war they are entitled to my protection, which I am determined to afford them; and it will be worthy the generosity and the bravery of the Portuguese nation, not to revenge the injuries which may have been done to them on these unfortunate persons, who can be considered only as instruments in the hands of the more powerful, who are still in arms against us:" and, in addition to enjoining the inhabitants to be merciful to the French wounded and prisoners, he wrote to Mar-

shal Soult, requesting him to send French medical officers to take care of their sick and wounded, as he did not wish to trust them to the practitioners of Oporto. Whatever could be done on this occasion to diminish the horrors of war, was done by Sir Arthur Wellesley.

While in ardent pursuit of his retreat to Amarante, Soult received, on the morning following his flight from Oporto, intelligence that that place, commanding the only bridge over the Tamega, had been deserted by Loison on the morning of the 12th, and was in possession of Beresford. This untoward event obliged him to change his route, and marching to Guimaraens and Braga, make for Salamonde and Monte Alegre, and thence to Galicia. As this line of march lay over a mountainous country, passable only by cross hill-roads, totally impracticable for artillery, and almost impassable by mules and horses, the French marshal was obliged to abandon all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage, and pursue his flight with the utmost rapidity. But rapid as that flight was, he was overtaken on the road near Salamonde by Sir Arthur, who cut up his rear-guard and took some prisoners. His situation was now desperate, and his flight likely to be

cut off, unless he could obtain possession of the bridge of Ponte Nova, over the rapid torrent of the Cavado, by surprising and dislodging the Portuguese in its possession; and though he effected this, it was not without sustaining considerable loss in the hurry of the flight and the crossing of the narrow bridge. With troops who carried with them artillery, baggage, and full equipments, no hope could be entertained of coming up with fugitives who had lightened themselves by throwing away everything, and depending for their supplies on plunder. Sir Arthur desisted from pursuing the disorganised French army at Monte Alegre, which is a few leagues from the frontier of Spain; and on the evening of the 17th, Soult fled across the Galician frontier in the most woful plight, and on the 26th reached Orense; his soldiers having plundered and murdered the peasantry at their pleasure. "I have seen many persons hanging on the trees by the sides of the road, executed for no other reason that I could learn except that they have not been friendly to the French invasion and usurpation of the government of their country; and the route of their columns, on their retreat, could be traced by the smoke of the villages to which they set fire."\*

#### SIR ARTHUR WELLESLEY'S FIRST CAMPAIGN IN SPAIN.

SIR ARTHUR now prepared for more important operations. Having returned to Oporto, he diligently applied himself to remedying the most crying distresses of the Portuguese people, and prepared for transferring the war into Spain. By the 26th of May the troops had reached Abrantes, and all the preparations were made for co-operating with the Spanish general, Cuesta, who commanded the army of Estremadura, then collected on the Guadiana, and for advancing through Estremadura towards Madrid. But the operations of Sir Arthur were impeded for above a month by the want of money; remittances, however, arrived on the 25th of June, and Sir Arthur commenced his march in the end of that month for the Spanish frontier, in the direction of Alcantara.

The advanced guard of the British army entered Spain by Zarza-la-Mayor on the

\* Sir Arthur Wellesley's Despatch to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Monte Alegre, May 18th, 1809.

2nd of July, and on the 8th their headquarters were at Placencia. Cuesta crossed the Tagus at Oropesa, and on the 20th effected his junction with the British army. At the same time, Sir Robert Wilson, with the Lusitanian legion and about 3,000 Spaniards, had advanced from the Alberche to the mountains of the Escorial, and with that force approached Madrid, and was but eight leagues from it. Wellesley's army, with Craufurd's light brigade, which was shortly expected to arrive, amounted to 19,000 infantry and about 3,000 cavalry; that of Cuesta to about 32,000 foot, and about 6,000 horse. At this time Beresford, with 15,000 Portuguese, was established at Fuente Guinaldo, which is on the frontier of Portugal, and near Ciudad Rodrigo.

The French armies in the Peninsula at this time were thus disposed:— Marshal Victor was with the first corps, consisting of 35,000 men, in Estremadura. The fourth corps—about 20,000 men, under

Sebastiani—was in La Mancha; Kellermann and Bonnet, with two divisions, amounting to 10,000 men, were in Old Castile, on the borders of Leon and the Asturias; and General Dessolles, with a division of reserve and some of Joseph's guards, amounting to 15,000 men, was at Madrid. These forces, numbering 80,000 men, were under the immediate command of the intrusive King Joseph. The second corps, amounting to 20,000 men, was under the command of Soult in the northern provinces, on whom the fifth corps, under Mortier, and the sixth under Ney (each consisting of 16,000 men), were dependent. Suchet and Augereau commanded two *corps d'armée*, amounting to 50,000 men, in Aragon and Catalonia; and there were about a like number scattered over the country to maintain posts and fortresses, and keep open the various lines of communication. Besides having to contend with this powerful force, without any other co-operation than that of "the old gentleman" (as Sir Arthur archly and significantly termed his headstrong colleague, the old Spanish general, Cuesta), his position in the Peninsula was rendered further disadvantageous by the principal fortresses and fortified towns being in the hands of the enemy:—namely, on the northern line of communication, St. Sebastian, Pamplona, Bilboa, Santona, Santander, Burgos, Leon, and Astorga; on the central line, Jaca, Saragossa, Guadalaxara, Toledo, Segovia, and Zamora; and on the eastern coast, Figueras, Rosas, and Barcelona.

The intrusive King Joseph, who had been appointed by Napoleon generalissimo of the French forces in Spain, no sooner received intelligence of the advance of the British army into Spain, than he dispatched the most pressing orders to Soult and Ney, who lay on the frontiers of Leon, and to Mortier, who was at Valladolid, to unite their forces and descend, as rapidly as possible, through the pass of Puerto de Banos to Placencia, so as to menace Sir Arthur Wellesley's communications with Portugal. Sebastiani was ordered to march from La Mancha to Toledo; and he himself, with 6,000 of his guards, and a number of other troops, forming the garrison of the capital, advanced from Madrid towards Toledo; whither Victor, who was at Talavera de la Reyna, was ordered to proceed, as the general place of rendezvous for the junction of the French forces.

On the advance of the allied Anglo-

Spanish army towards Talavera, Victor retreated to Ollala. Cuesta now dreaming of chasing the enemy to Madrid and the Pyrenees, ordered a pursuit; but his vanguard being attacked at Torrijos, was quickly driven back, with considerable loss, to the left bank of the Alberche. Sir Arthur, foreseeing the probable result of the irrepressible energy and activity with which "the old gentleman" was so suddenly actuated, ordered the two British brigades under General Sherbrooke, which had been detached in pursuit of the enemy beyond the Alberche, to advance to his assistance, or it is not improbable the French would have allayed "the old gentleman's" ire by the destruction and capture of his whole force. As the French army still lay at Ollala, and the intrusive king was there at the head of 55,000 troops, thereby indicating an intention of trying the result of a general action, Sir Arthur Wellesley deemed the best position to give them battle would be in the neighbourhood of Talavera, a town about seventy miles from Madrid. Cuesta, learning experience from his late disaster, consented, on the 27th, to take up this position, and, in future, to act with his ally. Sherbrooke's corps, which had afforded protection to the Spaniards, was ordered to its station in the British line, leaving General Mackenzie, with a division of infantry and a brigade of cavalry, as an advanced post in the wood on the right of the Alberche.

The ground selected for the Spanish position was on the right, near the Tagus, and immediately in front of Talavera, which they also occupied. The ground was covered with olive-trees, and much intersected by mud walls and ditches; and along their whole line were redoubts (abattis or parapets) made of felled trees. All the avenues of the town were defended in the same manner. The uneven ground which extended from the olive-woods to the foot of the hills forming the first range of the Sierra de Montalban, was occupied by the British infantry, their extreme left resting on a steep hill, which was the key of the whole position. At the foot of these hills was a deep ravine, through which flowed the Portina rivulet, which is a streamlet of the Tagus. The whole line extended in length about two miles. On the heights opposite the British position was posted the French army, who marched thither on the 26th, after having disposed of Cuesta's vanguard.

## BATTLE OF TALAVERA.

THE hostile armies, being now in presence of each other, some skirmishing and out-post fighting took place on the night of the 26th of July.

About two o'clock of the 27th, an attack was made on the division under General Mackenzie, in the wood beyond the Alberche: two of the English regiments (87th and 88th) who had never been under fire, were thrown into confusion; and Sir Arthur, who was at the advanced posts reconnoitring the enemy, narrowly escaped being made prisoner; but the 45th regiment and the 5th battalion of the 60th advancing to the assistance of the disordered regiments, the enemy was driven back. Encouraged by this success, the enemy, in the dusk of the evening, opened a heavy cannonade on the left of the allies; and under its cover an attempt was made to ride over the Spanish infantry by the French cavalry; but their position being unapproachable, the charge failed. Early in the night, Victor followed up his cannonade on the British left, by attacking that part of the line where Hill was posted, as also the German legion on his right. Though he obtained momentary possession of the position, Hill, charging the assailants with the bayonet, drove them impetuously down the steeps. A second attack was, after another terrible conflict (during which the darkness of the night was so illuminated by the blaze of musketry, that the countenances of the combatants were visible to each other), repulsed, and the assailants hurled back into the valley, leaving the hill-top and its slope thickly strewed with their dead and wounded. The deep silence which succeeded was, about midnight, interrupted by a firing towards the town of Talavera, which sounded like the crack of doom. "It was not," says an ear and eye-witness, "the straggling, desultory firing, but a roll of musketry which illuminated the whole extent of the Spanish line. It was one discharge; but of a description I have never heard equalled." A false alarm had occasioned this tremendous volley; which, as soon as they delivered, several thousands of them turned and fled, panic-stricken, to the rear, followed by their artillery; and it was with difficulty that Sir Arthur, who happened to be upon the spot, prevented the rest of the patriot army from following them.

Not discouraged by the bloody repulse of the preceding night, Victor, at daylight of the following morning, hurled Ruffin and Villatte's two strong divisions against Hill's position. Under the fire of the formidable French artillery, the enemy ascended the hill with an intrepid step, and instantly closed with its defenders; but after a desperate struggle they were driven back at the point of the bayonet, and forced in confusion and with great slaughter to the foot of the hill, from which they rapidly retreated to their own position.

A council of war being now convened, at which Joseph, Jourdan, and Victor were present, to determine whether the battle should be continued, or whether they should wait the arrival of Soult, a pause ensued in the operations of the hostile armies; but about noon a courier arriving with a despatch from that general, announcing that he could not reach Placencia till the 4th of August, the council determined to renew the action. In the meantime the soldiers of both armies, overcome by thirst, on account of the extreme heat of the day, had straggled down in great numbers to the Portina rivulet, over which they shook one another by the hand; and many of them exchanged the contents of their knapsacks in token of amity and good feeling. Presently the signal gun was fired, when the rolling of drums along the whole French line was heard. In a few minutes 40,000 men, under cover of eighty pieces of artillery, moved forward. Sebastiani's corps intrepidly advanced in column against General Campbell's division, which was posted on the extreme right of the British line. As the enemy approached, that division inclining forwards, directed its fire against both flanks of the column, and immediately rushing forward, drove the enemy, at the point of the bayonet, back in confusion, and pursuing the disorganised mass, captured ten pieces of artillery. While this attack was being made on the British right, Ruffin and Villatte's divisions again advanced to try their fortune against Hill; but in their forward movement they were met by the 23rd dragoons and the 1st German hussars, supported in the rear by a division of Spanish cavalry, whom Sir Arthur had placed there, on account of the attempts which had been made on Hill's position. In their charge on Villatte's column, through which

they cut their way, the 23rd dragoons suffered great loss; and when blown and disordered by their rapid charge, they were attacked by a regiment of Polish lancers and a body of Westphalian light horse. The remnant of that gallant regiment, unable to contend against the overwhelming masses opposed to them, found shelter behind Bassecourt's Spanish infantry.

During these conflicts on the two wings of the British, the centre, consisting of the German legion and the guards, was attacked under cover of batteries of fifty guns by massy columns of the enemy, who advanced in all the confidence of superior numbers; but they were resolutely received at the point of the bayonet by the British line, and being repulsed, fled in great confusion: the brigade of guards, however, elated with their success, advanced too far in the pursuit (having crossed the Portina rivulet, and in disorderly array were streaming up its bank), when their left flank was assailed by the fire of the French batteries, which so encouraged the troops whom they were pursuing, that they rallied and turned against them, and these being supported by the enemy's reserve, they were obliged to fall back in confusion. To remedy the disaster, Sir Arthur detached the 48th, which was in reserve, to the aid of the guards; and that gallant regiment advancing, opened line to allow the disordered guards to pass through; and immediately closing its ranks, plied the French flank with so destructive charges of musketry, as to compel the enemy to halt; when the guards, having re-formed, faced about and renewed their fire in conjunction with that of the 48th. In the meantime the German legion, which was on the left of the guards in line, but had not advanced with them in the pursuit, being hard pressed by the enemy, had fallen into confusion. Thus the British centre was in danger; but the advance of the French reserve and their re-formed columns having been checked by the attacks of the 48th, aided by the rallied guards and the approach of General Cotton's brigade of light cavalry, which Sir Arthur had ordered to assail their other flank, the enemy began to waver, and at last gave way and retired to their own position about six o'clock in the evening. In the course of the night they retreated across the Alberche, and took up a position on the heights of Salinas, three miles in the rear of that river. The loss of the British was 857 killed and 3,913 wounded; that of the

French, in killed and wounded, according to the returns in the French war-office, was 8,794. The trophies of the victors were seventeen pieces of artillery, several tumbrils and ammunition complete, and many hundred prisoners. Sir Arthur passed the 29th and the 30th in establishing his hospitals in Talavera, and endeavouring to get provisions for his half-starved men. In a letter to Mr. Frere, dated Talavera, 31st July, he said—"It is a positive fact, that during the last seven days the British army have not received one-third of their provisions; and that, at this moment, there are nearly 4,000 wounded soldiers dying in the hospital in this town from want of common assistance and necessaries, which any other country in the world would have given even to its enemies." On the morning of the 29th, the light division, consisting of the 43rd, 52nd, and 95th, under General Robert Craufurd, reached the British camp from Lisbon, having performed a march of sixty-two English miles in twenty-six hours. On the 2nd of August, Sir Arthur Wellesley was preparing to march to Madrid, but receiving intelligence that Soult, with 34,000 men, had reached Placentia (directly in the English rear, having penetrated the Puerto de Banos without any opposition from the Spaniards), he proposed to Cuesta either to stay with the wounded at Talavera, or march to the attack of Soult. "The old gentleman" preferring the acceptance of the first-mentioned of the alternatives, was left in charge of the 2,000 wounded English, but with instructions that if Victor advanced, he should receive them. Sir Arthur, on the 3rd, marched the British army from Talavera to Oropesa; but in the course of the evening of that day, he received intelligence that Cuesta was in motion after the English, leaving the wounded in Talavera to their fate; and though Sir Arthur wrote, imploring him to wait at Talavera till the next morning, to cover the removal of the hospitals, the dogged old Spaniard took to his heels; and the rising sun of the morning of the 4th shone on his valorous army hurrying into Oropesa.

Cuesta's abandonment of Talavera placed the British army in a most dangerous position, as it brought Victor and Joseph's armies upon it; and as Soult had by this time reached Naval Moral, on the high-road leading to the bridge of Almaraz, the line of communication of the English with Portugal would not only be cut off, but a

French army would be placed on each flank. Sir Arthur therefore determined no longer to depend on any co-operation with his Spanish allies, whom he thus characterised:—"I cannot bring forward such troops, owing to their miserable state of discipline, and their want of officers properly qualified. These troops are entirely incapable of performing any manœuvre, however simple: they would get into irretrievable confusion, and the result would be the loss of everything." He then availed himself of the only line of retreat open—namely, the bridge of Arzobispo, and took up a defensive position on the line of the Tagus, and thus kept open the road by Truxillo to Badajos. He communicated his design to Cuesta; but the Spanish general, according to his usual perverseness, opposed it, and talked loudly of stopping and fighting the French at Oropesa. Sir Arthur, wearied out with his absurdities, sternly told him that he might do as he thought proper, but that he should move forward. Accordingly, the British army immediately (August 4th) filed off from the Almaraz road towards Arzobispo, and passed the bridge in safety. Cuesta's fighting propensity soon cooled when left to himself: without the least delay he rapidly followed in the wake of the British, and reached the bridge of Arzobispo; but finding the French did not follow him, he on the night of the 7th moved to Paraledo de Garbin, between Arzobispo and Almaraz, leaving two divisions of infantry and some cavalry to defend the bridge. On the 8th, Marshal Mortier, who commanded the vanguard of the enemy, reached Arzobispo. Knowing the habits of his opponents, and their custom of taking their mid-day's siesta, he waited till all the Spaniards were buried in sleep, when, dashing across the ford, he took their batteries and barricades on the bridge in the rear, and turned their own guns upon them. The Spaniards fled in confusion towards the mountains, abandoning their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. On the 8th the British headquarters were at Deleitosa, a small village in the direct road to Truxillo; and on the morning of the 9th, Spanish cavalry and artillery were on the track of the British. On the 12th, Cuesta, disheartened with the

ill success to which his obstinacy and perverseness had subjected him, resigned the command of the Spanish army.

As the British army was now safe from the pursuit of the French marshals, the forced marches were discontinued. The French, finding themselves foiled in their hope of surrounding the English, retrograded to their former positions. Ney, on his march, was opposed (August 12th) in the Puerto de Banos by Sir Robert Wilson with the Lusitanian legion, on its retreat from the neighbourhood of Madrid to the frontiers of Portugal. In the unequal contest, Sir Robert was dislodged from the pass, with the loss of 1,000 men. Sir Robert retired to Colmener, and on the 7th of September was at Castel Branco, in observation of the enemy.

The English army now making easy marches, crossed the Rio del Monte, near Jaraicejo, and took up an alignment on its bank. On the 21st of August it marched by Truxillo, and on the 23rd traversed the field of Medellin, which bore evidences of the defeat and slaughter of the patriots in the recent battle: in every direction the ground was strewed with bones, exploded shells, fragments of uniform, caps, &c.

During the whole month following the battle of Talavera, the Spanish authorities had failed in fulfilling their engagements or supplies to the British army. In the course of that period it received only ten days' bread, and but scanty supplies of meat; the horses having received only three deliveries of forage, upwards of 1,000 had died, and 700 were on the sick-list. In consequence of this neglect, Sir Arthur Wellesley informed the Spanish authorities and General Eguia, who had succeeded to the command of the patriot army on the resignation of Cuesta, that unless the requisite supplies were forwarded, he should withdraw the British army to the frontiers of Portugal, in order that it might be supplied from its own magazines. No attention having been paid to the British general's remonstrances, on the 22nd of August he gave orders to the army to retire into the valley of the Guadiana; and on the 2nd of September, he took up his headquarters at Badajos. But the malaria from the noxious vapours which exhale from the

\* "A quarter of a pound of goat's flesh," says one who participated in the plentiful fare, "half a pound of grain in wheat, and a few ounces of flour twice a week, formed the sole subsistence of officers and men." At Talavera, the fare was not even so

plentiful; the only food furnished to the troops was a few handfuls of corn in the ear. "A morsel of bread and some pure water," says one of the actors in that glorious scene, "would have been considered luxuries on the battle-field of Talavera."

dried beds of the river in that district in the autumnal months, having subjected the troops to fever to so alarming a degree, that 7,000 men were soon in hospital (of whom nearly two-thirds died), the army was sent across the frontier, and the sick and wounded conveyed to Elvas, which now became the general hospital of the army. The British army was soon placed in cantonments on the line of the Guadiana, to cover Portugal from Soult, who was cantoned in Estremadura and Leon, near the borders of Portugal.

On the 4th of September, Sir Arthur had been raised to the British peerage, with the titles of Baron Douro of Wellesley, and Viscount Wellington of Talavera.

On the 10th of October, Lord Wellington arrived at Lisbon, and having reconnoitred the whole country in front of that capital, gave orders for the construction of the lines of Torres Vedras, as a defensive position, to be occupied by the British army in the event of the advance of the enemy on that capital. The instructions for the formation of those "lines" were laid down in a "memorandum" intended for the direction of Colonel Fletcher, of the engineers; in which was pointed out the double line of position, the requisite intrenchments and redoubts, the number of men required at each

post, &c. But not a whisper transpired of that plan, nor was any person in the British army cognizant of their being constructed. On the 30th he returned to head-quarters at Badajos; and on the 2nd of November he proceeded to Cadiz, to meet his brother the Marquis Wellesley, to concert measures with the junta, and set right some of their errors and prejudices. On the 12th he returned to Badajos.

As the succession of defeats which the patriot armies had sustained, and the formidable French force collected in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Rodrigo, rendered the situation of the British army hazardous on the line of the Guadiana, and the position of that force enabling the enemy to penetrate into the heart of Portugal and cut off Lisbon from Oporto, the British army, in December, crossed the Tagus at Abrantes, and marched on to the Mondego. In the beginning of January, 1810, the army was cantoned in the neighbourhood of Almeida and on the banks of the Aguada, head-quarters being at Viseu, and outposts along the frontiers of Spain towards Ciudad Rodrigo. Hill's division was at Abrantes, and Fane's heavy cavalry brigade on the banks of the Tagus. In these positions the troops rapidly recovered their health.

#### EXPEDITION TO THE SCHELDT.

ON the execution of the treaty of alliance between Austria and Great Britain, for the resumption of hostilities by the former power against France, the cabinet of Vienna made urgent remonstrances for a diversion by a powerful English force on the north of Germany, whither the Austrian army was originally destined, as well as a diversion to be made, at the same time, by a British expedition to the south of Italy. The precise spot for the diversion in the north of Germany was proposed to be at the mouths of the Elbe and Weser; but the battle of Wagram having been fought before the British armament was ready to be sent to its destination in Germany, the cabinet of London determined to dispatch the expedition to the Scheldt, owing to formidable naval preparations having been carried on in these waters ever since the spring of the year 1807. By the spring of the present year, ten 74-gun ships were at anchor

near Calot Sand; nine ships-of-the-line were on the stocks at Antwerp, and, at the same place, the keels of nineteen ships of war were laid; while at Flushing, there was one 74 and three smaller vessels and Antwerp had been converted into great naval depôt. To interrupt and destroy these preparations for the designed invasion of England, was the object of sending the British armament to the Scheldt, now that the loss of the battle of Wagram had rendered its appearance in the north of Germany impolitic—even hazardous. Some trifling demonstrations had, however, been already made on the Elbe by the British. As preparatory measures, in the month of May, Captain Lord George Stewart, in the *Amiable*, of 32 guns, who had the command in the river Elbe, landed with a party of marines and seamen, and dislodged the enemy, amounting to 500 men, from the town and battery of Cuxba-

ven, spiked the guns, destroyed the works, and brought away six waggon-loads of merchandise; and, in the same month, Captain Selby, in the *Owen Glendower*, of 36 guns, took the island of Anholt, in the Kattegat, or passage to the Baltic, and made the garrison prisoners.

Preparations for this important expedition were began in May, and by the end of July, an army of 40,000 men,\* under the command of Lieutenant-general the Earl of Chatham, and a fleet, under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, consisting of thirty-seven sail-of-the-line, two 50-gun ships, three of 44 guns, twenty-two frigates, five bomb-vessels, eighty-two gun-boats, besides sloops of war, gun-brigs, cutters, &c. (in all, 245 vessels of war), accompanied by about 400 sail of transports; under the command of two—both the general and admiral—of the most incompetent men who could have been selected from the rank-and-routine system of appointment to command. The objects of the expedition, as explained in the instructions to the commander-in-chief of the land forces, were—“The capture or destruction of the enemy’s ships, either building at Antwerp and Flushing, or afloat in the Scheldt; the destruction of the arsenals and dockyards at Antwerp, Terneuse, and Flushing; the reduction of the island of Walcheren; and the rendering, if possible, the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war:” the last condition a difficult task for men of much greater ability than those to whom the conduct of this expedition was entrusted.

On the 28th and 29th, the armament set sail from the Downs in two divisions. On the morning of the first-mentioned date, the *Venerable*, having on board the two commanders-in-chief, accompanied by the divisions of Sir John Hope and the Marquis of Huntley, set sail and arrived off the west coast of Walcheren on the same evening. In the course of the evening of the 29th, the left wing of the army, under Lieutenant-general Sir Eyre Coote, arrived and was disembarked, and on the morning of the 30th, landed, after a slight opposition, on the broad sand which forms the northern extremity of the island of Walcheren. The open and defenceless town of Middleburg, the capital of the island, had surrendered

on the morning of the 30th. The three divisions of the army, under the respective commands of the Marquis of Huntley, the Earl of Rosslyn, and Lieutenant-general Grosvenor, arrived on the 29th in the Wieling Passage, preparatory to the meditated disembarkation of a part of that force on the coast of Cadsand, an island distant about three miles from Walcheren, and to the passage of the remainder as soon as the obstructions were removed, up the Western Scheldt, to proceed to the attack of Lillo, Liefkenshoek, and finally of Antwerp.

The army now marched on towards Flushing, which was partially invested on the 1st of August; but by the surrender of Fort Rammekens, its complete investment took place on the 3rd. In the meantime, Hope’s division had landed, unopposed, on the island of Zuid (South) Beveland, and on the following night took possession of the important fortress of Bahtz, which had been abandoned by the enemy. By the possession of this fortress, both branches of the Scheldt were open to the British. On the morning of the 31st July, a cannonade was opened on the town and fort of Ter Veere, both which, with their garrison of 1,000 men, surrendered on the morning of the 1st of August.

Owing to the defect in the arrangements, or to some misunderstanding respecting the degree of co-operation to be afforded, the three divisions of the army in the transports at anchor in the Wieling Passage, intended to occupy the island of Cadsand, on the south-west side of the entrance of the Scheldt, were removed to the Veeregat, to be landed in Walcheren and Zuid Beveland,—a misunderstanding which enabled the governor of Cadsand to send reinforcements of 3,000 men to the aid of the garrison of Flushing. The surrender of Fort Rammekens having opened the passage of the Sloe channel, immediate measures were taken to get the flotilla which had acted against Veer into the Western Scheldt, to effect the sea blockade of Flushing, for the purpose of preventing any further succours being thrown into that town, either from Cadsand or the canal of Ghent. Seven line-of-battle ships were also ordered up to co-operate with the land batteries as soon as they opened their fire on the town.

On the 13th, a hot fire was opened from sixty pieces of heavy ordnance; and on the following morning, the seven line-of-battle

\* The land forces consisted of 39,219 men, including 2,000 cavalry, sixteen companies of artillery, one troop of horse artillery, two companies of the staff corps, and a detachment of the waggon train.

ships co-operated in the bombardment. On the 15th, the Stadt-house, two churches, and 250 houses having been destroyed, and about 350 of the inhabitants killed and a large number wounded, the governor hoisted the white flag, and on the following evening the articles of capitulation were signed, and the garrison, consisting of 6,000 men, laid down their arms as prisoners of war. The total loss of the British, up to the surrender of Flushing, was 112 killed, and 498 wounded.

With the exception of the peaceable surrender of the islands of Schoewen and Duiveland, to the north of the Eastern Scheldt, on the 17th, the reduction of Flushing was the virtual termination of the campaign. On the 21st the Earl of Chatham moved his head-quarters to Veer, and, crossing the Sloe, arrived on the 23rd at Ter Goes, on the contiguous island of Zuid (South) Beveland, and the head-quarters of Sir John Hope. Here he talked of proceeding direct for Antwerp, and for that purpose both divisions of the Scheldt were full of British vessels, and only five leagues distant from that fortress. Though 10,000 men had been left, under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, in possession of Walcheren, 28,000 were still applicable to the remaining objects of the expedition.

But affairs had greatly altered since the arrival of the British armament in the Scheldt; and that was now rendered impossible which, had it been attempted in time, might have been successful—the capture of Antwerp by a *coup de main*, the keys of which the magistrates were ready to surrender.

When Louis, King of Holland, received at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 1st of August, the news of the invasion, with difficulty he collected at Liege and Maestricht 900 men, composed of the wreck of twenty-five different regiments which had been annihilated in his brother's wars. With them he marched to Amsterdam; and on the 12th he assembled 6,000 more, composed partly of his own guard. Also, on the 16th, Marshal Bernadotte had taken the command of the Belgian army, consisting of the national guards of the Belgic provinces, and of the nearest of those of France. The forts of Lillo and Liefkenshoek—which, on the arrival

of the British armament, were dismantled—were put into a state of defence, and a boom of immense length extended across the river from one fort to the other, supported by a number of gun-brigs, gun-boats, and two frigates. The sluices were also opened. Other causes contributed to render the attempt to advance futile.

Since the 19th, an endemic disease incidental to the climate, called the polder-fever,\* broke out among the troops, and was so pestilential, that there were above 3,000 on the sick-list, and about the tenth of that number died weekly. By the 3rd of September the number of sick amounted to above 8,000; and the force left under Sir Eyre Coote disappeared with alarming rapidity, either in the hospitals or in the grave. In Walcheren above 2,000 fell victims to the disease, and about the same number among the troops who returned home. In the early part of 1810, 11,513 of those who had returned from this ill-fated expedition, were sick in England, and of these many never recovered. When the report of the ravages of this dreadful disease reached the knowledge of the government, they called on the principal officers of the army medical department to repair to Walcheren, and examine into the cause of the malady. The physician-general (Sir Lucas Pepys) replied, that “he knew nothing of the investigation of camp and contagious diseases;” and that the duty properly belonged to the surgeon-general: the surgeon-general, on the contrary, when applied to, reported—“That the matter being medical, not surgical, the duty was peculiarly belonging to the office of the physician-general of the forces.” As both these public officers thus shuffled their duty, they were dismissed, and the inspector-general of army hospitals was dispatched on the duty.

These, as well as other causes, determined the commander-in-chief to call a council of war on the 27th of August. The council determining to abandon the enterprise, the evacuation of South Beveland immediately took place; and 10,000 troops being left, under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, for the purpose of blocking up the Scheldt and keeping open an inlet for the colonial trade of Great Britain, on the 14th of September, the bulk of the English army and the

\* A disease produced by the putrid exhalations of the marshes in the fall of the year, when the vegetable matter, the growth of the summer months, begins to decay: this disease is seldom fatal to those

inured to the climate; and for this reason the French government never sent its national troops to Flushing: the garrison being composed, in general, of Prussians, Spaniards, Irish, and prisoners.

Earl of Chatham embarked at Veer, Rammekens, and Flushing, on their return to England. About the middle of October the British ministry sent out English bricklayers and masons, with large supplies of bricks, mortar, and tiles, to repair the barracks and fortifications; but on the 13th of November, orders were dispatched to General Don, who had succeeded Sir Eyre Coote in the command, to evacuate Flushing, and destroy the basin and naval defences of the island. This having been effected, the island of Walcheren was completely evacuated on the 23rd of December, and the English fleet and transports, con-

taining the troops, anchored in the Downs on the 28th. The ships on the stocks were destroyed, but a frigate and the timbers of a 74 were brought away as trophies of an inglorious expedition, which had cost the nation many thousands of lives and twenty million sterling in money. Napoleon Buonaparte, in a letter addressed to the Russian emperor, dated Schönbrunn, 10th October, speaking of the ill-fated expedition, remarked—"The English ministry have occasioned the death or destruction of many thousands of their countrymen. It would have been just as merciful and judicious to have thrown them into the sea."

#### EXPEDITION TO THE SOUTH OF ITALY.

IN conformity with the arrangements between the courts of Vienna and St. James's, that a diversion should be made by an English armament on the southern coast of Italy, an expedition was prepared in the Sicilian harbours, in the early part of the summer of this year. On the 11th of June, Sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in Sicily, embarked with 15,000 troops, half British and half Sicilian, for the coast of Naples, and the capture of the capital. At the same time two flotillas, consisting of English and Sicilian gun-boats and other armed vessels, sailed to scour the coasts of Calabria. A brigade, consisting of Sicilian soldiers and Calabrian refugees, had been previously dispatched to reduce Lower Calabria, and afterwards to join the British general overland.

On the 25th of June, the advanced division of the expedition anchored off Cape Misene, close to Baiæ and Pozzuoli, and by water but a few miles from Naples. Immediately Murat dispatched orders to the troops whom he had sent to reinforce Eugene Beauharnais, the viceroy of Italy, and in the meantime mustered all the available force that he could. On the same day, 2,000 men were landed on the island of Ischia, distant about four miles from Cape Misene. The batteries by which the shores of that island were fortified, wherever accessible, were turned by the assailants, and necessarily deserted by the enemy, who retired into the castle. On the 30th, a breaching-battery having been erected, the governor surrendered on terms of capitula-

tion. Procida, which lies between Capri and Ischia, next surrendered. In both islands, 100 pieces of ordnance and 1,500 prisoners were taken, and a large flotilla of about forty gun-boats was destroyed, as it attempted during the night to run from Gaëta to Naples. A detachment landing in the straits of Messina, had previously taken the castle of Scylla and the chain of fortified ports opposite Sicily. As the affairs of Austria were now in a hopeless condition, the diversion in its favour in the south of Italy seemed no longer useful; Sir John Stuart therefore dismantled the castles of Ischia and Procida, re-embarked his troops, and returned to Sicily. The siege of the old fortress of Scylla, which had been undertaken by a portion of the Sicilian expedition, was raised by the French general Partouneaux advancing in force to its relief; but the French garrison abandoning the place in a sudden panic, leaving behind them not only the artillery and other materials, but all their own guns and stores, a detachment of English and Sicilian troops seized them and carried them over to Sicily.

During these operations on land, Captain Staines, with the *Cyane* frigate (22 guns), the *Espoir* corvette, and twenty-three Sicilian gun-boats, discovering a frigate (the *Cerere*, 42 guns), a corvette (the *Fama*, 28 guns), and twenty gun-boats, coming out of Pozzuoli Bay, drove them under the shelter of their land batteries, and stood into the bay in hopes of bringing them to action. On the 27th, the *Neapolitan* came out of the bay in hopes of running round the point of

Pausilippo to Naples uninterrupted, as the *Espoir* was becalmed astern; and Staines's Sicilian gun-boats were at a considerable distance in the bight of the bay. Staines immediately making the *Cyane* man her sweeps, and thus pulling along his frigate, entered the inner bay of Naples in pursuit. Having succeeded in getting alongside of the *Cerere*, he commenced an attack on her, within half-pistol shot distance; the *Fama* and gun-boats tacking, and taking part in the fight. The hostile flotilla, finding they were likely to be roughly treated, edged away to the shore, and as the *Cyane* closely pursued, the land batteries opened their fire on her. The *Cerere* now perceiving the gun-boats and her consort, the *Fama*, using their sweeps to escape into the

harbour, hauled down her colours, but being reinforced by men sent off from the shore, she rehoisted her flag. It was not long before her overcrowded decks were strewed with killed and wounded; but the *Cyane* was so crippled in her masts and rigging by the fire of the land and floating batteries, and all her sails so completely riddled by grape and langridge, that she was not in a condition to take possession of her opponent, who had struck her flag a second time, or even to haul off from the land batteries, which kept up an incessant fire on her. But, fortunately, the *Espoir* and some of the Sicilian gun-boats coming to her assistance, she was towed out of the bay; the *Cerere* availing herself of the opportunity, slid round the mole head into the harbour.

THE ATTACK ON THE FRENCH FLEET IN THE BASQUE ROADS—DESTRUCTION OF A  
DETACHMENT OF THE TOULON FLEET ON THE EASTERN COAST OF SPAIN.

DURING the late French revolutionary war, the French government, desirous of preventing the contemplated attack on the French West India islands by the English, ordered the French fleet from Brest to rendezvous in the Basque Roads, and having liberated the ships blockaded in L'Orient by the British squadron, to make for the West Indies for the relief of Martinique, then blockaded by the English.

The English admiralty, in consequence of the suggestion of Captain Keats, made in the month of April, 1807, of the feasibility of destroying the enemy's fleet lying in the Isle d'Aix Roads, by the attack of bombs, fire-vessels, and rockets, covered and protected by a squadron, sent instructions to Lord Gambier, then off Ushant, to proceed with the Channel fleet to the Basque Roads, and destroy the enemy's fleet then rendezvousing there.

On March 17th, 1809, the English admiral anchored in the entrance of the roads, with the following vessels:—*Caledonia*, 120 guns; *Cesar* and *Gibraltar*, 80 guns each; the *Hero*, *Donegal*, *Resolution*, *Theseus*, *Valiant*, *Illustrious*, *Bellona*, and *Revenge*, 74 guns each; the gun-frigates *Indefatigable*, 48; *Emerald*, 36; *Union*, *Pallas*, and *Mediator*, 32 guns each; the gun-brig sloops *Beagle*, *Doterel*, and *Foxhound*, 18 guns each; the *Lyra* and the *Redpole*, 10 each; the bomb-ships *Thunder* and *Ætna*; the gun-brigs *Insolent*, 14 guns; the *Encounter*,

*Conflict*, *Contest*, *Fervent*, and *Growler*, 12 guns each; and the schooner *Whiting*.

The French fleet, which consisted of ten sail-of-the-line—namely, the *Ocean* (Admiral Allemande's ship), 120 guns; the *Foudroyant*, 80 guns; the *Cassard*, *Tourville*, *Regulus*, *Jean Bart*, *Jemappe*, *Tonnerre*, *Aquilon*, and *Ville de Varsovie*, 74 guns each; the *Calcutta*, 50 guns; and the four frigates *Indienne*, *Elbe*, *Pallas*, and *Hortense*, all lay at anchor between the southern extremity of Isle d'Aix and the Boyart Shoal.

Alarmed at the approach of the English, the French fleet weighed anchor, and stood for the inner protected road of Isle d'Aix. There, in a strong position, covered on the one side by the Isle d'Aix, and on the other by the Isle of Oleron, whose guns reached the range of those of the citadel d'Aix, it was drawn up in two parallel lines, each about seven-eighths of a statute mile in length, and each vessel about 250 yards apart. At about half a mile in front of the outer line lay the three frigates *Indienne*, *Pallas*, and *Hortense*; the *Elbe* being moored the headmost ship in the second or inner line: their exact position was—

<i>Indienne.</i>	<i>Hortense.</i>	<i>Pallas.</i>
<i>Foudroyant.</i>	<i>Varsovie.</i>	<i>Ocean.</i>
<i>Tonnerre.</i>	<i>Jemappe.</i>	<i>Aquilon.</i>
<i>Regulus.</i>	<i>Cassard.</i>	<i>Calcutta.</i>
<i>Tourville.</i>	<i>Elbe.</i>	

At the distance of about 110 yards in front of the line of frigates, a formidable boom of about half a mile in length, composed of cables of great diameter, and chains twisted

together, and secured by anchors at each end, of the enormous weight of five-and-a-half tons each, was thrown across the channel leading from Basque Road to Aix Road; and the boats of the fleet—seventy-three in number—were stationed near the boom in five divisions, for the purpose of boarding and towing away the fireships as they approached. The anchorage was also protected by batteries on the isles d'Aix and d'Oleron, mounted with numerous guns and mortars of the largest description.

On April 3rd, Lord Cochrane, in the *Imperieuse*, joined the British fleet: soon afterwards, twelve fire and three explosive vessels arrived. The first were designed to burn without immediate explosion; the others were filled with live shells, barrels of gunpowder, stones, and every kind of destructive missiles. The explosive vessels contained 1,500 barrels of gunpowder, started into puncheons placed end upwards, fastened by cables wound round them, and, to increase the resistance, having moistened sand rammed down between them: upon the top of the mass of combustibles lay between three and four hundred shells, charged with fuses, and nearly as many thousand hand-grenades.

The arrangements for the attack having been completed, on the 11th Rear-admiral Stopford was ordered to take station with the *Cæsar*, *Theseus*, three fireships, and all the boats of the fleet, about three miles nearer to the hostile fleet than the position of the main body of the British fleet, in order to throw rockets into such ships as might be exposed to the attack. At the same time the frigates and smaller vessels moved to the respective stations assigned them. The *Imperieuse*, *Aigle*, *Unicorn*, and *Pallas* anchored about a gunshot and a-half from the boom, in order to support the boats of the fleet which were to accompany the fireships, and to receive the crews of each on their return, after having ignited the fire-vessels. The *Redpole* and *Lyra* were stationed with hoisted lights, but screened from the view of the enemy, to guide the fireships in their course to the attack.

At about half-past eight, P.M., of a dark and tempestuous night, the *Mediator* (which had been fitted up as a fireship) and the other fire-vessels, which were stationed about a mile in advance of the British fleet, cut their cables, and made sail for their destination. Lord Cochrane, with a lieutenant and a gig's crew of the *Imperieuse*,

went on board one of the fireships, taking under his direction one of the explosive vessels. At a quarter to nine, P.M., Captain Woolridge ran the *Mediator* at right angles against the boom, which, yielding to the shock, and a passage being thus opened, the other fire-vessels followed. Instantly a tremendous fire was opened by the French ships, but the crews of the British vessels and boats, nowise appalled, made direct for the enemy's fleet, amidst a heavy fire of bombs, shot, shell, grape, and musketry from the batteries on both sides, and the fleet in their front; steering their vessels, charged to the brim with the most combustible materials, right into the middle of a concentric fire of a shower of bombs and projectiles. To escape destruction, the French ships instantly cut or slipped their cables. The burning convoy having been launched into the enemy's anchorage, its brave pilots had great difficulty in reaching the ships appointed to receive them. Besides the danger arising from the enemy's fire, they were exposed not only to the shower of cast metal which was thrown by the explosion in every direction, but also to many of the rockets which had been placed in the rigging of the fireships, taking a direction contrary to that intended. Captain Woolridge, lieutenants Brent and Peach, and one seaman of the *Mediator*, and Captain Joyce, and a midshipman of the *Zephyr*, not quitting their vessels till they were on fire fore and aft, the first-mentioned band of heroes were blown out of their ship, and the last were obliged to jump into the sea to save their lives; the fuses, which had been calculated to allow fifteen minutes for the assailants to get out of the effect of the explosion, having burnt too quickly—an occurrence occasioned by a sudden rise of the wind. Dark as was the night, the sky soon became illuminated with the glare of the many vast fires; and what with the flashes of the guns from the forts and the retreating ships, the flight of shells and rockets from the fire-vessels, and the reflection of light from the sides of the hostile ships in the back-ground, a scene truly awful and sublime presented itself to the vision of the assailants. At nine, P.M., the first of the explosive vessels blew up with a tremendous violence at about 110 yards from the *Indienne*, and in about ten minutes after, the second, almost under her bowsprit, but without doing her the least damage.

The dawn of day displayed the discomfiture of the enemy. Seven sail-of-the-line were lying aground. Lord Cochrane immediately telegraphed the *Caledonia*, Lord Gambier's flag-ship—"Half the fleet can destroy the enemy; eleven on shore; only two afloat." The first signal was made at a quarter to six, A.M.; the last, at half-past nine, A.M.

On the appearance of the last signal, Lord Gambier telegraphed the fleet to weigh; but he suspended the execution of the signal, by telegraphing the captains of the fleet to meet him on board the *Caledonia*; and when the conference was ended, the fleet got under weigh at a quarter to eleven, A.M., and at half-past eleven re-anchored at about ten miles' distance from the grounded ships.

In the meantime, as the tide rose, the enemy had succeeded in removing the whole of his ships, except three sail-of-the-line, into deep water towards the entrance of the river Charente. These three sail were aground on Pallais Shoal, near the isle of Madame. The *Ætna* bomb, covered by the gun-brigs *Insolent*, *Conflict*, and *Growler*, was now ordered to proceed towards Aix Road, for the purpose of bombarding the vessels on the Pallais Shoal; and Captain Bligh was directed to take under his orders the *Valiant*, *Bellona*, and *Revenge*, with the frigates and sloops, and to anchor them as close as possible to the Boyart Shoal, to be ready to support the bomb-vessel and the brigs.

During these operations, Lord Cochrane observing the *Calcutta*, *Aquilon*, and *Regulus* preparing to escape, at twenty minutes past two, P.M., advanced with the *Imperieuse* to attack the grounded ships. Immediately a heavy fire was poured in upon him from the batteries on the isles of Aix and Oleron, and from the enemy's vessels afloat and aground. In nowise daunted, he cannonaded the *Calcutta*, which soon surrendered to him; but the enemy's fire increasing in effect and rapidity, he made signals that his ship was in distress, and required immediate assistance. It was not, however, till near four o'clock that he was joined by Captain Bligh's squadron, which uniting in the attack, before five o'clock the *Aquilon* and *Varsovie* surrendered. The prisoners being removed, the three captured ships were set on fire. At the same time, the enemy set fire to the *Tonnerre*; and they subsequently fired the *Indienne*. Their loss was

also increased by the *Jean Bart* grounding in their retreat, which was fired. Their loss in men must have been considerable; that of the British was two officers and eight men killed, and nine officers and twenty-six men wounded.

The partial failure of the attack was attributable to the following causes:—1, the inadequate support of Lord Cochrane by Lord Gambier; 2, the deficiency, in number, of the explosive and fire-vessels; 3, the inefficient force of vessels of a light draught of water; and 4, the firing of the fireships before their passing the boom, or even before they were abreast of the two vessels stationed as their guides. The lull of the wind, occasioned by the effect of the first explosion, also contributed to prevent the fire-vessels reaching the enemy's line before they exploded. That in which Lord Cochrane was aboard blew up outside the boom. The attack being also commenced in the dark, many of the fire-vessels mistook their course, and consequently failed in the purpose intended. The reason that Rear-admiral Stopford did not join in the attack when the boom was forced, was, that the state of the weather was too boisterous to admit of the co-operation of the boats of the fleet under his command.

On this exploit, and its imperfect execution, Napoleon Buonaparte thus expressed himself while in St. Helena:—"Cochrane not only could have destroyed the whole of the French fleet, but he might and would have taken them out, had the English admiral supported him as he ought to have done; for, in consequence of the signal made by the French admiral for every one to shift for himself, they became panic-struck, and cut their cables. Their dread of the fireships was so great, that they actually threw their powder overboard, so that they could have offered very little resistance. Fear deprived the French captains of their senses. Had Cochrane been supported, he would have taken every one of the ships." It must be admitted that this is just criticism.

On the 26th of April, during the absence of the blockading fleet under Lord Collingwood, a French squadron, consisting of five sail-of-the-line, two frigates, one corvette, and sixteen brigs, under Rear-admiral Baudin, with troops and provisions for the relief of the French in Barcelona, who were cut off by the Spaniards from direct communication with France, sailed from Toulon Roads for

the bay of Rosas. The absence of the British fleet was occasioned from Collingwood receiving information that the French intended to make the attempt to escape; and to afford them the opportunity, leaving the frigates *Pomone* and *Alceste* in observation, he retired with the fleet from its station off Cape St. Sicie, and proceeded off Cape San Sebastian, between which and Barcelona he established his cruising-ground, in full expectation of intercepting the French squadron. On the night of the 23rd, the captain of the *Pomone* bringing intelligence of the sailing of the enemy, Rear-admiral Martin, with six of the best sailing ships, was dispatched in pursuit. In the evening of the 25th, the enemy being discovered between Cette and Frontignan, all sail was set in chase, and the British nearing the land as well as the enemy, the ships of war were forced to separate from the convoy, and run on shore, where they were burned by their crews to prevent their falling into the hands of the pursuers. In the meanwhile, the transports, under convoy

of one of the frigates, had taken refuge in the bay of Rosas, under the protection of the castle and batteries. There they were, on the 31st of October, assailed by the boats of the squadron (namely, one 74, two frigates, and three brig-sloops) under the command of Captain Hallowell, whom Lord Collingwood had dispatched on that service. The boats rapidly advancing, under the leadership of the respective lieutenants of the squadron, proceeded after dark against the enemy, who were protected by strong batteries, guarded by boarding netting, and every way prepared. The first object of their attack was the frigate, which, in spite of the fire of the castle, the gun-boats, and the musketry on the beach, the nettings of the ship, and the pikes of the enemy, was carried in the course of a few minutes. The other armed vessels were taken in the same way; and by dawn of day every vessel was either taken or burned. In this daring enterprise, the loss of the English was fifteen killed and forty-five wounded.

THE REDUCTION OF THE IONIAN ISLES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN—OF THE ISLE OF BOURBON, IN THE INDIAN OCEAN—AND OF THE ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE AND THE CITY OF DOMINGO IN THE WEST INDIES.

On the 23rd of September, an expedition, consisting of a combined naval and military force, under the respective commands of Captain Stranger and Brigadier-general Oswald, sailed from Messina, and arrived off Cephalonia on the 28th. The troops were no sooner landed and formed, than the French governor surrendered Zante, Cephalonia, Ithaca, and Cerigo; Corfu and the other islands were afterwards taken possession of, and remained permanently in the occupation of Great Britain.

The harbour or bay of St. Paulo, Isle of Bourbon, having long been the rendezvous of French cruisers on the Indian station, Commodore Rowley, the commanding officer of the British force cruising off the isles of France and Bourbon, concerted measures with Lieutenant-colonel Keating, commanding the troops in the adjacent island of Rodriguez, which had recently been taken possession of by the British, for the capture of the bay of St. Paulo, and the shipping in the road. Accordingly, on the 16th of September, they embarked with about 600 troops and seamen at Fort Duncan, island of Rodriguez. On the 20th,

they arrived off the east end of the island. On the 22nd, the troops were landed about seven miles from the town of St. Paulo. In the course of a few hours, the town, batteries, magazines, public stores, and above 120 guns of different calibre, were in possession of the assailants. But an appearance of a strong French force collecting on the hills, induced the British to re-embark on the evening of the 22nd, until they received the co-operation of the naval part of the expedition. This being effected, on the morning of the 23rd, the troops, marines, and seamen were again disembarked, when the enemy sent in proposals to capitulate. By the terms of capitulation, the conquerors were repossessed of their acquisitions of the 21st, together with a French frigate of 44 guns, and four richly laden Indiamen, which that vessel had recently captured.

In the middle of January, a naval and military expedition sailed from Jamaica, against the island of Martinique. The landing was effected without resistance; but in an action which soon took place, the enemy being defeated, retired to Fort

Bourbon. That stronghold being invested, the garrison, amounting to 3,000 men, surrendered at discretion. The reduction of this last possession of the French in the West Indies, was followed by the surrender of the fortress of St. Domingo and its garrison, consisting of 2,000 men.

Connected with the expedition against Martinique, we shall here narrate a gallant affair which deserves to be commemorated. On the 22nd of February, 1809, some of the French squadron who had anchored in the port of L'Orient, and amongst them the three 74-gun ships *Courageux*, *Polonais*, and *Hautpoll*, attempted to escape from it unseen, and sailed for the island of Martinique. But on their way thither, the French commodore having learnt that the island had surrendered to the English, entered the Saintes, determining to watch for an opportunity of crossing over to Basse-terre Guadeloupe. He had scarcely cast anchor before he was blockaded there by a superior British force, both of ships-of-the-line and of land troops; for the harbour of Saintes having three entrances, and being therefore difficult to blockade, it was thought fit to land a body of troops on the islands, in order to drive the French ships out to sea, as well as to reduce the islands, which had always offered them a safe refuge. The land troops having soon succeeded in placing two 8-inch howitzers on the top of a mountain completely overlooking the harbour, and having brought them to bear with great effect, the three French line-of-battle ships began to get under weigh and sail out of the windward passage; but although favoured by a very dark night, they were immediately perceived by the British in-shore squadron, which gave the preconcerted signal to the admiral outside, and a chase ensued. The first vessel that got up with the enemy was the 18-gun brig sloop *Recruit*, Captain Charles Napier,\* and who in the most spirited manner opened her fire on the sternmost ship of the French, and was soon joined by the *Neptune*, who was fired into by the same ship, the shot killing one and wounding four of her men.

On the next day, at four, A.M., the *Recruit*, by her superior sailing, again got near enough to discharge a broadside at the *Hautpoll*, now the rearmost French ship, and the *Pompée* was very soon in a situation to open

\* Afterwards Sir Charles Napier, commander of the Baltic fleet in 1854.

a distant fire from her bow chasers, all three French ships, as they steered in line abreast, returning the fire with their stern chasers. At half-past ten, Captain Napier had his sergeant of marines wounded by a shot from one of the French ships; but the *Recruit* still persisted to harass them with her attacks; and so annoying were they, that in a few minutes the *Hautpoll* broached to and discharged her main and quarter-deck guns, cutting away two of the brig's fore shrouds on the larboard side, and doing other damage to her rigging, but fortunately wounding no one. Even this did not intimidate Captain Napier; for no sooner had the *Hautpoll* resumed her course before the wind, than the *Recruit* boldly ran across her stern, pouring in one or two broadsides, and receiving in return a fire from the *Hautpoll's* stern chaser. The *Pompée* occasionally joined in the running fight; and thus the day passed. In the evening the French ships separated; the *Hautpoll* altering her course to the W.N.W. The *Pompée* immediately hauled up after her, and was at this time about three miles to the eastward of the latter, full five miles to the E.N.E. of the *Courageux* and *Polonais*, and about the same distance ahead of the *Neptune*. At midnight the *Pompée* could no longer see the *Courageux* and *Polonais*, but still kept sight of the *Hautpoll*.

The chase continued all next day, several other ships joining in it; but the *Pompée* sailed so nearly alike the *Hautpoll*, that no apparent alteration took place in the distance between them; till the night coming on very dark, about nine leagues off the high land of Porto Rico, the chasing ships were baffled by light and variable winds; and at midnight, only the *Castor* (12-pounder 32-gun frigate) had got so far ahead as to be on the starboard bow of the *Pompée*. In the morning, before dawn, she shortened sail, and an hour afterwards, when within little more than half a mile of the *Hautpoll's* starboard quarter, began a fire with her larboard guns. In this way the action was maintained till the *Pompée* got up, and engaging the *Hautpoll*, soon compelled her (now a complete wreck) to strike; and, indeed, only in time—for the opening daylight discovered the whole fleet advancing towards her. Thus terminated a running fight, begun to the southward of Viena Fort Guadeloupe, at ten in the evening of the 14th of April, and ended within eight leagues off Cape Toso, Porto Rico, at a quarter-past five in

The morning of the 17th. Sir Alexander Cochrane appointed Captain Napier to the command of the *Hautpolt* on the spot. She was a tolerably fine ship, of 1,871 tons, and, under the name of the *Abercromby*, cruised for three or four years in the British service.

OPERATIONS OF THE PATRIOT SPANISH ARMIES, AND THE GUERRILLA OR  
PARTISAN WARFARE.

AFTER the reduction of Madrid in December, 1808, Napoleon detached a large force to Talavera del la Reyna, with a view of reducing Seville, Cadiz, and Lisbon; and Soult, after the capitulation of the garrison of Coruuna, and his easy possession of Ferrol, Santander, and all the important posts on the northern coast of Spain, was ordered to leave Ney in charge of the province of Galicia, and march with 30,000 men to Oporto, while Victor menaced Portugal on its eastern frontier; and thus a joint movement was to be formed on Lisbon. But when it became evident that a war was unavoidable with Austria, the contest in Spain assumed a new form. Instead of pushing forward detachments into unsubdued provinces, the object of the French was to provide for their safety by concentration. The march on Cadiz and Lisbon was suspended, and the respective *corps d'armée* drew nearer Madrid, or assembled in the vicinity of the frontier fortresses of Catalonia and Navarre; or concentrated their forces within the provinces of Galicia, the Asturias, and Biscay. In this stage of the war of independence, the patriots were successful in the Asturias and Biscay, and several important places were retaken by them, supported by English ships of war, a line of which extended from Cape Finisterre to the Garonne. By the close of the month of June, Corunna, Ferrol, Vigo, and St. Jago de Compostella, the capital of Galicia, were again in the possession of the patriots. But these advantages were greatly counterbalanced by the enemy's success in other quarters. In fact, this year dawned as unpropitiously on Spanish efforts and patriotism as the preceding one had done.

The Duke del Infantado, in his chivalrous self-delusion of relieving Saragossa and recovering Madrid, had ordered Venegas to canton his troops at Ucles, consisting of 8,000 infantry and 1,800 horse, to be ready to co-operate in the design. There he was attacked by the French under Victor, and his army quickly put to the rout. The fugitives, in their panic, rushed headlong on the

enemy's artillery, which poured incessant showers of grapeshot on them. The victors, on entering the town of Ucles, committed the greatest atrocities. On the 28th of February, Reding was attacked at Valls, and after a gallant contest, compelled to retreat to the mountains. In this action the brave Reding, who was the brother of the Swiss patriot Aloys Reding, received four sabre wounds, from the effects of which he soon after died. The character of the war of independence at this period, is exemplified by the victory gained on the 28th of March by Victor over Cuesta. On that day the Spanish general found Victor's *corps d'armée*, consisting of 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, drawn up in front of Medellin, a town in the Guadiana, in the province of Estremadura. The French infantry was formed in six close columns, with their flanks covered by the cavalry, and in their front were raised six batteries. Against this formidable array Cuesta commenced a general attack. His infantry advanced within pistol-shot of the French, and the first battery was taken by the Spanish left wing. The French cavalry charging to regain its possession, two regiments of Spanish cavalry and ten squadrons of chasseurs were ordered to oppose them; but, panic-struck, instead of facing the foe, they fled in consternation from the field. The victors immediately directed their efforts on the centre and right wing, and concentrating the whole force of their artillery on them, the Spanish troops, throwing down their arms, took to headlong flight, pursued by the French cavalry, by whom no quarter was given. Weariness, rather than compassion or compunction, put a stop to the carnage. The loss of the Spaniards, in killed and wounded, was 10,000; and the trophies of the victors were 4,000 prisoners, ten standards, and twenty-five pieces of cannon. Two regiments of Swiss and Walloon guards, disdaining to flee, were found stretched on the battle-field in the very line they had occupied. Cuesta reassembled his broken forces at Llerena, on the confines of

Estremadura and Andalusia; and Victor marched to the Tagus, proceeding down that river to occupy his prescribed position on the eastern frontier of Portugal, in order to be ready to advance on Lisbon.

In the beginning of February, Soult, in obedience to his orders to reduce Portugal, began his march from Vigo, reached Tuy on the 10th, and entered Orense on the 18th. On his road from the last-mentioned town, he overtook, on March 6th, the rear-guard of the Marquis of Romana's army, at Monterey, which, after a short skirmish, took to flight, but were so closely pressed by Franceschi's cavalry, which at length heading them, and the French infantry attacking in the rear, they formed themselves into a weak square; but the greater part of them were sabred and bayoneted. Monterey and Chaves, the frontier towns of Spain and Portugal, quickly surrendered, as did also Braga on the 20th of March. On the 26th of that month the French army appeared before Oporto; and Soult's summons to surrender being disregarded, at seven o'clock of the following evening, three columns of the enemy advancing to the attack of the tumultuary rabble who occupied the redoubts, they drove them in wild confusion into the town, and the fugitives were quickly followed by their pursuers. In less than an hour from the commencement of the attack, the French were masters of the city.

On the death of Reding, Blake having been appointed to the command of the Catalonian army, and his successor as captain-general of the province of Aragon, advanced to the relief of Saragossa. Suchet, who had superseded Junot in Aragon, advanced from Saragossa with 10,000 infantry and 800 cavalry, against Blake, who was posted in the plain of Alcanitz, in front of that city. At six in the morning of the 26th of May, the hostile armies were in front of each other. In the action which ensued, no result was obtained by either side; but, in the course of the following night, a drummer spreading a false report of the approach of a formidable body of the Spaniards, the French fled in confusion towards Saragossa. Blake, inspired by this event, on the 14th of June appeared before Saragossa with an army of 17,000 men. On the following morning, he was attacked by Suchet under the walls of the city. The Spanish right wing, being fiercely assailed, was broken. To prevent a total

rout, Blake withdrew his army, and retreated to Belchite, whither he was quickly followed and attacked by Suchet. After a few shots had been fired by each side, a French shell falling into the middle of a Spanish regiment, the men were so panic-struck, that they took to flight. The panic instantly spread; a second and a third regiment took to their heels; and, in a few moments, the generals were left with only a few officers in the midst of the position. Artillery, baggage, ammunition, and all the *matériel* of the army fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 22nd of May and the 11th of June, Ballasteros had been defeated by Bonnet at the passage of the Deba, and at St. Jago de Compostella.

At this time Venegas, who commanded the army of Andalusia, consisting of about 30,000 men, was at Aranjuez, threatening Madrid. The intrusive king ordered Sebastiani to advance against him with 24,000 infantry and 4,000 horse. The attack was first made on the patriots in the gardens of the palace, but was repulsed with loss. The Spanish general, encouraged by this partial success, advanced to Almonacid, and took up a strong position upon the heights near that town, in expectation that Sebastiani would renew his attack. The French did not allow him to remain long unemployed. On the 18th of August they advanced to the attack, and though the action was contested with great spirit by the patriots, Venegas was routed, with the loss of the whole of his artillery and baggage, and 6,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The remains of the routed army fled to the recesses of the Sierra Morena.

An occurrence of an extraordinary character was now about to take place, in which the eagles of France were seen fleeing before the undisciplined battalions of the patriots. The Duc del Parque, who, with the army formerly commanded by the Marquis Romana, having taken a strong position on the heights of Tamanes, a town situated in the province of Leon, in the mountains on the northern side of the Puerto de Banos, had recently joined his forces with the Lusitanian legion under Sir Robert Wilson. On October the 18th, General Marchand advanced against the Spanish position, anticipating an easy victory. The French were successful on the left of their attack; but the main body of the patriots, falling back on their strong ground, poured so destructive a fire on the enemy, that

Marchand rapidly retreated; with the loss of 1,500 men and one piece of artillery.

Elated with this transient gleam of success, the central junta now entertained sanguine hopes of recovering Madrid. They accordingly raised Venegas' army to 50,000 men, and appointed Areizaga—a brave young man, one of their partisans—to its command, with orders to advance and capture the capital. The inexperienced general, partaking of the rashness and blind confidence of his patrons, descended from the mountains of the Sierra Morena, and advanced into the open plains of La Mancha against Sebastiani, whom Joseph had ordered to take post to defend the capital. The French army consisted of 30,000 men, of whom 5,000 were cavalry. Areizaga's army amounted to 50,000, of whom 7,000 were cavalry, with sixty pieces of artillery. Sebastiani's advanced guard lay at Ocana, a city of La Mancha, on the side of New Castile.

On the morning of the 13th of November, Areizaga advanced against Ocana. Zagas attacked the French cavalry with the advanced guard, and drove them back. At the same time, Laval's division, which had advanced against the Spanish centre and right, was received with so shattering a fire, that its ranks began to reel; but Gerard's division rapidly advancing to their relief, the Spanish right wing was broken, and their confusion was completed by a charge of cavalry. The centre now experiencing the same fate, the whole army fled in the wildest disorder towards the Sierra Morena, pursued and cut down on all sides by the merciless French cavalry. The loss of the patriots was—in killed, 4,000, and 26,000 prisoners. That of the French was 1,700 killed and wounded. The trophies of the victors were twenty-six standards, thirty pieces of artillery, and all the baggage and ammunition of the routed army.

This series of disasters of the patriots was consummated by the overthrow of the army of the Duc del Parque, who, after his repulse of Marchand, had advanced towards Medina del Rio Seco, to co-operate with Areizaga in the contemplated movement on Madrid; but receiving intelligence of the result of the battle of Ocana, he began to retreat, pursued by Kellermann. On the 25th of November, the French general came up with him at Alba de Tormes. The French were repulsed by the infantry, but the cavalry took to flight the moment the

French horse attacked them. The victorious cavalry then charged the Spanish infantry, but were repulsed. On the approach of night, the Spanish infantry, forming itself into an oblong square, retreated towards Tameses; but when within sight of the spot on which, one month before, they had worsted the enemy, a French patrol appearing, in a panic they threw away their arms and knapsacks, and took to headlong flight, abandoning their artillery, ammunition, and baggage.

It now remains to narrate the sieges of Saragossa and Gerona, from which places the enemy had been gloriously repulsed in the preceding year. No sooner was the disastrous battles of Tudela and Gammal fought—(on the 22nd and 30th of November, of the preceding year, by the first of which the fate of the patriot armies had been sealed for some time to come; and by the second, the passage to the capital opened to the enemy)—than the Saragossans, aware that the first object of the enemy would be the attempt to reduce their city, vigorously prepared for the attack. The defences of the place, and of its suburbs on both sides of the Ebro, had been considerably strengthened since the last siege. Three days, by a general order, were allowed to all women, men above sixty years of age, and boys under fourteen, to leave the town, and be provided for at the public expense, whither-soever they went; but so ardent a spirit of patriotism animated the whole of the inhabitants, that not one of them left the place to which they were so much attached.

On the 18th of December, Marshal Monecy, with an army of 40,000 men, appeared before Saragossa, and on the 20th the trenches were opened. On the following morning, the fortified outpost of Monte Torrero was attacked and carried; but an assault on the suburb beyond the Ebro, on the 22nd, was repulsed with considerable slaughter of the enemy. The town having been completely invested on both sides by the 24th, a powerful fire was opened on the night of the 29th on the city walls. At this period of the siege, the following stratagem was put into execution by the heroic women of Saragossa:—A considerable body of the enemy was decoyed into the town by a stratagem devised by the women who had enrolled themselves into a regiment, to the number of 800, under the command of the Countess of Benita. A number of white handkerchiefs waved on the battlements and



NAPOLEON QUITTING THE "BELLEROPHON," 1815.



THE LAST HOURS OF NAPOLEON I., 1821.



ramparts, which the French deeming tokens of submission, a strong party advanced forward; but they were no sooner within reach, than they were furiously attacked by both the male inhabitants and the women, and totally destroyed. Many of the female combatants were killed and wounded.

At the opening of the new year, the Saragossans were destined to endure all the horrors incidental to the most fearful and tremendous sieges. Junot, who had at this period taken the command of the besieging force, had recourse to a tremendous bombardment, which was continued for several successive days and nights; for security from the shells, which were profusely thrown into the devoted city, the women and children, and the old and infirm part of the population, took refuge in the cellars. Some of these dismal recesses became the hotbeds of disease and infection, and the consequent contagion was much more destructive of the lives of the ill-fated inhabitants of the city, than the shot and shell of their merciless foe. By the middle of January, all the fortified posts outside the ramparts were in the possession of the enemy.

In this state of the siege, Marshal Lannes assumed the command of the besieging army, and the bombardment proceeded with renewed vigour. To his demand of surrender, Palafox's reply was, that it would more redound to the honour of Marshal Lannes to gain possession of Saragossa by manly courage with the sword, than by bombardment. The French marshal, irritated by the gallant reply of his antagonist, opened, on the following morning, so destructive a fire of shot and shell on the town and its walls, that three practicable trenches were soon made in the latter. The enemy, advancing to the assault as soon as it was dark, after a dreadful struggle, which lasted the whole night, obtained possession of the convents of the Augustines and Santa Engracia. In this desperate contest, women mingled with the combatants, and over their sons, husbands, and fathers, they rushed on the enemy, to avenge their deaths and die with them. During the struggle in this quarter, the Poles in the French service entered the Rua Quemada, and obtained possession of some houses on the side of Santa Engracia. The deadly warfare was now, as in the former siege, to be carried on from house to house, and room to room. The scene of deadly combat was there con-

tinued till the dead and the dying lay heaped on each other, often several feet above the scene of contest; "but the undaunted foemen, in nowise discouraged, mounting the ghastly pile, maintained the contest so obstinately that no progress was made on either side; and not unfrequently, while still locked fast in the deadly struggle, the whole—dead, dying, and combatants—were together blown into the air by the explosion of the mines beneath."

The suburbs on both sides of the river having been carried on the 7th and 19th of February, two-thirds of the city destroyed, and 54,000 of the inhabitants\* and troops having perished, while the infectious endemic raged in every quarter, so that the city had become one vast charnel-house, Palafox transferred his authority to a junta, who dispatched a flag of truce to the French marshal, requesting a suspension of hostilities for three days. Lannes made no other reply than by a shower of bombs; but he ultimately agreed to a request for suspension of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that a capitulation might be adjusted in the meantime. The terms of the capitulation were, that the garrison (now only 2,400, but which, in the beginning of the siege, amounted to 30,000 men), should be conveyed as prisoners of war to France. Augustina Saragossa was among the prisoners, but being in hospital at the time, she availed herself of the opportunity of escape. As soon as the French were in possession of the woe-worn city, they inflicted the most merciless extortions and exorbitant exactions on the surviving inhabitants. The consequence of the fall of Saragossa was the immediate submission of the whole of the province of Aragon, and the fortress of Jaca, which commanded the chief pass from that province through the Pyrenees into France.

Gerona had been twice invested, and the assailants had twice been driven back by its heroic defenders. But the reduction of the place being an object of deep interest to the despoiler of Spanish freedom and nationality, St. Cyr received orders to prepare for its third investment. His army consisted of 30,000 men, the garrison of Gerona amounted to 3,400, and its inhabitants were about 14,000.

Since the last investment, the brave

\* Of this number, only 6,000 had perished by the sword; the remainder had fallen victims to the contagion.

Geronans and their gallant governor, Mariano Alvarez, had been vigorously preparing for the expected assault: the whole male population, without distinction of rank or age, had formed itself into a corps, to support the efforts of the garrison. Women, too, even of the highest rank and station, had, in imitation of the heroines of Saragossa, formed themselves into an association called "The Company of St. Barbara," to bear away and attend to the wounded, and perform whatever lay in their power to aid the defenders of the place.

On the 6th of May, the enemy appeared on the heights on the opposite side of the river Ter, and, as soon as their lines were completed, summoned the garrison. The governor replying, that no communication would be held with the enemy but "at the mouth of the cannon," an hour after midnight of the day following the message, a furious bombardment was opened on the town. Immediately the whole population, with the "company of St. Barbara," hastened to their posts. The suburbs being soon rendered untenable, batteries were erected against three sides of the citadel Monjuic, which constituted the principal defence of the place. The breaching-batteries having thundered incessantly on that fortress for a fortnight, a wide opening was effected in its walls. On the morning of the 8th of July, 6,000 men, under cover of a tremendous bombardment, advanced to the assault, but they were driven back by the heroic defenders of the breach. Twice again the assailants renewed the attack, and twice they were driven back by their opponents. In these various attempts, the enemy had sustained a loss of 1,000 men.

Having held out thirty-seven days since the practicable breach had been made, Monjuic became no longer tenable, its defences being utterly destroyed. That fortress was therefore abandoned, and its intrepid garrison of 500 men, on the 12th of August, retired into Gerona, having lost half of their original complement in its defence.

About the end of August, the garrison was greatly reduced by death and wounds, and the epidemic which had broken out about the end of June, had become so contagious, that the hospitals could no longer contain the required numbers; but not a word respecting capitulation was heard throughout the city. In that critical moment Blake advanced to the relief of the place,

and so manœuvred as to be able to throw a large convoy of supplies and 3,000 men into the town.

The fire of the breaching-batteries being now recommenced with increased fury, by the 18th of September three enormous breaches were rendered practicable, and at break of day of the 19th, three massive columns of the enemy (2,000 men each) were seen advancing to the assault. Immediately the tocsin was rung, and the whole of the inhabitants hurried to their assigned posts, and "calmly and silently, amidst the fire of 200 pieces of artillery, awaited death in the service of their country." Thrice did the assailants mount the summit of the breaches, and thrice were they driven back by their defenders. After a furious contest of two hours' duration, the assailants withdrew hastily and in disorder, leaving the battered walls covered with killed and wounded, and their force weakened by the loss of one-third of its original amount.

St. Cyr now determined to convert the siege into a blockade, and thus, by famine and disease, subdue the heroic defenders of Gerona, whom his ceaseless bombardment, fire of artillery, and profuse sacrifice of his troops, could not discourage—a determination put into execution by his successor, Augereau, who superseded him on the 13th of October, and brought with him large reinforcements from France.

The siege had now continued nearly seven months, and the garrison and population were in a famishing state. Their animal powers were prostrated: the contagion had become so virulent, that the way to the burial-place was hourly thronged; and the survivors, who had been reduced to the dismal extremity of feeding on their own hair, resembled spectres haunting a city of the dead. At this period of the glorious struggle, Alvarez being seized with a dangerous fever, the command devolved on Don Julian de Bolivar, who felt that the time was come when to capitulate would not be attended with dishonour, and that it was perfectly useless to protract the siege a moment longer. A flag of truce was therefore sent to the enemy's camp proposing a capitulation, to which Augereau gladly assented. On the 10th of November the terms of the capitulation were adjusted, and the diminished garrison—4,300 men—marched out of the town, now a heap of ruins, to be exchanged for an equal number of French prisoners. Nine thousand

persons had perished during the siege, of whom 4,000 were the inhabitants of the town. The loss of the enemy, by the sword and disease, had been 15,000.

The Guerilla, or Partisan Warfare, which subsisted during the Spanish patriot war of independence, was indebted for its origin to two causes:—first, the disasters which had attended all the operations of the regular military forces; and, secondly, the excessive cruelty and extortion of the French towards the inhabitants of the country; the immense extent of the contributions imposed on them, and the rigour with which those contributions were levied.

The reverses of fortune which the Spanish armies had sustained towards the close of this year, determined the various juntas to have recourse to the desultory mode of warfare which had been recommended by the junta of Seville at the beginning of the patriotic struggle, for the purpose of suddenly attacking the enemy, arresting his convoys, and surprising his stragglers and advanced guards. The juntas of Badajos, Galicia, and the Asturias, were among the first to sanction this species of warfare; but even without the intervention of the public authorities, it became general throughout Spain. The origin of the partisan warfare, to which the remorseless cruelties and unbounded rapine of the French gave existence, is well described in the elder Mina's counter-proclamation of retaliation for the frightful and sanguinary denunciation of Bessières' proclamation of extermination of the inhabitants of Navarre. "The province (namely, Navarre) is covered with desolation; everywhere tears are shed for the loss of the dearest friends: the father sees the body of his son hanging, for having had the heroism to defend his country; the son witnesses with despair his father sinking under the horrors of a prison, for no other reason than that he is the parent of a hero who has fought for his native land." And this scene of horror and cruelty was not confined to a single province; it prevailed wherever the power of the enemy was dominant. "If you inquired," says an impartial historian, "into the private history of any member of the guerilla bands, it uniformly recounted some tale of suffering. One had his father murdered by the French soldiers at the threshold of his house; another had seen his wife violated and imprisoned, or his children butchered before his eyes; a third had lost both his sons in the war against the

foes of his country; a fourth, burnt out of house and home, had joined the bands in the mountains as the only means of gaining a livelihood or of wreaking vengeance. All had, in one way or other, been driven by suffering to forget every other feeling but the remembrance of their woes, and the determination to revenge them."

This desultory mode of warfare, which prevailed in every quarter where the shelter of mountains rendered pursuit difficult, was carried on by its partisans under three denominations—*guerillas*, *serranas*, and *partidas*. The guerillas were those patriot bands which acted against the enemy in the northern and midland provinces. The serranas were those confederates who were embodied in mountain districts, included under the name of the Sierra de Ronda, in Andalusia. These irregular troops were denominated *partidas* when acting in small parties.

In these bands men of all callings and professions enrolled themselves; and their members were not confined to native Spaniards, but included many deserters from the French and English armies. In the pursuit of the English army under Sir John Moore to Corunna, the advanced guard of the French arrived at a village surrounded by a palisade, where the tricoloured flag waved on the steeple of the parish church, and the sentinels wore the French uniform. Some officers, approaching the village, were informed, that for the last three months 200 marauding Frenchmen had occupied the place, their retreat having been cut off by the patriots. They said their commander-in-chief was a corporal; and that "his excellency" was absent with a shooting-party. While Massena was in Portugal, the desertion from the French ranks was so extensive, for the purpose of marauding, that the deserters formed themselves into a *corps d'armée*, entitled, "The 11th *Corp d'Armée* of the French Army." Their depredations at length became so injurious to their own countrymen, that the French marshal was obliged to send a division of his troops to subdue them. After a desperate contest, the marauders submitted, and their leaders were executed. The Spanish marauding chieftain (Echeverria) was at the head of a band of 800 Germans, deserters from the French ranks. Even women were engaged in this predatory mode of warfare. A ferocious woman, by name Martina, led a band of ruffians in Biscay. She attempted to form counter-bands, under the name of

Miquelets; but the project was not successful. Counter-predatory bands were also formed by the Spaniards themselves, which often became the scourge and terror of the districts in which they acted. Among the leaders of these were Echeverria and the woman Martina, both of whom the elder Mina captured and executed.

The most distinguished guerilla leaders were the two Minas (uncle and nephew), Espez-y-Mina, and Xavier Mina, with Renovales, in Navarre and Aragon; Portier and Linza, in the Asturias; Juan Martin Diez, in Biscay; Julian Sanchez, in the Castiles; Juan Paladea, in La Mancha; and Murillo Darilla, in the mountainous districts included under the name of the Sierra de Ronda, in Andalusia. The curate Merino, Janegui, Baron d'Erolles, Campanillo, and others, acquired much notoriety in this species of warfare. Except Portier, d'Erolles, Duran, and Paladea, they had all belonged to the low condition of society. They were often designated from their former employments or professions. Thus Janegui was styled *El Pastor* (the Shepherd); Merino, *El Cura* (the Priest); Paladea, *El Medico*

(the Doctor); Portier, *El Marquisiti* (the Marquis); Juan Martin Diez, who, previous to the war of independence, had been a soldier, but had returned to his original occupation of an agricultural labourer, styled himself *El Empecinado*.

As has been before said, these bands inflicted injury on the enemy. They often cut off their communications, intercepted their convoys and couriers, and destroyed the little forts, block-houses, and redoubts, which were placed midway between the towns to preserve the communications. How formidable they had become, appears from the circumstance, that the common escort for a courier to the smallest distance was 200 dragoons; to the French frontier, 1,400; and 3,000, or even a whole division, were at times necessary for the purpose. When General Foy was sent by Massena from Portugal to Paris, to ascertain Napoleon's determination respecting the evacuation of his position before the lines of Torres Vedras, his escort was 2,000 men; and on his return to the French marshal at Salamanca, consisted of a detachment of upwards of 3,000 men.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1809.

WHEN the courier, on the 1st of January of this year, brought the English state paper to Napoleon, alluding to the hostile preparations of Austria against France, the French emperor immediately desisted from his pursuit of the army under Sir John Moore, and prepared for his return to Paris. Halting at Valladolid, he shut himself up with Maret, his minister for foreign affairs, and the writer of his despatches. After two days' seclusion, eighty-four messengers were dispatched in different directions, with orders to concentrate the French forces in Germany, and Napoleon himself set out on his return to Paris, where he arrived on the 23rd. There ascertaining the hostile demonstrations making by Austria, which had already increased its regular army, and called out the landwehr, or militia, he set on foot negotiations with the cabinet of Vienna, rather in order to gain two or three months' time for his own military preparations, than with the hope or the wish of averting the approaching storm. The Austrian cabinet had recourse to the same wiles of diplomacy. Metternich said the propo-

sitions of his government were merely defensive. But after three months spent by the statesmen of each country in their diplomatic farce, Austria, in the middle of March, declared war against France in the form of the following proclamation by the Archduke Charles, dated at Vienna, April 6th:—

“The protection of our country calls us to new exploits. As long as it was possible to preserve peace by means of sacrifices, and as long as those sacrifices were consistent with the honour of the throne, with the security of the state, and with the welfare of the people, the heart of our bountiful sovereign suppressed every painful feeling in silence; but when all endeavours to preserve independence from the insatiable ambition of a foreign conqueror prove fruitless—when nations are falling around us, and when lawful sovereigns are torn from the hearts of their subjects,—when, in fine, the danger of universal subjugation threatens even the states of Austria and their peaceable inhabitants, then does our country demand its deliverance from us, and we stand forth in its defence.

“On you, my brother soldiers, are fixed the eyes of the universe, and of all those who still feel for national honour and national prosperity. You shall not share the disgrace of becoming the tools of oppression. You shall not contribute to carry on the endless wars of ambition in distant climes. Your blood shall never flow for foreign fleets and foreign covetousness: nor on you shall ever the curse alight to annihilate innocent nations, and, over the bodies of the slaughtered defenders of their country, to pave the way for a foreigner to a usurped throne. A happier lot awaits you: the liberty of Europe has taken refuge under our banners. Your victories will loose its fetters; and your brothers in Germany, yet in the ranks of the enemy, long for their deliverance. You are engaged in a just cause, otherwise I would not appear at your head.

“On the fields of Ulm and Marengo, whereof the enemy so often reminds us with ostentatious pride—on those fields we will renew the glorious deeds of Wurtzburg and Ostrach, of Stockach and Zurich, of Verona, the Trebbia, and Novi. We will conquer a lasting peace for our country; but that great object is not to be obtained without great virtues. Unconditional subordination, strict discipline, persevering courage, and unshaken steadiness in danger, are the companions of true fortitude. Only a union of will, and a joint co-operation of the whole, will lead to victory.

“There remains one consideration of which I must remind you: the soldier is formidable only to the enemy in arms; civil virtues must not be strangers to him: out of the field of battle, towards the unarmed citizens and peasants he is moderate, compassionate, humane; he knows the evils of war, and strives to lighten them.”

Proclamations in the same strain were also issued;—one by the Emperor Francis to the Austrian nation, dated April 8th; and one by the Archduke Charles to the German nations. Those proclamations were followed by a manifesto detailing the various causes of offence and provocation which Austria had received from France, and the sacrifices which the Emperor had made for the continuance of peace.

The announcement that Austria had commenced war against France, was contained in a note by the Archduke Charles to the general-in-chief of the French troops in Bavaria, dated April 9th, and couched in

the following terms:—“According to the declaration of his majesty the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor Napoleon, I advertise the French general-in-chief, that I have orders to advance into Bavaria with the troops under my command, and to treat as enemies all who shall offer resistance.”

A copy of this note, which was immediately forwarded to Paris, reached Napoleon on the 12th. In less than two hours afterwards he was *en route* to the scene of operations. On the 17th he reached Donauwörth, where he published the following proclamation to the army:—

“Soldiers! The territory of the confederation has been violated. The Austrian general commanded us to flee at the very sight of his arms, and to abandon our allies. I am here with the speed of lightning.

“Soldiers! I was surrounded by you when the Austrian sovereign came to my bivouac in Moravia. You then heard him implore my clemency, and swear to me the friendship of a brother. Vanquishers in three wars, to our generosity Austria owes everything. Thrice she is perjured. Our past success affords a pledge of the victory which now awaits us. Forward, then, and at our presence let our enemies acknowledge their conquerors.”

The Austrian military force consisted of 300,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry, besides the landwehr; and it was divided into nine *corps d'armée*, besides two of reserve, consisting of 30,000 soldiers each. The first six of these corps were under the immediate orders of the Archduke Charles; General Hiller commanding the sixth. The seventh corps was under the Archduke Ferdinand, in Poland; the eighth and ninth were under the Archduke John, in Italy; and the two corps of reserve were commanded by Prince John of Lichtenstein and General Kenmayer. The number of troops in the Tyrol, Croatia, and on the confines of Bohemia, amounted to 25,000 men.

The amount and positions of the French army were:—One French *corps d'armée* was under Davoust, at Ratisbon; another under Massena, at Ulm; and a third under Oudinot, at Augsburg. Three divisions of Bavarians were posted under Lefebvre at Munich, Ray at Landshut, and Wrede at Straubing. A division of Würtembergers was at Heydenheim; the Saxon troops were encamped under the walls of Dresden; and the *corps d'armée* of the

duchy of Warsaw was encamped close to that city, commanded by Prince Poniatowski. As soon as Napoleon reached the scene of action, the whole of the different corps, both French and those of the confederation, were marshalled into one body, to be termed the "Army of Germany," amounting to 240,000 men, and divided into eight corps; Bernadotte's division amounted to 50,000; the imperial guard, and reserve cavalry from Spain, had not yet arrived.

A few days (April 20th) after the French emperor had reached the scene of action, he repaired to the head-quarters of the various commanders of the forces of the confederation, by whom and their respective troops he was received with the loudest acclamations, and a transport rivalling that of his own veteran regiments, and which was soon raised to the very highest pitch by the following proclamation:—"Bavarians! I do not come among you as Emperor of the French, but as chief of the confederation of the Rhine, and protector of your country. You combat to-day alone against the Germans; not a single Frenchman is to be seen in the first line; they are only in reserve, and the enemy are not aware of their presence. I place entire confidence in your valour. I have extended the limits of your country, and now I see I have not done enough. Hereafter I will render you so great, that, to sustain a war against Austria, you will no longer have need of my assistance. Two hundred years the Bavarian banners, protected by France, resisted Austria; now we are on the march for Vienna, where we shall punish her for the mischief which she has always done to your forefathers. Austria intended to have partitioned your country into baronies, and divided you among her regiments. Bavarians, this war is the last which you will have to sustain against your enemies: attack them with the bayonet, and annihilate them."

In the approaching contest, the Austrians had taken the initiative. On the 9th of April the Austrian troops crossed the frontiers on the Inn, in Bohemia, in the Tyrol, and in Italy. The main army, on the following day, passed the Iser at Munich, driving the French and Bavarians before them from Landshut. Corps arriving by the way of Pilsen from Bohemia, also drove the French garrison from Ratisbon, which it was unnecessary to preserve until the arrival of the first corps of the main Austrian army

under the Count de Bellegarde, which covered the frontier of Bohemia towards Saxony and Franconia.

As the design of the French emperor was to manœuvre on the extended line of his enemy, and break it by coming between the Archduke Charles and the corps commanded by his brothers, on his arrival at Donauwörth on the 17th, orders were dispatched to Massena, who commanded the right wing of the army of Germany, to advance, on the 18th, by a lateral march from Augsburg to Pfaffenhausen; and to Davoust, who led the left, to approach the line of the centre by a similar movement from Ratisbon to Neustadt; while Napoleon, in person, advanced forward with the centre, against the two corps of the archduke's army, commanded by his brother Louis and Hiller. The Austrians were attacked and defeated, on the 29th, by Massena at Pfaffenhausen, and by Davoust at Thaur. In the last-mentioned action a violent thunderstorm separated the combatants, who respectively lost 3,000 men. On the 20th, Napoleon made a sudden assault on the corps of Prince Louis and General Hiller, at Abensberg, when Davoust appearing on their right flank, and Massena in their rear, the Austrians fled in terror from the field, leaving eight stand of colours, twenty-five pieces of cannon, 600 ammunition waggons, and an immense quantity of baggage, in the hands of the victors. In the battle at Landshut, which occurred on the following day, their loss was 9,000 prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon. During these operations the Archduke Charles had reduced Ratisbon, the key to both banks of the Danube. On receiving intelligence of the capture of that city, Napoleon, without delay, advanced towards the archduke, who was strongly posted at Echemühl. The French army reached the position on the 22nd, and at two o'clock of the afternoon of that day, attacked the Austrian army. After a desperate contest of upwards of five hours, the Austrian army was dislodged from its trenchments, and sustained a complete defeat, with the loss of 20,000 prisoners, fifteen stand of colours, and nearly all its artillery. Ratisbon was immediately invested, and, on the 28th, fell into the hands of its assailants. On the day following the capture, the French emperor reviewed the troops, and as each regiment defiled before him, he demanded to be informed by the colonel who were the most

deserving officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates; and, in the presence of the troops, distributed honours and rewards among them with a liberal hand. Recognising some of the veterans of Italy and Egypt, while conferring on them the cross of the legion of honour, he gave a signal of recognition by a slight tap on the cheek or the shoulder, saying—"I make you a baron, or a chevalier." Davoust was created Prince of Ehmühl; and the other generals and officers, according to their respective services, received additions in rank, or gratuities in money or estates. On the same day the following proclamation was issued:—"Soldiers! You have justified my anticipations, and have supplied the place of numbers by your bravery. You have gloriously marked the distinction which exists between the soldiers of Cæsar and the armies of Xerxes. In a few days we have triumphed in the three battles of Thau, Abensberg, and Ehmühl, and in the engagements of Freysing, Landshut, and Ratisbon. A hundred pieces of cannon, forty stand of colours, 50,000 prisoners, 3,000 baggage-waggons, and all the regimental treasure-chests, have been gained by the rapidity of your marches and your courage. The enemy, intoxicated by a perjured cabinet, seemed no longer to have preserved the remembrance of you. You have promptly restored them to reason, and have shown yourselves more terrible than ever. But lately the Austrians crossed the Inn, and invaded the territories of our allies, flattering themselves that they should be able to carry the war into the bosom of our country; to-day, defeated and panic-stricken, they are fleeing in disorder. Already has my advanced guard passed the Inn; in less than a month we shall be in Vienna."

The road to Vienna now lay open to the conqueror. Following the course of the Danube, he advanced rapidly on that capital, before which he appeared on the 10th of May, and immediately invested it. The summons to surrender being treated with disdain, a heavy bombardment was opened on the city, and a shower of bombs was directed on the imperial palace; but on Napoleon's receiving information that the Archduchess Maria Louisa lay confined there with sickness, having been unable to accompany the emperor and the rest of the imperial family in their flight to Znaim, in Hungary, he ordered that quarter to be spared. In a few hours the whole city

appearing to be in flames, and all resistance hopeless, Prince Maximilian, with the troops of the line and the landwehr, on the night of the 12th evacuated the city, leaving General O'Reilly to effect a capitulation, which took place on the morning of the 13th. Oudinot, at the head of his division, took possession of the city, and Napoleon established his head-quarters at the palace of Schönbrunn, from which he issued the following proclamation:—"Soldiers! A month after the enemy had passed the Inn, on the same day, at the same hour, you have entered Vienna. Their landwehrs, their levies *en masse*, their ramparts, erected by the impotent rage of the princes of the house of Lorraine, have fallen at the very sight of you. The princes of that house have abandoned their capital—not like soldiers of honour, who yield to circumstances and the reverses of war, but as perjurers haunted with a sense of their misdeeds. While fleeing from their capital, their orders were to its inhabitants—murder and conflagration. Like Medea, they have strangled with their own hands their offspring. Soldiers! the people of Vienna—to use the expression of a deputation from its suburbs—disheartened and abandoned, shall be the objects of our regard. I take under my special protection all its peaceable citizens; while the turbulent and wicked shall meet with exemplary justice. Soldiers! let us exhibit no marks of haughtiness or pride, but regard our triumphs as a proof of the divine justice, which punishes, by our hands, the ungrateful and the perjured."

In a similar strain he addressed a proclamation to the Hungarians, in which he attributed his victories over the Austrian emperor to the favour of a special providence, and represented them as punishments inflicted on that monarch for perfidy and ingratitude in again taking up arms against the man to whom he had been thrice indebted for his crown. He reminded them of the blessings of independence, and told them, that he who had broken the links of bondage which had united them to the house of Austria, required no other return than that they should become an independent nation, and choose a king; at the same time hinting, that he wished and expected their choice to fall on himself.

While these events were in operation, the Archduke Charles, who had reinforced his army with the wrecks of regular troops, and new levies from Bohemia and Moravia, to

the number of 75,000 men, moved down to the left bank of the Danube; and in expectation of being joined by his brother, took post only a few miles from the capital, for the purpose of checking any attempt which the enemy might make to cross the river.

As it was of the utmost importance that the war should be brought to as speedy a conclusion as possible, Napoleon resolved to attack the archduke in his position. With this design he marched his army along the south bank of the Danube, till it had reached, Ebersdorf, a village distant about six miles from Vienna, where the Danube is divided into several branches, intersected by low woody islands, the largest of which is Lobau. Here Napoleon determined to cross the river, and for that purpose ordered a series of bridges to be constructed. On the 20th, large masses of French crossed and took post in a small plain between the villages of Aspern and Essling. Aspern was occupied by the corps of Messina; Essling, by that of Lannes; while the cavalry, under Bessières, occupied the intervening plain. The Austrian army was posted on the distant heights of Bisamberg. On the 21st the Austrians made an attack on the villages of Aspern and Essling, which, after having been repeatedly taken and retaken, remained in the hands of the French when night set in. The slaughter, during the furious contest, had been great on both sides.

Each army having during the night received considerable reinforcements, the battle was renewed early on the morning of the 22nd; but, in the very heat of the fight, Napoleon learning that by a sudden swell of the Danube, part of the bridges which formed his communication with the right bank of the river had been swept away, he directed a retreat to the island of Lobau, the bridge from which to the left bank remained yet uninjured. In these obstinate and bloody battles, the villages of Aspern and Essling had, by repeated attacks and repulses, been in the hands of both sides, and every street and house had been the object of contention; both villages, however, remained in the hands of the Austrians. The loss on each side had been very great; that of the Austrians being above 4,000 in killed, 13,000 wounded, and 800 prisoners, while that of the French in killed, wounded, and prisoners, exceeded 30,000. Both sides were now earnestly preparing for the great struggle which was to determine the fate of the campaign. The

Archduke Charles was active in strengthening the positions of Aspern and Essling, by a vast line of intrenchments and redoubts, running through both the villages to the banks of the Danube at Enzersdorf, for the purpose of opposing any attempts to pass that river. The Austrian army, amounting to 140,000 men, was stationed about a league in rear of the works. The corps of Bellegarde, Hohenzollern, and Rosenberg were at Wagram. Napoleon, on the other hand, converted the island of Lobau into an intrenched camp, secured from storm or surprise. In the meantime, he was diligent in endeavouring to revive and raise the spirits of his discomfited army. Among other means, he gave, to a large extent, gratuities to the soldiers' widows; to each private, sixty francs; and to every officer, from one hundred and fifty to fifteen hundred francs, according to his rank. For several days, attended by his staff, he visited the hospitals, and distributed money among the sick and wounded, from baskets carried by his servants in their full livery.

On the 4th of July, the Italian army under Eugene effected a junction with the grand army in the island of Lobau, and thus increased the French force to 180,000 men and 700 pieces of artillery. Napoleon having now concentrated his forces, prepared for action.

On the night of the same day that Eugene had effected his junction, a heavy fire was opened from above one hundred pieces of heavy cannon on the village of Enzersdorf, which supported the left wing of the Austrian army; this was replied to by all the Austrian batteries on the bridge of Aspern, from the supposition that the passage of the river was to be effected in that quarter. In the meantime, amidst a hurricane of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, the French columns continued during the whole night to pass the river on pontoon bridges, lower down than the bridge of Aspern; and by six o'clock on the following morning, 150,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 700 pieces of artillery were firmly established on the northern shore between Enzersdorf and the banks of the Danube.

To meet the emergency which this skillful manœuvre of the French emperor had produced, the Austrian general determined to abandon his fortified position, and retire to the plateau of Wagram, in the rear of Aspern and Essling, and about four miles distant from the Danube, at the northern

extremity of the plain of Marchfeld. Napoleon had, in the course of the preceding night, accumulated his force towards the centre; while the archduke had weakened his centre, in order to secure and augment the strength of his wings, in which a great proportion of his artillery was placed. About six o'clock in the afternoon, the French army advanced against the corps of Bellegarde, Hohenzollern, and Rosenberg, stationed on the plateau and in the village of Wagram. The battle soon became general in every part of the line; but almost the whole of the French artillery having been concentrated in the centre, it battered one single point of the Austrian line, towards the centre, as if it had been a fortress. To this tremendous thunder there was nothing to oppose on the part of the Austrians, their artillery having been placed at the extremities of their line. The result was that the Austrian centre was driven back, to a great extent, out of the line. The right and left wings, alarmed at the danger, and being at the same time attacked in flank, began to give way, and the archduke ordered a retreat, which was executed by the columns of infantry retiring in echelon, alternately marching and facing about, and throwing destructive volleys into the ranks of their pursuers. In this battle, the loss on each side was 25,000 men.\* The trophies of the French were the Austrian wounded and a few dismantled cannon. Those of the Austrians were 5,000 prisoners, made by the right wing. The Austrian army retreated towards Moravia and Bohemia. The day after the battle, Napoleon rode over the field, and frequently dismounting, administered relief with his own hands to the wounded. To the soldiers about to march in pursuit of the enemy, he distributed rewards in profusion.

Matters appearing now hopeless to the Austrian cabinet, proposals for an armistice were carried from the Emperor Francis to Napoleon, by Prince John of Lichtenstein, on the 12th of July; the armistice was concluded on the 18th. In the meantime, a war contribution of 237,000 francs had been im-

posed on the Austrian provinces occupied by the French. By the peace of Vienna which followed, dated October 14th, Austria yielded up three million and a-half of population, and a surface of forty-five thousand square miles of territory, together with all her sea-coast, to France and its allies. On the signing of the treaty, the French camp before Vienna immediately broke up, and Napoleon, quitting the palace of Schönbrunn, set out for Paris, where he arrived on the 26th of October.

During the campaigns of Aspern, Essling, and Wagram, a formidable insurrection had broken out in Saxony, Westphalia, and Hanover, at the head of which appeared Colonel Schill and the Duke of Brunswick-Oels. Schill, after traversing the whole of the north of Germany in different directions, and by the boldness and vigour of his attacks and the rapidity of his movements, defeating or perplexing the troops sent against him, was compelled to take refuge in Stralsund, where being besieged by overwhelming numbers, he was at length taken and executed, after a brave and glorious resistance. The Duke of Brunswick-Oels, who had sworn an unquenchable hatred and exterminating war against Napoleon Buonaparte, as "the murderer of his father," arrested, with his little corps of 2,000 men, the troops sent against him. He was at length compelled to retreat to Heligoland, an island in possession of the English, at the mouth of the Elbe, from which he subsequently embarked in those vessels which had, at the fitting out of the Walcheren expedition, sailed to that river with the intention of co-operating with the Austrian forces in the north of Germany. With this little band he subsequently fought at the battle of Waterloo. The duke's followers were dressed in a light-blue uniform, with a death's-head and cross-bones on their cloaks and the front of their caps, and his colours were constantly covered with crape. The only distinction between the officers and privates was a small cross on the arms of the latter.

\* The exaggerations, in the French bulletins, of the great losses of the enemy, and the very trifling injury done to their own armies, had become so extravagant, that no confidence was placed in them. The bulletin of the battle of Wagram, represented the French loss at 1,500 killed and 3,000 wounded; but according to documents in the French war-office, the killed were 6,500, and the wounded, 15,000. The bulletin further stated, that the French had taken 20,000 prisoners, forty pieces of cannon, and ten

standards; whereas *no prisoners* were taken by them, and only a *few unserviceable* cannon,—a circumstance that so irritated Napoleon, that when he was informed that no prisoners or cannon had been taken, he exclaimed—"Was ever anything seen like this? Neither prisoners nor guns! This day will be attended with no results." The story of the twenty thousand prisoners, with the cannon and standards, is piously preserved in all the English accounts of the battle.

## THE TYROLESE PATRIOT WAR.

AMONG the popular movements which occasioned uneasiness and difficulty to the French emperor, from the Rhine to the Elbe, was that of the Tyrolese, who, on the rupture between France and Austria, started, as if animated by one soul, simultaneously into arms.

That ancient province of the house of Austria had, when the triumphs of the French arms put into the power of the conqueror the destinies of the Emperor Francis, been by the eighth article of the treaty of Presburg, delivered over to the rule of Bavaria, in exchange for the duchy of Würzburg; but its brave inhabitants no sooner heard that their rightful sovereign was again in arms against the French, than, early in the month of April, they rose, under the guidance of Hofer, an innkeeper at Sard, in the valley of Passeyr; Spechbacher, the overseer of the salt-works of Hall; and Haspinger, a Capuchin friar, seized the strong passes of their country, and in a few days made prisoners of every French and Bavarian soldier quartered among them, with the exception of the garrison of the fortress of Kufstein.

The first blow struck against the enemy was by Hofer. On the 9th of April he defeated the Bavarian troops at Sterzing Alocs, in the valley of the Eisach, and killed, wounded, and took prisoners about 1,000 of them. During the night of the same day, Spechbacher took the town of Hall by surprise; and on the 11th of the same month, at the head of 20,000 peasants, he took Innsprück, the capital of the Tyrol. On the following day, the French general Bisson, with his division of 3,000 men, laid down their arms, panic-struck, unconditionally to Spechbacher. Thus, in less than a single week from the breaking out of the insurrection, had the brave Tyrolese delivered the northern and central Tyrol, and recovered all its fortresses, except Kufstein, from their oppressors; and by the 22nd of the same month, they were also in possession of the southern Tyrol, the enemy having evacuated Trent in consequence of the Archduke John's victory at Sacile.

But the fortune of war proving adverse to the Austrians, under the Archduke Charles, at Landshut and Ratisbon, the combined forces of the French and Bavarians, under generals d'Hilliers and Deroy, pene-

trated into the Tyrol by the valley of the Adige, and on the 17th of May took possession of Innsprück. The brave mountaineers were again in arms under Hofer, Spechbacher, and Haspinger. On the 29th they attacked Deroy's army, amounting to 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, at Innsprück, and having overthrown it with the loss of half its amount, they entered Innsprück on the following day. Thus again, in less than a week, they had freed their country, and remained during the whole of the month of June and a part of July in its undisturbed possession, with the exception of Kufstein, which had been unsuccessfully blockaded by Spechbacher.

The decisive battle of Wagram, and the retreat of the Archduke Charles to Hungary, presenting the opportunity to Napoleon to act with vigour against the Tyrolese, he directed Lefebvre to march with his corps against them. The French general entered Innsprück on the 31st of July. On the 4th of August a general rising of the peasantry took place, and their first attack was made that very day on the enemy, who were strongly posted on the Eisach; and, during several days, an uninterrupted contest of the fiercest description was maintained in the valley of that river.

The enemy being weakened by loss of numbers, and discouraged by want of success, at length retreated up the valley of the Eisach, and the Tyrolese became pursuers. The peasantry, roused by the protracted contest, had assembled in force on the heights which command the defile, and foreseeing the event, had busied themselves in felling trees and loosening stones above the valley; and there, aided by Tyrolese riflemen, almost exterminated the remnant of the enemy which the waters of the Eisach had spared while attempting to pass its bridges. The remainder defiled through the pass, but being overwhelmed by an avalanche of trees, rocks, and stones, which thundered down the precipices, only a few survivors, with difficulty, reached Innsprück.

Lefebvre having collected his scattered troops, and recalled his outposts and corps of observation, was again at the head of 25,000 men, and took post in the plain between the Eisach and Innsprück. The patriot army, under Hofer, Spechbacher, and Haspinger,

advanced against him. On the 18th of August, a decisive battle was fought, in which the enemy being routed, they evacuated the capital, and retreated on Saltzburg. On the third day after the battle, Hofer made his triumphal entry into Innsprück, and taking up his residence in the imperial palace, assumed the title of "Imperial Commandant of the Tyrol." He held a court, issued a new coinage, levied taxes, restored the ordinary course of justice which war had interrupted, and sent deputies to the British government to crave assistance. To the application pecuniary aid was afforded.

In this position matters remained during the months of August and September. But about the middle of October, the Bavarians and French, under generals Wrede and Deroy, advanced into the Tyrol, and in November it was penetrated by different corps of the enemy on all sides. On the 5th of that month Hofer evacuated Innsprück, and drew up his forces in the Iselberg; but, though the enemy was vastly superior in force, they declined attacking him on the scene of his two victories. On the 8th, intelligence was received by Hofer of the ratification of the peace of Vienna, accompanied by a manifesto of the Emperor Francis, enjoining the Tyrolese to submit to the King of Bavaria; and a proclamation of Eugene Beauharnais, commanding an instant cessation of hostilities. Hofer issued his proclamation, laying down his command, and advising his followers to lay down theirs; but altering his determination, during the whole of November and part of December, an unequal conflict was maintained between the Tyrolese and their enemies. Early, however, in December, resistance was en-

tirely quelled, and many of the Tyrolese leaders had escaped into Austria; but Hofer, with his family, retired to a cottage amidst the mountains, waiting the events of the ensuing spring to resume his exertions against the enemy of his country. A considerable price having been set on his head, a diabolical priest (by name Douay, and his confidant and professed friend) revealed the secret of his retreat. In the middle of the night of the 27th of January of the ensuing year, he was awakened from sleep by a detachment of French grenadiers—led by this Judas specimen of priestism—knocking at his door. Immediately the brave Tyrolese opened it, saying—"I am Andrew Hofer; I am at the mercy of the French; let me suffer death instantly; but, for heaven's sake, spare my wife and children! they are innocent, and not answerable for my conduct." Hofer was led prisoner, in chains, out of the Tyrolese territory, and taken to Mantua, where, after a mock trial before a military commission, of which Bisson (whom he had vanquished in the battle of Innsprück, and to whom he had been merciful) was president, he was, on the 20th of February, shot as a malefactor, though he had twice freed his country from the odium of foreign subjection. When the drummer of the party of soldiers deputed to execute him handed him a handkerchief to bind over his eyes, and reminded him that it was necessary he should bend on one knee, he threw away the handkerchief and refused to kneel, saying—"I was used to stand upright before my Creator, and in that posture will I deliver up my spirit to him." Thus died the gallant Hofer, a model of pure patriotism and real heroism.

#### MILITARY OPERATIONS IN ITALY AND POLAND.

DURING the period of the decisive campaign of Wagram, important military operations were performing in Italy and Poland. After the disastrous battles of Ecmühl and Ratisbon, the Archduke John was recalled, with his army, from Italy, to co-operate with his brother Charles on the Danube; and at the moment of the battle of Wagram he was at Presburg, on the Hungarian frontier, only six or seven leagues from the scene of contest. Prior to his recall from Italy, he had been successful. He had taken Padua and Vicenza; had crossed the Adige, and

threatened Venice. On the receipt of his brother's order to effect a junction with him, he commenced his march towards the Danube: he was pursued by Eugene Beauharnais, who had also been ordered to join Napoleon in Hungary. On the 14th of June, the two armies came to an engagement at Raab. After a desperate contest, which lasted four hours, the archduke retreated to Comorn, in Hungary, at the confluence of the Waag and the Danube, and which was so strongly fortified, that it had never been taken. There he remained till it was too

late to take part in the battle of Wagram, as he did not reach the field until the action had been decided.

In the meantime the Archduke Ferdinand had commenced the war in Poland, and taken possession of Warsaw. He then laid siege to Thorn. While engaged before that city, Poniatowski, the commander of the French in the duchy of Warsaw, drove the Austrian garrison out of the capital, and defeated the archduke in two battles fought at the end of May and the beginning of June. Ferdinand was then recalled, with his corps, to support the main army under the Archduke Charles on the Danube, and the Russian troops took possession of the whole of the Austro-Polish provinces.

It now remains to state the proceedings of Napoleon towards the pope during this year. There was nothing which the French emperor deemed of greater importance to the stability of his empire, than the fall of the papal power, both temporal and spiritual. For this purpose he determined to strip the pontiff of his dominions, and annex them to France.

The first and general decree for annexing the Papal States to the French empire was issued at Bayonne, in May, 1808; and a French army, towards the end of that year, had entered Rome, drove away the cardinals, and secured the person of the pope. In the following year, Napoleon proceeded to settle a new form of government in the ecclesiastical states; and he now determined to strip the pope of his ecclesiastical power, and himself assume the title of head of the church. He had on several occasions—particularly on the achievement of his great victories—given significant hints that he considered himself invested with a divine mission. After the battle of Wagram, he sent a circular letter to his bishops from Znaim, dated 13th July, 1809, ordering prayers and thanks to God for the protection which He had manifestly afforded to the French arms. "Our Lord Jesus Christ," said he, "though sprung from the royal blood of David, did not choose to take on himself the exercise of any temporal authority. On the contrary, he recommended, in earthly matters, obedience to the government of Cæsar. Heir of the power of Cæsar, we are resolved to maintain the independence of our throne and the integrity of our rights. We are determined to persevere in our grand work of the re-establishment of religion. We will clothe her ministers with that considera-

tion which we alone can give them. We will listen to them in all matters of a spiritual nature and of conscience."

It was during his residence at Schönbrunn that his designs against the papal power were brought to a crisis. There he prefaced his second decree for settling the affairs of Rome, thus:—"Whereas the temporal sovereign of Rome has refused to make war against England; and the interests of the two kingdoms of Italy and Naples ought not to be intercepted by a hostile power: and whereas the donation of Charlemagne (our illustrious predecessor), of the countries which form the holy see, was for the good of Christianity, and not for that of the enemies of our holy religion; we therefore decree that the duchies of Urbino, Ancona, Macerata, and Camerino, be for ever united to the kingdom of Italy."

The seaports of the papal territory were forthwith occupied by French troops; but the pope was allowed, for some time, to have possession of Rome. The time was now auspicious for the full completion of his design. On the 17th of May he issued his final decree, declaring the temporal sovereignty of the pope to be wholly at an end; incorporating Rome with the French empire, and declaring it to be his second city; settling a pension on the pope, and appointing a committee of administration for the civil government of Rome. The pope, on receiving the Parisian *senatus consultum*, ratifying the imperial rescript, fulminated a bull of excommunication against Napoleon. Some disturbances shortly after breaking out in Rome, the French general, Miollis, on pretence that a life sacred in the eyes of all Christians might be endangered, arrested the pope in his palace at midnight, and forthwith sent him, under a strong escort, to Savona. From Savona the holy father was transferred to Fontainebleau, where he continued a prisoner during three years.

While residing at Schönbrunn, the French emperor narrowly escaped assassination. Stabs, an enthusiastic youth, a member of the Tugendbund, and son of a protestant clergyman of Erfurt, rushed on him while in the midst of his staff, at a grand review of the imperial guard. Berthier and Rapp seized the youth, and disarmed him at the moment his knife was but a few inches from the emperor's heart. Napoleon, wishing to know the motive which had actuated the young man, said—"What injury have I

done to you?" "To me, personally, none," replied Stabs; "but you are the oppressor of my country—the tyrant of the world; and to have killed you would have been the

highest glory of a man of honour." The next morning the heroic youth was shot, and he suffered death with the courage of a patriot, and the calmness of a martyr.

#### WELLINGTON'S FIRST SPANISH AND THIRD PORTUGUESE CAMPAIGN.

THE long train of disasters to which the Spanish patriot armies had been subject during the past year, terminating with the calamitous battle of Ocana, having rendered the continuance of the British army—now scarcely exceeding 22,000 men—perilous in Spain, Wellington had, as mentioned in the narrative of the military events of the preceding year, retreated from the banks of the Guadiana in December, where his army had suffered severely from the autumnal fever prevalent in Estremadura, to the north-eastern frontier of Portugal, on the strong and rugged line of the Beira frontier, on which a sufficient force could be rapidly assembled at any point which the enemy might seriously menace, or which he himself might choose for a demonstration on the frontier, or for striking a blow, should a favourable opportunity present itself.

The allied Anglo-Portuguese army was at this period cantoned on an extended line, comprehending Oporto, Lamego, Viseu, Coimbra, Abrantes, and Santarem. The front of the allied army, which was distributed into four divisions, was thus disposed. The first division (about 6,000 men), under General Spencer, was posted at Celorico, about twenty miles from the main army of the enemy. The second division (about 8,000 men), under General Hill, was stationed on the mountains of Portalegre, from which it could observe the frontier of Spain, and watch the enemy. The third division (about 10,000 men), under General Cole, was stationed at Guarda, which was distant about twenty miles from the French lines. The fourth division (about 4,000 men), under General Picton, lay at Pinhel. The fifth division, consisting of 4,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, under General Craufurd, was stationed midway between Cole's division and the French lines at Ciudad Rodrigo; but was constantly shifting its position—advancing, which it did sometimes even as far as St. Felices, or retrograding, according to contingent circumstances. The cavalry (about 3,000 men), under General Cotton,

changed their position—advancing or retreating, according to circumstances. Lord Wellington's head-quarters were at Viseu.

While the British army was in this position, its commander-in-chief sedulously employed himself in preparing for the ensuing campaign. In pursuance of his authority as marshal-general of Portugal, besides improving the discipline and filling up the ranks of the army, he caused the regency of Portugal to enforce the ancient military laws of the kingdom, by which all males of sufficient age were, under the denomination of the *ordenanzas*, compelled to bear arms in its defence.

At this period of the struggle of European independence against the insatiable ambition of the French emperor, the hero of the Peninsula was, by the factious and ignorant part of the newspaper press of England, the common-council of the corporation of London, and the opposition members of parliament, exposed to much vilification and abuse; all which was faithfully and exultingly copied into the columns of the *Moniteur*, as a justification of Napoleon's designs against Spain. They ridiculed the idea of an English army and an English general contending with "the invincible legions of France and its redoubted marshals." Some of the flippant writers asserted, when the British army was in occupation of THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS, that "it was a position in violation of the principles of military science;" and expressed their "full conviction," that the army would be obliged to take to flight in their shipping, in consequence of the "defective judgment" of its leader. The common-council sages of the city of London, in their petition to the throne for an inquiry into his incompetency, stigmatised him as "a general distinguished for rashness and ostentation." Among the opposition members in the two houses of parliament, lords Grenville, Grey, Suffolk, and Vincent, and Messrs. Whitbread and Ponsonby, were loud in their denunciations. In reply to the ignorant clamour for the with-

drawal of the British army from Portugal, the truly patriotic and sagacious subject of their spite and slander, said—"I conceive that the honour and interests of the country [*i.e.*, England] require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible; and, please God, I will maintain it as long as I can; and will neither endeavour to shift from my own shoulders on those of the ministers the responsibility of the failure, by calling for means which I know they cannot give, and which, perhaps, would not add materially to the facility of attaining our object; nor will I give to the ministers, who are not strong, and who must feel the delicacy of their own situation, an excuse for withdrawing the army from a position which, in my opinion, the honour and interest of the country require it should maintain as long as possible. I think, that if the Portuguese do their duty, I shall have enough to maintain it; if they do not, nothing which Great Britain can afford can save the country; and if from that cause I fail in saving it, and am obliged to go, I shall be able to carry away the British army." For this magnanimous resolution, while all were in despondency and fear around him, no amount of gratitude of the present and future generations can be too excessive.

In the furtherance and realisation of the resolution he had taken, the British chief had need of all the firmness and heroic sense of duty with which nature had so bountifully endowed him. The peace with Austria, which followed the battle of Wagram, had enabled Napoleon to send vast reinforcements to Spain. Of the troops engaged in the campaign of Wagram, 140,000 men crossed the Ebro in the early part of this year, by which addition, the amount of French troops in the Peninsula was now raised to 366,000 men. This immense force was distributed into nine corps, besides the reserve under Drouet at Valladolid, on the Ebro. From these nine corps, two great armies were formed, consisting of three corps each. One under Massena, consisting of Ney, Regnier, and Junot's corps, with Drouet's reserve (mustering, in all, 85,000 men), was destined for the conquest of Portugal; the other, comprising the corps of Victor, Mortier, and Sebastiani, with Dessolles' reserve (mustering, in all, 65,000), under the command-in-chief of Soult, was charged with the conquest of Andalusia and the reduction of Cadiz. The

other three corps were employed in the eastern portion of Spain, under St. Cyr, Suchet, &c.

By the beginning of April, 1810, Ney and Junot's corps began to threaten the Portuguese frontier in the direction of Old Castile and Leon; but as a prelude to their operations, they determined to lay siege to Astorga and Ciudad Rodrigo. After a short siege, Astorga surrendered on the 12th of April to Junot, and its garrison, amounting to 3,500 men, armed and clothed at the expense of England, were sent prisoners to France. In the first week of May, Ney invested Ciudad Rodrigo, but on account of some misunderstanding with Junot, did not open the trenches till the arrival of Massena, who, on the 4th of June, formally invested the city, on the 15th opened the trenches, and on the morning of the 25th, a fire was opened from forty-six pieces of battery cannon. On the 9th of July, a practicable breach having been made in the walls by the accidental explosion of a mine, on the following day, preparations were made for an assault, and the garrison surrendered themselves as prisoners of war.

During the operations of the enemy, the duty of observing their motions had been assigned to General Craufurd with the advanced guard of the British army, consisting of the light division. That duty he performed for nearly three months—that is, from Ney's first investment of Ciudad Rodrigo to the surrender of the place—to the admiration of both armies, with his handful of men (namely, 3,100 British, 1,100 Portuguese, and eight squadrons of cavalry, amounting to 600 men, a troop of horse artillery, and six guns), though but one hour's march from 6,000 of the enemy's cavalry with fifty guns, and but two hours' march from their main army, consisting of 70,000 men. This dexterous feat of partisanship was performed with the most enterprising spirit and skilful manœuvres. When the Agueda was full, he dispersed his infantry in small parties between Almeida and the Lower Agueda, while his cavalry and artillery remained at Fort Conception and the neighbouring villages; but when it was fordable, he concentrated his gallant band to be ready for any night attack which the enemy might make.

The enemy at length, irritated at the presumptuous daring of the commander of the English light division, crossed the Agueda, at the village of Marialva, on the 4th of

July, by which movement the light division was compelled to fall back on Almeida. On the 21st, the enemy pressing forward, Craufurd retired under Almeida, having previously blown up Fort Conception. In that position he remained till the morning

of the 24th, when shortly after daylight the enemy was seen advancing against him with 20,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and thirty guns. This movement led to the useless but brilliant combat of the passage of the Coa.

COMBAT OF THE PASSAGE OF THE COA—WELLINGTON'S RETREAT FROM THE FRONTIER INTO THE INTERIOR OF PORTUGAL—BATTLE OF BUSACO.

CRAUFURD, foreseeing the enemy's design, had his little band under arms before daylight, and as the plain from Villamula to the Coa presented a good field for light infantry manœuvres, he obstinately disputed the ground with his adversary, and did not retire from his position in front of the bridge until oppressed by numbers.

To enable his troops to pass the bridge, six companies of the 43rd and some riflemen were posted on two hills covering the line of passage. "As the infantry passed the bridge, they placed themselves in loose order in its rear, behind rocks on the side of the mountain, on the summit of which the artillery was already planted; the cavalry watching the roads leading from the fords and the bridge of Castello Bom, about two miles distant. While this movement was in operation, the enemy gathered fast and thickly on the opposite bank. Soon the monotonous beat—the *pas de charge*—rolled sullenly, a column appeared, and rushing suddenly on the bridge, had gained two-thirds of its length before an English shot had brought down an enemy, the depth of the ravine having deceived the troops and artillerymen in the range of their aim; yet a few paces onwards the line of death was traceable, the whole leading section of the column having fallen as one man. Still the gallant column pressed forward, but none could pass that terrible line, the heap of dead and dying rising nearly even with the top of the parapet." As it was useless to attempt effecting the passage, the remnant of the assailants retired to re-form. In a few minutes, the bridge was again covered with a column more numerous than the first; but ere the gallant band reached half the length of the bridge, it was torn, shattered, dispersed, or slain, only about a dozen men having succeeded in crossing the fearful chasm, and they being too few to make any attempt, took shelter under the rocks at the brink of the river. Now took place a scene

which touched every heart. A French surgeon coming to the foot of the bridge, and waving his handkerchief, began dressing the wounded, though the fire was at the hottest. This brave and humane man's touching appeal was not unheeded; every musket turned from the direction where he was performing his humanity, though his still undaunted countrymen were preparing for a third attempt, for the purpose of covering the escape of the men who had passed the bridge and concealed themselves among the rocks.

After this gallant affair had lasted two hours, the enemy ceased making any further attempt, and at nightfall Craufurd retired to Carvalho, to effect a junction with the main body of the English army.

The loss of the English was thirty-six killed, nineteen wounded, and eighty-three missing. That of the enemy was above 1,000 in killed and wounded.

After the reduction of Ciudad Rodrigo, Lord Wellington, desirous of ascertaining whether Massena would invest Almeida, or only mask that fortress, retained his position. The French marshal having commenced the siege, on the 28th of July the English general crossed the Mondego, for the purpose of supporting the defence of the place.

When the English army began to retreat, all the bridges and mills on the Coa were destroyed. A division of Portuguese, under General Miller, was stationed in the strong fortress of Chaves; another, under General Silveira, lay on the northern banks of the Coa; and a third, under General Trant, in the vicinity of St. John of Pesqueira. These movements were preceded by a proclamation from Lord Wellington, issued in reply to that of Massena, dated from Rodrigo, promising the Portuguese "the paternal protection of his emperor from the insatiable ambition of England."

All obstacles being now removed, Mas-

sená opened the trenches before Almeida on the 15th of August, and on the 26th commenced a tremendous fire on the place, continuing the bombardment all the day. The thunder of the artillery had scarcely died away when soon after dark, by the accidental explosion of the magazine, which contained nearly all the ammunition, a large portion of the town and the defences were destroyed, and many hundreds of the garrison killed and wounded. The garrison, consisting of Portuguese, taking advantage of the catastrophe, compelled the governor, Colonel Cox, to surrender the place on the morning following the explosion.

After the fall of Almeida, the plan of Massena to turn Lord Wellington's left, began to unfold itself. To avoid the danger, the British chief retreated through the valley of the Mondego, and called in generals Hill and Leith, whose divisions were posted at Elvas and Thomar, to effect a junction with him at the strong position of the bridge of Murcella, on the Alva, where he was determined to dispute the passage of the enemy. But Massena, gaining intelligence of this movement, altered his plan, repassed the Mondego, and threw his army on the road which leads from Viseu to Coimbra, in order to obtain possession of the resources of that city and the adjacent territory, and proceed thence on his march to Lisbon. Lord Wellington penetrating Massena's design, repassed the Mondego, and threw himself between the French marshal and Coimbra, in order to enable the inhabitants of that city to retire with their effects. For this purpose, he took up his position on the Serra de Busaco, which is in front of Coimbra, and distant from it about three leagues. He posted the central division and the right wing of his army on the Serra, leaving Hill's corps at Ponte Murcella.

All the forces of Massena were concentrated at Viseu on the 21st of September; but in order to give time for bringing up the baggage and the park of artillery, he remained there for a few days. On the 26th he arrived in front of the position of Busaco.

The Serra de Busaco is a mountain ridge extending nearly eight miles from the Mondego to the northward, and forming the segment of a circle, whose extreme points embrace the position—namely, a succession of heights, from the first of which the Serra de Busaco is separated by a woody chasm of great depth, but so narrow that a 12-

pounder can range to the salient points over the opposite ridge—which the enemy took up. On the summit of the northern portion of the Serra de Busaco, Wellington's army, consisting of about 50,000 English and Portuguese, was posted on the opposite succession of heights stood Massena's army, amounting to 72,000 men. This disposition was the prelude to the battle of Busaco.

During the night of the 26th, the fires of countless bivouacs shone on the rocky eminences of the ridges on both sides of the intervening pass. As early as two o'clock of the morning of the 27th, the stir of preparation in the French camp was distinctly audible. Presently a rustling noise was heard, from the French outposts endeavouring to steal up the crest of the allied position. Instantly the allied army started to their arms at all points. In a few minutes more, two massive columns of the enemy were in motion. Ney, with 25,000 men, advanced against the British left; and Regnier, with 16,000, moved against their right; while Junot's corps was in the centre and in reserve. The column which attacked the British right was preceded by a cloud of tirailleurs, or light troops, which, outnumbering Picton's light infantry, forced them to retire. The attacking column, following rapidly and resolutely, reached the crest of the ridge, and was in the act of deploying, when it was attacked by the 88th and 45th regiments, and the 8th Portuguese regiment, with levelled bayonets. After a desperate struggle, the assailants were broken and hurled down the steeps. Regnier's second division experienced a like fate. Before they reached the plateau on which Leith's corps stood, they were charged by the royals, the 9th, and the 38th regiments, who, delivering a destructive volley, and immediately charging with the bayonet, broke their enemies, and drove them headlong down the precipice.

The attack by Ney on the British left was equally calamitous; for, although Craufurd's sharpshooters were compelled to retire before Loison's division, and that the enemy had crowned the heights on which the light division stood, and were rending the air with cries of *Vive l'Empereur*. their shout of victory was quickly replied to by the light division. As soon as Craufurd observed that they had crowned the heights, at the top of his voice he ordered the 43rd and 52nd regiments, which had lain concealed from view

by the swell of the ground on their front, to "charge bayonets." In a moment, a horrid shout startled the enemy; and, immediately after, 1,800 bayonets sparkled on the crest of the hill; and three terrible volleys being poured in at only a few yards' distance, the head of the enemy's column was driven back, terribly shattered; and its flanks being at the same time overlapped, the broken and wavering mass fled headlong down the steep, and were saved from total annihilation by Ney's opening his guns from the opposite side, to cover their flight. Discouraged by these bloody defeats (though Marchand's corps maintained an obstinate contest with Pack's brigade in the pine-wood situate midway of the steep), Massena withdrew his troops, and, by two o'clock, the battle-roar had ceased. Of the enemy, 1,800 were slain, above 3,000 wounded, and 300 were taken prisoners. The total loss of the allies was 1,279, of which number 578 were Portuguese.

The moral effect of this glorious triumph was incalculable. It confirmed the confidence of both the Portuguese and the English soldiers in the ultimate triumph of the cause in which they were engaged, under the guidance and sagacity of their illustrious chief.

Wellington expected that the result of the battle of Busaco would have discouraged the French marshal from continuing his advance into Portugal, and compelled him to remeasure his steps to the Spanish frontier; but, on the evening following the battle, perceiving the French army moving through a pass in the Coramula mountains, along the Mortagoa road, which led to Coimbra, he determined to avail himself of the shorter road which his position presented to that city, and thence proceed to the lines of Torres Vedras, which, after great exertions, were now completely finished. Acting on this determination, the allied army was immediately put in motion.

#### THE RETREAT TO THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS—OCCUPATION OF THE LINES.

THOUGH the French marshal had, by his flank movement, turned the left of the allied position, his tactics afforded him no advantage, as the allied army having the shorter road to advance, reached Coimbra before him.

As soon as Massena had indicated his line of proceeding, the English chief directed the troops to break up from their position. On the 29th, the whole of the allied army was in the low country between the Serra de Busaco and the sea, and reaching the Mondego on the 1st of October, it crossed the fords near Martinho de Bispo, and entered Coimbra in perfect order; but the enemy pressing rapidly on them, an instant retreat became necessary. On the evening of that day, the British rear-guard, after some skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy, evacuated Coimbra, accompanied by that portion of the inhabitants who had delayed to remove their property till the vicinity of the foe alarmed them into "flight which looks not behind." The army continued its retreat, in the best order, to Pombal and Leiria. While advancing on Leiria, the French army appeared in sight. Massena immediately formed his force into three columns, and endeavoured to overwhelm

the rear of the allies with his centre, while he turned their flanks with the others; but he was quickly repulsed by the artillery and cavalry of the allies. From Leiria the allied army retreated in three columns. Hill's division, forming the right, marched by Thomar and Santarem; the centre took its route by Batalha and Rio Mayor; and the left moved by Alcobaca and Obidos.

"The allies were now—after having performed a retreat of above 200 miles, during which no alarm, no confusion, no precipitance had occurred on the march, and without the loss of a single gun, ammunition-waggon, or baggage-animal, and a greater number of prisoners having been taken in the skirmishing affairs of Coimbra, Pombal, Alcoentre, and Quinta los Torres, from the pursuers than had been lost by the pursued, occurrences in the history of retreats without a parallel—preparing to enter THE LINES OF TORRES VEDRAS, which the British chief deemed an impregnable position, against which all the forces and boasts of the French marshal would be useless." Writing to the British admiral in the Tagus, his words were—"I have very little doubt of being able to hold this country against the force which has now attacked it."

The allied army, in its retreat, had been

accompanied by the inhabitants of Coimbra and all the other places, as well as of the two lines of country through which it marched, taking with them whatever movables they could carry. Every soul in Coimbra fled, leaving it literally a desert, in obedience to the order of the regency and the proclamation of Lord Wellington. The Lisbon road was blocked up with waggons, carts, mules, horses, and bullocks; women with streaming eyes, men with heavy hearts;—everything wearing an air of trouble and confusion. All the roads from St. Thomar and the other neighbouring towns to Lisbon, were, in like manner, full of men, women, and children, carrying whatever they could bear. "It was a piteous sight," says one who was an eye-witness, "and one that those who saw it, can never forget. It was like the uprooting and sweeping away of the population of whole provinces, with their flocks and herds, their household goods and gods, and everything which was theirs; it was a scene to make good men curse the restless ambition which had led to it and made it necessary." "I feel," says another who was present at the dismal scene, "that no power of description can convey to the mind of any reader the afflicting scenes, the cheerless desolation, we daily witnessed on our march from the Mondego to the lines. Wherever we arrived, the mandate—namely, the order of the regency—which enjoined the wretched inhabitants to forsake their homes and to remove and destroy their little property, had gone before us. The villages were deserted; the mountain cottages stood open and untenanted; the mills in the valley were motionless and silent. The flanks of our line of march from Thomar were literally covered with the fleeing population of the country."

But neither the government nor the private families of Lisbon remained untouched at the sight of this distress. A proclamation, dated October 8th, was issued in the name of the prince-regent, requiring the proprietors of houses then unoccupied in Lisbon, to receive the inhabitants of the provinces who had repaired to the capital in consequence of the invasion of the country by the enemy, to afford lodging to the strangers; and the proclamation further ordered, that if any proprietor of a house declined putting up bills to let the same for the purpose of accommodating the emigrating population, he should lose all right to any compensation for hire. Poor families,

unable to pay rent, were to be lodged in unoccupied houses. Another proclamation, dated October 10th, facilitated the passage of those who might be inclined to pass to the left side of the Tagus, with the view of more easily obtaining the means of subsistence. The inhabitants of Lisbon received the emigrants from the provinces with open arms, and contributed in every possible way to their relief. A very powerful sympathy with the suffering Portuguese was also expressed by the British legislature and nation. The house of commons voted for their relief, £100,000; and a sum exceeding this was raised by voluntary subscription; and both sums were expended in the purchase and freightage of such commodities in this country as the Portuguese sufferers were most in want of.

Massena, on his entrance into Coimbra, found large resources of corn, oil, wine, &c., stored in the principal houses and convents, and which would have been sufficient for two months' consumption of the French army, had they not been pillaged and wasted by the troops before the proper authorities had cognizance of them. On the 2nd of October, he sent forward his advanced guard to Condeixas, and his cavalry to seize all the roads terminating in the great highway to Lisbon. On moving from Coimbra, which he did on the fourth day after his entrance into that city, he left in hospital 5,000 sick and wounded, together with a company of marines of the imperial guard for their protection; all of whom, three days after his departure, were captured by Colonel Trant with his Portuguese division, by a sudden surprise. On the afternoon of the 10th his cavalry and advanced guard came in sight of the lines, of the existence of which the French marshal had not the smallest knowledge, until he actually witnessed the masterly defensive contrivance of his antagonist.

On the 8th of October, the advanced guard of the allies reached Torres Vedras; and as the respective divisions came up, they were conducted to the positions which they were to occupy by officers appointed for the purpose.

This formidable position, in the construction of which the British engineers had been engaged for more than a year, and in which the allied army was now posted, consisted of three ranges of defence, which formed as many intrenched positions; all which must be penetrated before a hostile

force could reach the capital. The exterior or outermost, and the interior of these ranges of defence, were constructed upon two sierras, or heights, which extend, with various altitudes and various degrees of steepness, but with partial interruptions or openings, from the shore of the Atlantic to the right bank of the Tagus. Both these sierras run in an oblique direction across the peninsula upon which Lisbon stands, nearly parallel with each other, at a distance from six to eight miles, and, from Lisbon, at the respective distances of twenty and thirty miles from the nearest points of their respective arches or curves. The first line of defence, or the advanced position, extended twenty-nine miles across the Peninsula. The second line was twenty-four miles in length; and in this the grand stand was to be made. The third, or innermost, extended from Passo d'Arcos, on the Tagus, to the tower of Janqueira, on the coast, and was designed to protect the embarkation of the troops, should such a measure be necessary; and within it, near Fort St. Julian, was an entrenched camp, occupied by a corps of English marines. On these lines were established 150 redoubts—many of them capable of holding several hundred men, and one (Sobral) of them 3,000—mounting 600 pieces of artillery, which swept all approaches, and, with a concentric fire, commanded or enfiladed every practicable point, road, or pass leading to Lisbon. An instant communication between the large fort of Sobral, in the centre, and every part of the lines, was provided for by the erection of telegraphs; and a paved road ran along the position for the purpose of expediting the necessary movements of the troops, and enabling the different posts of the army to communicate rapidly with one another. The intervening spaces between the redoubts were formed into encampments for the troops. Besides the triple line of redoubts, others were raised at Peniche, Obidos, and other places; and on the right, the banks of the Tagus were flanked by the British fleet and a flotilla of gun-boats. Additional strength was imparted to this formidable position by scarping the heights or ridges to the height of fifteen or twenty feet; by obstructing the course of rivers, so as to flood the valley in front of the exterior line, and thus render the country swampy and impassable; and across the valley of Aruda (the weakest part of the position), a double line of abattis

was formed, composed of full-grown oak and chesnut-trees, which had been dug up with all their roots and branches on them, and reset here in a cross position. Preparations were also made in case of reverse. Besides the innermost defence, or line of embarkation, which was occupied by the marines, all the roads and stone bridges between that line and the exterior or outer line of defence were mined. Thus were constructed the most formidable and unassailable defensive positions which military engineering has ever devised.

In the occupation and defence of this vast fortress and movable camp, 58,615 troops—of whom 29,000 were British, 25,000 Portuguese, and 5,000 Spaniards, under the Marquis Romana—were assembled. Besides these, the irregular troops, consisting of the militia, the *ordenanzas*, and the civic guard, amounted to 60,000 more. The British troops and the *élite* of the Portuguese regular force were in the first line, and were so disposed that the enemy could not assemble a sufficient force to bear on any one part of the lines with probability of success, before a corresponding movement or concentration of troops could be made to meet it. The irregular force and the least disciplined of the native regular troops garrisoned the forts and redoubts, and occupied the intrenchments on the second line, along which and the villages to the left the cavalry were cantoned.

The cavalry and advanced guards of the enemy came in sight of Torres Vedras, as before stated, on the 10th, and on the following day the French marshal reached them. Having employed several days in reconnoitring them from one extremity to the other, at the same time throwing out his skirmishers to discover their mode of defence and the numbers of the defenders, on the 14th, while engaged in the *reconnaissance*, a contest took place with a detachment of his troops and the 71st regiment, between the town of Sobral and the lines, in which the enemy was repulsed at the point of the bayonet.

The French marshal being now satisfied that the allied position was unassailable, determined to blockade the British in their stronghold, hoping that the numerous population which had poured into the capital from the surrounding country would embarrass the English commander-in-chief. Massena therefore disposed his army in an extensive line of cantonments in front of Torres Vedras.

When the villages were at a distance from each other, the chain of communication was completed by temporary huts. This line, which comprehended the strong position of Montejunta—which was nearly opposite the centre of the exterior line—extended in an oblique direction from the sea to the Tagus; and the whole of the army was so posted, that it could be assembled in the space of four hours. The central corps was stationed at Sobral, the right at Otta, and the left at Villafranca. A division of dragoons occupied Alcoentre, for the purpose of covering his right flank from the attacks of a division of British cavalry stationed at Sis-sandro. He established his depôt, magazines, and hospitals at Santarem, Barquina, and other places. To replenish his magazines, he sent movable columns to scour the country in search of provisions and forage; and from the culpable negligence of the regency, he found sufficient stores and provisions in the country lying between the Mondego, the Tagus, and the lines, to support his army—consisting of 70,000 men and 20,000 horses—for the space of two months; and that, too, by the means of plunder and forced requisition. From the position of Villafranca, the enemy was driven by a flotilla of gun-boats, manned by brigades of seamen and marines, each consisting of 500 men, under Lieutenant Berkeley.

The condition of the French army was now becoming critical. The militia of the north, the *ordenanzas*, and the partisan corps, under Trant, Wilson, Carlos d'España, &c., to the number of 15,000 men, were hanging on its rear from Abrantes to Peniche; and the Portuguese garrisons of the last-mentioned place and of Obidos, together with the British cavalry, were a continual annoyance to the French rear and right. By the end of October, the supply of cattle was so deficient, that the soldiers were reduced to the necessity of eating the flesh of horses and mules. As the hardships and sufferings of the army were daily increasing, and the danger of famine began to stare them in the face, Massena at this period threw 2,000 men across the Zezere, with the intention of reopening a communication with Spain by way of Castelbranco, and at the same time sent General Foy, with a strong escort, to inform Napoleon of the condition of affairs in Portugal.

For some time the French marshal's movements indicated that he was on the eve of

changing his position; the hospitals, stores, and other incumbrances of the army, had been removed to Santarem, and a number of boats, pontoons, and flying bridges, were in process of construction. Ney's corps and Montbrun's cavalry had tailen back on Thomar and Leiria; and on the morning of the 15th of November, the French army had retired.

“At length, though the twilight showed the French sentinels, as usual, in front at Aruda, daylight proved that the slopes of Montejunta and Alhandra were evacuated,—that the sentinels were men of straw, each in full military costume, with a pole by his side, as the representative of a musket. Under cover of the darkness of the night of the 14th of November, and during a thick mist which enveloped the slopes of the mountains, the French army had broke up their position from Sobral, and commenced their retreat, and were now seen retiring through the defiles of Alenquer, by the great road on the Tagus, and marching, under cover of a strong rear-guard, on Torres Novas.”

Immediately orders were issued to the respective generals of divisions to pursue. Hill, with the second division, pursued through Villafranca; while Craufurd, with the light division, moved on Santarem; and Spencer, with the first division, advanced towards Alenquer. The boats of the fleet, under Admiral Sir Thomas Williams, proceeded up the Tagus with pontoons and flying bridges, for the purpose of transporting the army across the river, to oppose the enemy, should he threaten to make an irruption into the Alentejo.

As it was not possible to divine whether the retreat of the enemy was a feint to draw the allied army from its intrenched position, and by a forced and rapid march on the right of the lines, turn the Montejunta, and push the head of his column on Torres Vedras, the utmost caution was necessary on the part of the English general; not to afford the enemy an opening to his position. The principal part of the army was therefore kept stationary until the design of the French, whether a feint or a retreat, was developed. This was fully indicated on his reaching Alcoentre, by the division of his force into two columns, the one taking the line of Rio Mayor, and the other that of Santarem.

Lord Wellington, for its protection, now left part of the allied army in the lines of

Torres Vedras, and moved forward towards the Rio Mayor, which separated him from Santarem. The light division and cavalry now formed the advanced guard of the pursuit, and in its execution took 400 prisoners. As soon as Massena had reached Santarem, he materially strengthened the advantages of which it was naturally in possession. Here, being joined by the corps of Drouet and Gardonne, each 12,000 strong, and expecting detachments from the armies of Mortier and Soult, to the amount of twelve or fourteen thousand men, he determined to maintain his position. His infantry were established in and near Santarem, Pernes, and Thomar; and his cavalry were dispersed in cantonments along the right banks of the Tagus, as far as the borders of Upper Beira. In this position the French army found, by their usual processes of force and intimidation, ample supplies of provisions in the country between the Tagus and the Zezere.

The allied army followed the fleeing enemy on the great road by Cartaxo towards Santarem. On the 19th, the English general made a demonstration on that place, for the purpose of ascertaining whether the position was assailable; but finding it too formidable to be taken by a *coup-de-main*, he placed the troops in cantonments in Cartaxo, Alcoentre, and the surrounding villages, fixing his head-quarters in the first-mentioned place. Hill, with the second division, was stationed on the left bank of the Tagus, opposite to Santarem, to defend the passage of the river, and prevent the enemy from making an irruption into the Alentejo; at the same time keeping up his communication with the ferry opposite Alhandra by means of floating bridges, that he might be enabled speedily to enter THE LINES, should occasion require the move-

ment. To prevent communication between Soult and Massena, Beresford, with two brigades of cavalry, and two divisions of infantry, was stationed along the left bank of the Tagus, from Almeirim to the mouth of the Zezere, to defend the passage of that river; and in the event of Massena's retreat, to be early in motion on the line of pursuit. All the routes between the Tagus and Montejunta were secured by the heads of cantonments; and the force left in the lines was strengthened by the addition of two divisions, consisting of the troops which arrived from Cadiz, Gibraltar, and stations in the Mediterranean: an amount of force rendered necessary, from the French at Alcanhete being nearer to Torres Vedras than the English were at Cartaxo. As the heights of Almada, on the south of the Tagus, commanded the anchorage and the city of Lisbon, they were strongly intrenched; and a chain of fortifications was constructed parallel to the Tagus, from Aldea Galega to Traffaria, in case the enemy should transfer his operations to the south bank of the Tagus. The peninsula, formed by a creek or small bay at Moita, near Aldea Galega, and the bay of St. Ubes at Setubal, was protected by a double line of fortifications. And to prevent any sudden irruption from Santarem, a battery was erected upon a hill which looked down the causeway leading from that place; the bridge at its extremity was mined; and the light division, supported by a cavalry brigade, was posted on the heights which overlooked the marshes surrounding Santarem. Thus every precaution which human foresight could devise was taken, to prevent the enemy finding an opening to the lines, while at the same time the English general was in a position to avail himself of any favourable opportunity which might present itself to operate on the enemy.

#### MURAT'S DESCENT ON SICILY—REDUCTION OF THE ISLANDS OF BOURBON; THE MAURITIUS, OR ISLE OF FRANCE; AMBOYNA; THE BANDAS, AND GUADELOUPE.

In the month of September, King Joachim Murat embarked, in a long range of boats, the principal part of his army, consisting of Neapolitans and Corsicans, and whom he had long paraded at Scylla, Reggio, and the hills which overlook the narrow straits of Messina, threatening Sicily with invasion. In order to distract the attention of Sir John Stuart, who commanded the Eng-

lish forces in that island, and which lay encamped along the straits from Messina to Taro Point (a distance of ten miles), the invading force menaced Stuart's left wing, which was stationed at Taro Point. General Cavaignac, with 3,500 men, fell upon his right, and landing seven miles to the south of Messina, boldly pushed forward his troops, and obtained possession of the heights be-

hind the shore. He next endeavoured to trepan the Corsicans in the British service; and, for this purpose, he displayed a finely-embroidered flag, inviting the natives of that country to return to their allegiance to France; but before the *ruse* had the opportunity of meeting with any success, the invaders were attacked by Colonel Campbell, who took or destroyed the greater part of the invading force.

In July of this year, an expedition under Colonel Keating and Commodore Rowley, sailed from Rodriguez, a small uninhabited island, situated about 100 leagues to the north-east of the Isle of France, for the reduction of the Isle of Bourbon, which, together with the Isle of France, afforded the enemy great facility in the annoyance of the British East India trade. For the reduction of Bourbon, the land force consisted of 1,700 Europeans and 2,600 sepoy; the naval force, of the two frigates *Raisonnable* and *Boadicea*. A landing was no sooner effected on the island, than the governor capitulated.

But the Isle of France being in a high state of defence, a larger armament was required for its reduction. Accordingly, one line-of-battle ship and eleven frigates, under Vice-admiral Rowley, having on board 6,000 troops, under Major-general Abercrombie (the second son of the late Sir Ralph Abercrombie), were fitted out for this purpose. The expedition arrived off the island in November, and on the 29th of that month effected a landing. On the 2nd of December, an action ensued, in which the enemy, being overpowered, the garrison, consisting of 1,300 men—among whom were 500 Irishmen, who had been compelled to enlist in the French service from among the crews of the captured East

Indiamen—surrendered prisoners of war, to be conveyed to France. Besides a quantity of stores and produce, four large frigates, some smaller ships of war, and twenty-four merchant ships and brigs, were the reward of the captors.

In the beginning of the year, the Dutch East India settlement of Amboyna, with its dependent isles, surrendered to a naval and military expedition under captains Tucker and Court; and in March, Banda Neira, and its dependent spice islands, surrendered to Captain Cole, of the *Carolina* frigate. In the preceding February, Guadeloupe surrendered to the joint expedition under Admiral Cochrane and General Beckwith, after two engagements, in which the loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was 300 men, and that of the enemy between five and six hundred. On the 27th of the same month, the Dutch islands of St. Martin, St. Eustatius, and Saba, peaceably surrendered to the same commanders. After the reduction of the Isle of France, some frigates were dispatched against Tamatave on the coast of Madagascar; as also to the Isle of Almarante and some other small places, where the French victualled and repaired their ships when they were not able to reach the Isle of France. Thus was consummated the extinction of the power of France and Holland in the Indian and Caribbean seas, and not a strip of land left to the former in either of the Indies.

In the course of this year the British government had caused the Danish island of Anholt, situated in the Categat, to be fortified, and a commercial depôt to be established there, for the purpose of introducing British produce and manufactures into Denmark and Germany, in the same manner as had been done in 1809, at Heligoland.

#### EXPEDITION AGAINST THE ISLAND OF ST. MAURA, IN THE ADRIATIC.

THE island of St. Maura, with the neighbouring island of Corfu, being still in the possession of the French, on the 21st of March, 1810, a naval and military expedition, under Captain Eyre and Brigadier-general Oswald, sailed from Zante, and on the same evening arrived off St. Maura. On the 22nd the troops were disembarked, and after batteries had been opened against the fortress and island for nine days, they capitulated, together with the garrison, con-

sisting of 800 men. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 168 men.

The naval transactions of this year were merely frigate actions. The principal were:—While Murat was parading the army he had collected between Naples and Reggio, and making his demonstrations against the opposite coast of Sicily, the following frigate action took place in the Bay of Naples, between the *Cerere* frigate and the *Fama*

corvette—the ships with which Captain Staines had maintained his gallant contest in the preceding year—and the *Spartan* frigate, commanded by Captain Brenton.

While the *Spartan*, in company with the *Success* frigate, was about five miles from Naples, she observed (May 1st), coming out of the mole, a frigate of 42 guns, a corvette of 28 guns, a cutter of 10 guns (Murat's yacht), and eight gun-boats. The Neapolitan squadron, at sight of the British frigates, made all sail, and succeeded in getting safe into harbour, behind the mole of Naples and the land batteries. To entice them out, Captain Brenton desired the captain of the *Success* to sail away to the back of the island of Capri. On the morning of the 3rd, the Neapolitan squadron, seeing the *Spartan* all alone, came forth from behind the mole-head. In order to entice the enemy out to sea, Captain Brenton retired. The hostile squadron thinking that the *Spartan* was running away, set up a shout and crowded all sail. As soon as they were within pistol-shot, the *Spartan* poured in a treble-shotted broadside on the *Cerere*, which strewed her decks with killed and wounded; and then, running along the line of the hostile squadron, cut off the cutter and gun-boats. The *Cerere* wore and endeavoured to renew her position with the rest of the squadron, but was prevented by the *Spartan*, who took her station on her weather-beam. A close and hot contest ensued, the *Cerere* being aided by the corvette and the cutter. The enemy, finding they were "getting the worst of it," made sail for the castle and sea batteries of Baia. The corvette having lost her foretop-mast, was on the point of surrendering, when the gun-boats towed her from under the guns of the *Spartan*; but the cutter having had her maintop-mast shot away, was obliged to surrender, and was paraded by the *Spartan* in tow before the mole, into which her defeated consorts were running for shelter. During the action, Murat was on the mole exulting in the certainty of success of his squadron. The loss of the *Spartan* was ten killed and twenty-two wounded; that of the enemy, 150 killed and 300 wounded—a loss arising from the 400 Swiss troops, who were drawn up in ranks, from the cathedra to the taffrail of the vessels, in readiness for boarding; Murat and his officers being confident of victory. The guns of the *Spartan* were forty-six, and the crew 258. The enemy's guns were ninety-six, and the crews, includ-

ing the Swiss soldiers, amounted to 1,400 men.

In the month of June, Captain Hoste, in command of the *Amphion*, *Active*, and *Cerberus* frigates, in the gulf of Trieste, chased a convoy of vessels laden with naval stores for Venice, into the harbour of Genoa. In a boat attack he captured the whole convoy.

In the month of July, Commodore du Perrée, who had cruised with great success in the preceding year in the Bay of Bengal, fell in with three outward-bound East Indiamen (the *Ceylon*, *Windham*, and *Astell*), on the north coast of Madagascar. The French squadron consisted of the *Bellona* of 44 guns, the *Victor* corvette, and the *Minerve* frigate. After a severe contest, during three hours, the *Ceylon* and *Windham* struck their colours; but the *Astell*, putting out her lights, made sail and escaped in the dark. The colours of the *Astell* had been shot away three times. As a reward for their distinguished bravery, the East India Company settled an annual pension of £460 on the captain of the *Astell*, and presented the officers and crew with £2,000; and the lords commissioners of the admiralty granted the ship's company a protection from impressment for three years.

In the month of August, four English frigates (part of the squadron stationed at the Cape of Good Hope), making an inconsiderate dash into Grand Port, the principal harbour of the Isle of France, were lost to the service. The loss was thus occasioned:—In that port lay four French frigates, a corvette, a brig, and two captured East Indiamen, and protected by heavy land-batteries. As access to the port was difficult, two of the English frigates—namely, the *Sirius* and *Magicienne*—running aground on shoals, were burned by the crews. The third frigate, the *Nereide*, Captain Willoughby, singly fought the enemy for above five hours, and drove all their ships on shore in a heap. In the contest, however the *Nereide* suffered so severely, that she was obliged to strike to the enemy; several of her quarter and main-deck guns having been dismounted, and the hull of the ship much shattered. Nearly every man of her crew was killed or wounded; and her captain and first lieutenant had both been severely hurt. The fourth ship, the *Iphigenia*, being closely blockaded in the Isle of Passe, whither the boats' crews of the *Sirius* and *Magicienne* had conducted her, struck soon after the *Nereide* had submitted.

## THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1810.

THE decisive overthrow of Ocana having left Spain without any organised forces in the field, and the Austrian matrimonial alliance having relieved him of all disquietude in Germany, the French emperor now determined to employ his resources in subjugation of the Spanish and Portuguese peninsula, and plant his eagles on the ramparts of Cadiz and the towers of Lisbon. For this purpose 120,000 troops—of which 20,000 were of the imperial guard, engaged in the late German campaign—were directed to march for the Spanish frontier. These, with the troops already in the Peninsula, were destined to accomplish three great objects—the conquest of Portugal, and the reduction of the southern and eastern portions of Spain. Massena was appointed to accomplish the conquest of Portugal; Soult the reduction of the southern portion of Spain; and St. Cyr, Augereau, and Suchet its eastern division.

Soult, who, towards the close of 1809, had been appointed chief of the staff and principal military adviser to Joseph, instead of Jourdan, early in January marched on the Sierra Morena, with the intention of subduing Andalusia and the whole of the southern part of Spain. On the 20th he forced the strong pass of Despinas Perros, where Areizaga had taken post with 25,000 men, capturing 6,000 of the scared Spaniards, together with their magazines and ordnance. On the same day Dessolles carried the pass of the Puerto del Rey, with the same ease. Next day the victors passed over the field of Baylen, and separating into two corps, Soult advanced upon Seville, and Sebastiani was directed to march on Granada and Malaga. On the 28th Granada opened her gates to Sebastiani; and on the 31st, Seville surrendered to Soult. A few days afterwards (February 5th), Sebastiani appeared before Malaga; but an old colonel of the name of Abdallo, having seized the government of the town, and shipped off the old authorities, who were suspected of favouring the French usurpation, 6,000 men, under the command of a Capuchin friar and all their officers (monks), opposed his entrance; but unable to withstand the French, they fled into the town, leaving 1,500 of their companions dead on the field of battle. The French entered the city with the fleeing host. On the surrender of Seville, Soult

hurried Marshal Victor, with 28,600 men, forward towards Cadiz, which would now have been lost, had not the Duke of Albuquerque, who, with 8,000 infantry and 600 cavalry, pressed on from the banks of the Guadiana in Estremadura, and by forced marches reached Cadiz (February 3rd) twenty-four hours before Victor had entered the Isle de Leon. The junta, in the previous autumn, had insolently rejected Lord Wellington's offer to aid the garrison with English troops, although 7,000 men, under General Sherbrooke, were on their passage from Lisbon for that purpose; but they now implored him to afford them the proffered assistance. For this purpose the English general dispatched the 79th and 94th regiments, the 2nd battalion, the 20th Portuguese caçadores, and two companies of artillery, under the command of Major-general Stewart, with orders to co-operate in the defence of the place. Other British forces, together with a fragment of the Spaniards who had escaped from the battle of Ocana, were brought from Gibraltar; by which additions the garrison was increased to the amount of 18,000 men, for the defence of Cadiz and the Isle of Leon. The Spanish fleet, consisting of about twenty ships-of-the-line, but many of them in a very defective condition, were put under the direction of Admiral Purvis, who brought into the harbour his own squadron to co-operate in the defence. The governor of Cadiz was General Castanos.

On the morning following the entrance of Albuquerque into Cadiz, the French appeared in great strength on the opposite shores of the Straits. By the 6th of February, for the purpose of blockading the city on the land side, they occupied San Lucar, Puerto de Santa Maria, Puerto Real, Chiclana, and Medina Sidonia. The first attack was made on the land side of the Isle of Leon, which is separated from the continent by a narrow isthmus, from a quarter to half a mile in breadth. The form of the isle is irregular—the length about ten, the breadth, scarcely in any part, three miles. The isle is fringed by marshy ground, intersected by salt-ponds. The entrance to it is by a high road, or causeway which will scarcely admit four men abreast; and it was defended on both sides by batteries. Such were the obstructions the enemy had to

overcome, before he could approach the city. The besieging army amounted to 25,000 men. On February 10th, Soult sent a summons to surrender; and on the 16th the junta received a message from King Joseph, expressing his readiness to receive them under his gracious protection, and requesting that persons might be deputed from Cadiz to treat for the security of the Spanish fleet: to which the junta replied—"The city of Cadiz, faithful to its principles, renounces any other king than Ferdinand VII."

The besieging army was posted in a semi-circle from Santa Maria to St. Pedro, approaching as near as possible to the Spanish outposts. Fort Matagorda, one of the outworks, situate on the main-land opposite Fort Puntales, commanding in some measure the entrance into Puntal Roads, about two miles from Cadiz, was taken on the 22nd of April.\* On this new works were erected, and rafts constructed on the canal of Trocadero.

About the middle of March, one Portuguese and five Spanish ships-of-the-line, together with thirty merchantmen richly laden, were driven on shore in the Bay of Cadiz, and lost in a violent tempest; and on the night of the 15th of May, 2,000 French prisoners, taken in the battle of Baylen, taking advantage of the tide and a favourable wind, made their escape while on board the hulks, in which they were confined, by cutting their cables and letting their hulks drift.

In the month of May, the British force in the Isle of Leon amounted to 7,000 men; the Portuguese to 1,500, under the command of Lieutenant-general Graham, who had arrived in Cadiz in February.

By the close of the year, the enemy had erected strong batteries on every side, and began to throw shells into the town; but, on account of the distance, they produced but little effect. Having also collected a vast number of gun-boats, they began to threaten a descent on the Isle of Leon.

But the operations of the patriots were

\* This fort having been abandoned by the Spaniards, the French were preparing to take possession of it. As it was one of the main defences of the city, 150 soldiers and sailors, under the command of Captain M'Bean, of the 94th, were, during a storm on the night of the 22nd of February, pushed across the Channel to regain its possession. The party having easily accomplished their mission, made a lodgment in the fort. As the operations of the garrison, with their seven guns, had interrupted the progress of the enemy's works for nearly two months,

not confined, in this quarter, to the defence of Cadiz. They roused, encouraged, and aided the inhabitants of the mountainous region between Marbella and the vicinity of Cadiz, called the Alpujarras, a district in Granada, about seventeen miles in length from east to west, and eleven in breadth from north to south; and so high, that the summits of its mountains are visible even from Ceuta and Tangier, on the African coast.

To aid these mountaineers, a detachment of 5,000 Spanish troops, under General Lacey, were disembarked at Algeiras, in the Bay of Gibraltar, and advancing rapidly, marched on the town of Ronda, situate in this district, and in which 6,000 French were posted. The French, influenced by exaggerated reports of Lacey's force, took to flight in the night, leaving behind them their arms, provisions, and ammunition, which the captors distributed among the inhabitants of the mountains. But fresh forces of the enemy arriving from Seville, Malaga, and Cadiz, a murderous warfare ensued. The Alpujarrese, whose general clothing consisted of sheepskins, arrayed themselves in the uniforms of the French who were slain, so that they often made a motley appearance.

On the 22nd of August, a naval and military expedition, under the command of Captain Cockburn, of the British navy, and the Spanish general, Lacey, sailed from the port of Cadiz against Moguer, a town in the province of Seville, on the river Huelva, below its junction with the Tinto, in the neighbourhood of which a French division was posted, under the Duke of Aremberg. It arrived at Moguer on the 24th, and on the following day took possession of Niebla, a town about ten miles distant from Moguer; but the Spanish general, ascertaining that the enemy was advancing in great force from Seville, destroyed the magazines and batteries, and spiked the guns of Moguer, re-embarked his troops, and sailed for Cadiz, where the expedition arrived on the 30th.

the French general ordered the fire of fifty pieces of heavy ordnance to be concentrated on it; and "after the iron tempest had raged thirty hours, the fort being reduced to a mere pile of ruins, and above half its garrison down, the survivors were, on the 22nd of April, withdrawn, bearing with them the colours, which had been carried away six times by the crashing flight of metal directed against them, and as often rehoisted, amidst the cheers of the gallant band which had so gloriously defended them."

In his contest with Aremberg, Lacey took twelve prisoners.

On the 11th of October, a secret expedition, consisting of four or five hundred of the 39th regiment, 500 German deserters, enrolled and armed at Gibraltar, and a Spanish regiment from Ceuta, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Lord Blaney, sailed from Gibraltar against Malaga, with instructions first to take possession of Fort Fuengirola, situate about four leagues from Malaga, in order to draw the enemy out of that city, and, while they were on their march, to re-embark, set sail for that city, and, with the assistance of a reinforcement to be sent from Gibraltar, to destroy the enemy's works at Malaga, and capture the hordes of privateers which took shelter in its harbour to the great annoyance of the English Mediterranean trade. The armament disembarked on the 14th, about three leagues west of Fuengirola. On the appearance of the English before the fort, the garrison fired on them. Lord Blaney, in the course of the following night, erected a battery against the fort; but in a sally, the garrison stormed the battery, and the assailants of the fort took to flight. At the same moment 1,200 men, disguised in Spanish uniforms, appearing in sight in the direction of Malaga, Lord Blaney believing them to be Spaniards advancing to his assistance, forbade his troops to fire on them; and he persisted in his hallucination until the moment that his supposed friends apprised him he was their prisoner. It fortunately happened that the 32nd regiment, which followed the expedition a few days after its departure from Gibraltar, had landed the flank companies at the moment of Lord Blaney's *rencontre* with his supposed friends. These two companies marched instantly to meet the enemy, and taking possession of a height which commanded the position of the French, and being supported by the fire of the line-of-battle ship from which they had just disembarked, they opposed the enemy, and covered the re-embarkation of that part of the 89th regiment which had not taken the route of Marbella with the fugitive Spaniards.

While these untoward events were taking place in the south of Spain, the patriot cause was equally disastrous in the eastern portion of that kingdom, particularly in the provinces of Aragon and Catalonia.

The French, under Suchet, having early in February made a fruitless attempt on

Valencia, from which they were driven with considerable loss, Ventura Caro, the uncle of the Marquis Romana, and who had discovered the plot of the governor to betray the town to the French, proceeded to lay siege to the castle of Hostalrich in Catalonia, the reduction of which was necessary to an attack on Tarragona. The town of Hostalrich was reduced in January, but the castle being situated on a steep and rugged rock, was not reducible but by blockade. This measure Augereau resorted to. To raise the siege, General O'Donnell collected 12,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry from different military stations. These regular troops were joined by some thousands of Miquelets, under Rovira, a physician. About seven in the morning, the Spaniards advanced in three columns on the plain of Vich. The Miquelets occupied the adjacent heights immediately above Vich. General Souham, whom it was O'Donnell's intention to endeavour to cut off, having observed the movements of the enemy, drew up the whole of his division. A strong party of Miquelets began the battle; but soon both armies were hotly engaged. Fortune seeming to incline against the French, O'Donnell brought up the whole of his reserve, and made the most vigorous efforts to penetrate the enemy's centre. Being foiled in that attempt, he made a desperate struggle to turn both his flanks at the same time. But the effort to turn the French wings having also failed, the patriots took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter. The fleeing Spaniards took shelter under the cannon of Tarragona.

The strict blockade to which Hostalrich had been subject was now so rigid, that the garrison was reduced to extreme distress for want of provisions. In this extremity, the garrison, under its governor Estrada, at midnight of the 12th of May, under the cover of a thick mist, cut their way through the blockading force. In the brave attempt, 300 men, with the governor, were made prisoners, but 800 effected their escape to Tarragona.

On the 14th of May, Suchet, with the third corps, became, after fifteen days' open trenches and three days' firing, master of Lerida, a fortress situated between the mountains of Aragon and Catalonia, and garrisoned by 9,000 men. During the siege, O'Donnell advanced with 8,000 infantry and 600 cavalry, but was totally defeated at Mugalet on the 23rd of April, with the loss of 1,000 slain and 5,000 prisoners. In

the course of this siege, the conduct of Suchet was barbarous in the extreme. The French troops having effected an entrance into the town through the breaches, in order to possess himself of the citadel, the French general ordered his troops to drive, by a concentric movement, the townsmen, women, and children into that building, upon which he kept up a powerful fire of bombs and howitzers during the whole night and following day.

Taking advantage of the consternation produced by his savage cruelty, the French general, on the 19th of May, invested Mequinenza, a fortress situated on the summit of a high rock, near the confluence of the Cinca and Ebro, in the midst of a desert; and, on the night of the 4th of June, carried the fortress; the garrison, who had retired to the castle, surrendering on the 8th.

Having reduced Lerida and Mequinenza, preparations were made, agreeably to the orders received from Paris, to undertake the siege of Tortosa, which was invested in July, and surrendered in the beginning of 1811.

By the capture of these three fortresses, the French were now possessed of 20,000 prisoners, above 350 pieces of artillery, 20,000 stand of arms, and many million pounds of powder, cartridges, bullets, and shells, most of the ammunition having been supplied to the patriots by England.

The great movements in the conduct of the war in the Peninsula were now prescribed by Napoleon at Paris. When Massena moved on Portugal, orders were transmitted to Soult to confide to Victor the carrying on the siege of Cadiz, and advance towards Estremadura for the capture of Olivenza and Badajos. The French marshal accordingly proceeded from Seville with 20,000 men. Olivenza having, with 4,000 men, surrendered almost as soon as the enemy appeared before it, Soult took up a position before Badajos, on the 22nd of January, 1811. At this time, Mendizabel, with 14,000 men under his command, was

posted in a strong position under the cannon of the fortress, and separated from the French army by the Guadiana and the Geboro. There the infatuated Spaniards lay in fancied security; but the French, before daybreak of the morning of the 18th of February, and under cover of a thick mist, forded the rivers, and as soon as the first dawn broke, attacked the Spaniards. The contest was but of a few minutes' duration: the scared Spaniards took to headlong flight, leaving 8,000 prisoners and the whole of their artillery in the hands of the French. The siege of Badajos was immediately proceeded with; but the governor, Manecho, being killed a few days after fire was opened on the fortress, his successor, Imaz, treacherously surrendered the place (March 9th), with 8,000 men and 170 pieces of artillery. At the moment of the consummation of the Spaniard's treachery, Beresford was within forty-eight hours' march from the fortress, with two English divisions for its relief.

The close of the year 1810 was distinguished by Napoleon's marriage with the Archduchess of Austria, Maria Louisa; his annexation of Holland, under the title of "The Department of the Mouths of the Scheldt;" also that of the Hanse Towns, the duchy of Oldenburg, and the whole sea-coast of Germany, from the frontier of Holland to that of Denmark, to the French empire, which was now divided into 130 departments, and extended from the frontiers of Denmark to those of Naples. He also annexed Hanover to his brother Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia.

In the month of August, Marshal Bernadotte, brother-in-law of Joseph Buonaparte, was elected, by the vote of the Swedish diet assembled at Orebro, Crown Prince of Sweden, and his installation took place in the following November, about the middle of which month the Swedish government, at the requisition of Napoleon, declared war against England; and in conformity with the terms of the Continental System, prohibited the importation of British produce and manufactures.

#### WELLINGTON'S THIRD PORTUGUESE CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF BARROSA.

DURING the months of January and February, the French and English armies remained in the same position in the neigh-

bourhood of Santarem, as they were at the close of the year 1810. The head-quarters of the British general were at Cartaxo,

while Massena's were at Santarem, and the French troops were stationed on the banks of the Tagus and the Zezere.

In the narrative of Massena's operations before the lines of Torres Vedras, it has been stated that General Foy, strongly escorted, was sent to Paris, to apprise Napoleon of the difficulties of the army of Portugal, and obtain his instructions for future operations. While Massena was at Santarem, he received information that Soult had been ordered to act in concert with him by an attack on Portugal, on the south of the Tagus, and that an army, consisting of 70,000 men under Bessières, was formed in the north of Spain, to support the army of Portugal. "While a junction is being formed between the army of Portugal and that under the Duke of Dalmatia," said Napoleon, in his instructions to his marshals, "keep the English in check, and make them lose men every day by engagements of advanced guards: their army is small, and they cannot afford to lose many men; besides, people in London are much alarmed about their army in Portugal."

While the hostile armies lay in front of each other, the British chief suffered much vexatious annoyance from the Portuguese regency, and the faction at which that odious priest, the patriarch, and the meddling Souza, were at the head. To the attempt of the regency to have the control and appropriation of the subsidy granted by the English parliament for the pay and support of the Portuguese army, the British general gave a peremptory refusal; and to their complaints that the English soldiers had cut down a few trees to convert into fuel to cook their rations, or to warm them in their dreary bivouacs, he replied—"If the British soldiers have committed (as all soldiers will commit) acts of misconduct, they have at least fought bravely for the country. They have, besides, recently shown commiseration for the misfortunes of the people of this country, and have actually fed the poor inhabitants of all the towns in which they were cantoned in the Rio Mayor. Yet I have not heard that the Portuguese government have expressed their approbation of this conduct, very unusual in people of this class and description. Nor do I find that their bravery in the field, or their generosity, can induce those whom they are serving to look with indulgence at their failings, or to draw a veil over the faults of the few, in consideration of the

military and other virtues of the many." To the disposition of the regency to complain of the conduct of the British troops, his reply was:—"Acts of misconduct have never been committed by British troops with impunity, in any instance in which the complaints could be substantiated; but I have not yet been able to obtain the punishment of any individual of this country, be his crimes what they may."

Massena's position now became critical. he was lying in a devastated country which could no longer afford the least supply, and his army was gradually melting away by disease, famine, and desertion: already 10,000 sick were in the hospitals. About the end of February, therefore, he began to make arrangements for his retreat. By degrees the sick and baggage were put into motion towards Thomar; and after making demonstrations in different directions, to deceive the English general as to the line of retreat, on the night of the 5th of March he quitted his strong camp at Santarem, leaving behind him some of his heavy artillery. His first movements indicated an intention of collecting a force at Abrantes, and of attempting the passage of the Zezere; but on the 8th his march was directed through the valley of the Mondego; and on the 10th the whole of his army was concentrated on a plateau in front of Pombal.

No sooner had Massena quitted Santarem, than Wellington dispatched Hill's division across the Tagus, for the protection of Abrantes; and Beresford was ordered to advance, with the fourth division and a body of Portuguese cavalry, to the relief of Badajoz, then besieged by Soult. The main body of the British army, under the immediate command of Wellington, proceeded in pursuit of the enemy.

As the country afforded many advantageous positions to a retreating army, the French marshal was not slow in availing himself of them. On the 12th, the English advanced guard found Ney, with the French rear-guard, posted on a high table-land in front of the village of Redinha. No sooner had the light and the third divisions advanced to the attack of his right and left, while Wellington pushed forward against his front, than the enemy, under the smoke of a general discharge of musketry, fell back through the village of Redinha, and, in the course of the evening, effected a junction with the main body. Massena, now in hopes of being aided by Soult, who

had just reduced Badajos, dispatched Montbrun with the cavalry to seize Coimbra; but Wellington, anticipating his designs, had ordered Colonel Trant to prepare for the reception of the enemy. On Montbrun's appearance before that city, he met with so warm a reception, that he abandoned the attempt, and rejoined Massena.

The French marshal having been thus disappointed, changed his plan of operation, and retreated along the left bank of the Mondego, by the road which leads to Ponte Murcella. On a hill near Casa Nova, a village about three miles distant from Condeixa, Ney made another attempt to check the pursuit; but being attacked on both flanks by the third and fourth divisions, he again stole away, under favour of the extreme darkness of the night and the volumes of smoke occasioned by the multitude of fires which had been kindled to conceal his flight to Miranda de Corvo, where the main body of the French army was posted. Massena fearing that the two British divisions, who had closely pursued the fleeing French, were getting behind the strong defile of Miranda de Corvo, leaving Ney on the left bank of the Ceira, to gain time for the main body of the army to file off, set fire to the town of Miranda, and passed the Ceira. Ney, who had taken up a strong position in front of the village of Fonte d'Aronce, being again put to the rout, retreated in Massena's track towards Celorico, which town he reached on the 21st of March. On the 25th, the French marshal, as his flank and line of retreat were menaced by the pursuing columns, abandoned Celorico, but retained the strong position of Guarda, a town situated upon a steep hill, forming part of the Estrella range, in hopes of being able to maintain that position until he could establish his communication with Soult, and receive aid from that marshal. But, on the 29th, he found his dream of security dispelled. Early on the morning of that day, five columns of attack simultaneously ascended the steep by as many routes. Scared by the unexpected opposition, the French marshal, in the greatest hurry and confusion, abandoned his almost impregnable position, and fled with precipitation towards Sabugal, on the Coa, which flows near and parallel to the borders of Spain. Here he took up a posi-

tion, determined to make a last effort to maintain his hold of Portugal. In this position he was attacked, on the 3rd of April, by Wellington, and, after a stubborn contest, in which he lost about 1,500 men, in the course of the following night he retired by Alfayates, Aldea d' Ponte, and Aldea Velha, and, on the 5th of April, crossed the frontier of Spain, having lost about 3,000 prisoners, and twice that number in killed and wounded, since he abandoned Santarem; and, according to Wellington's estimate, above 45,000\* since the commencement of his invasion of Portugal to his being compelled to quit it. The loss of the English army, from the battle of Busaco to the expulsion of Massena from Portugal, had been about 1,000 men. About this period of the war, Wellington received a reinforcement of 7,000 men from England.

Thus, in little less than a fortnight from Massena's abandonment of Santarem, Wellington had, by his masterly plans and combinations, manœuvred his antagonist out of all the strong positions he had attempted to defend, and freed Portugal from an enemy who had inflicted every horror which can make war hideous during his dreadful retreat, spreading on every side unlimited violence, unlimited vengeance. "The deplorable scenes of havoc and devastation—the terrible spectacles of bloodshed and cruelty continually before our eyes,"—says one of the pursuers, "are such, that to see the country is to weep for the horrors of war, and enough to make one's blood curdle in one's veins to think that human beings can inflict so demoniac deeds on their fellow-men." "The conduct of the French through out their retreat," said their victor, "has been marked by a barbarity seldom equalled, never surpassed. It is to be hoped, that the example of what has occurred in this country, will show the people of this and other nations that there is no security for life, or for anything which makes life valuable, except in decided resistance to the enemy of their country."

The only French force which now remained in Portugal, was the garrison of Almeida and a brigade of the ninth corps, which was employed in covering the march of the battering train from that garrison to

\* A great part of this loss had been occasioned by the Portuguese peasantry, who, in retaliation of the cruelties practised by the French, killed every straggler on whom they could lay hands, before the

heads of the British columns came up. During Massena's position before the lines of Torres Vedras, his marauding parties suffered greatly in the villages of the mountains of the Estrella.

Ciudad Rodrigo. To intercept that force, ten squadrons of cavalry and a troop of horse artillery were dispatched under the command of Sir William Erskine. The British force intercepted the enemy near Fort Conception. The enemy no sooner saw their opponents, than they rapidly formed their force into two squares, and retreated over the plain, without sustaining the least loss,—so inefficient were the measures of the incompetent leader of the English force.

No sooner was Massena expelled from Portugal, than the blockade of Almeida took place. The want of battering artillery and the requisite stores, prevented the proceeding with its siege. And as Portugal had been freed from the presence of its oppressors, and there was no probability of irremediate surprise on the frontier of Beira, the English general having disposed his army in cantonments between the Coa and the Agueda, surrendered the command of the army to Sir Brent Spencer, and proceeded to the Alentejo, to arrange measures with Beresford for the relief of Campo Mayor and the recovery of Olivença and Badajos, and to whom he had dispatched a considerable force for the purpose.

During this period of the memorable transactions which were in operation under the immediate guidance and command of Wellington, two episodal events took place in the south of Spain—namely, the expedition under Lieutenant-colonel Lord Blaney, for the surprise of Malaga, and the battle of Barrosa, fought March 6th. Blaney's inconsiderate exploit has been detailed in the narrative of the military transactions of 1810. The battle of Barrosa, and the transactions out of which it originated, were as follows:—

General Graham, who was in command of the English forces then co-operating in the defence of the city of Cadiz, besieged by the French under Victor, concerted a plan with the Spanish general, Lapena, to surprise the besieging army, and by driving it out of its lines, raise the siege. That plan he purposed to accomplish by a large portion of the garrison of Cadiz landing on the Andalusian coast, and throwing itself on the rear of the blockading army, while the Spanish divisional general, Zayas, with 6,000 troops from the Isle of Leon, opened, by means of pontoon bridge thrown across the San Petri canal, a communication with the assailants.

In the prosecution of this plan, the Bri-

tish contingent part of the expedition, under Graham, and a Spanish force of 7,000 men, under Lapena, on the 21st of February sailed from Cadiz, and on the 23rd landed at Algeiras, in the Bay of Gibraltar; and on the following day, marched across the mountains to Tarifa. On the 27th, they formed a junction with the Spanish forces at St. Roques, when the allied army amounted to 11,200 infantry and 800 horse, and was distributed into three divisions: the vanguard under Ladrizabel; the centre was led by the Prince of Anglona; and Graham commanded the reserve, consisting of the British contingent (3,000 men), the 20th Portuguese caçadores, the two Spanish regiments of the Walloon guards, and that of Ciudad Real. The cavalry of both nations was under the command of General Whittingham; and Lapena was the commander-in-chief of the expedition. On the following day they passed the mountain-ridges, which separate the plains of St. Roques from those of Medina and Chiclana; at which time they were within four leagues of the enemy's posts at Vejer and Casa Viejas. In the attempt to surprise these forts, Lapena's operations were so ill-concerted, that most of their little garrisons escaped, and carried intelligence to Victor of the advance of the allies. Immediately the French general, leaving his works before Cadiz garrisoned by 10,000 troops, took post, with 8,000 men and a formidable artillery, between Medina Sidonia and Chiclana. Zayas, in pursuance of his orders, had, on March 1st, thrown a bridge across the San Petri, and established a *tête-du-pont* there; but as by this movement the extreme left of the French lines was exposed to attack, Villatte, on the night of the 3rd of March, drove Zayas back into the Isle of Leon.

On the morning of the 5th of March, the allied army reached the low ridge of Barrosa, called the Cabeza de Puerco, but which in the events of the Peninsular war, is distinguished by the name of *the Heights of Barrosa*, a mountain-ridge, distant four miles to the south of San Petri. About half-way between Barrosa and the sea, lies the narrow ridge of the Bermeja; the intermediate space being occupied by a pine-wood.

Lapena, on taking up his position on the heights of Barrosa, detached his vanguard, under Ladrizabel, to open the communication with Zayas; and at the same time directed Graham to move to the Bermeja

ridge, to preserve communication with San Petri. But no sooner had the English general began his march, and entered the pine-wood, than Lapena left the heights of Barrosa, although it was the key of the whole ground, in possession of a few battalions to protect the baggage, and followed Graham by the sea road for San Petri.

No sooner had Victor observed the false movement of the imbecile Spaniard, and saw the English fully involved in the wood, than he rushed forward with his whole force (about 9,000 strong, composed of Ruffin, Laval, and Villatte's divisions), to seize the post which his opponents had so unwisely abandoned. Lieutenant-colonel Brown, whom Graham had left with a battalion of the light companies of the several regiments to guard the English baggage, unable to stem the torrent, sent to Graham for orders. The English general's situation was now desperate. Laval's division was advancing along the edge of the forest; Ruffin was rapidly ascending the left side of the Barrosa heights, from which the Spanish battalions left in guard of their baggage were fleeing on the opposite side, in the most indescribable confusion; the English battalion, under Colonel Brown, alone remained on the heights, and having been formed into square, was making a gallant resistance. On receipt of the information that the heights had been abandoned by Lapena, and were assailed by the enemy, Graham immediately countermarched his little band, for the purpose of supporting the troops which had been left for the defence of the baggage and to recover the heights.

No sooner had the British columns cleared the pine-wood, than they formed into line, and immediately pushed forward to the attack; the right wing, under General Dilkes, bearing against Ruffin's division already on the heights; and the left, under Lieutenant-colonel Wheatley, against Laval's division; a field battery of ten guns, under Major Duncan, opening a furious cannonade of round shot and canister upon the enemy, while Laval's guns threw a tempest of grape and canister on the advancing English.

The onset on both sides was fierce and furious. Laval's division advanced against the British left wing, who received them with a courage and determination equal to their undaunted bearing. No sooner had the hostile lines met, than Laval's first line being forced back on the second, both were

broken by the shock, with the loss of two guns and the eagle of the 8th regiment of the line, being the first eagle taken during the Peninsular war. On this side the battle was won. Nor was the British right wing less successful against Ruffin's division. On that side, the enemy, confident of victory, descended the hill half-way to meet Dilkes' men. With loud shouts the rival lines engaged in desperate conflict, but the struggle was not of long duration. The vigour of the British attack was irresistible, and the enemy was forced back and driven down the other side of the heights in confusion, leaving two cannon in the hands of the victors.

The two discomfited wings now tried to retrieve the fortune of the day. Having retreated across the valley, by converging lines, on their reserve, they endeavoured to rally and renew the action; but Duncan's artillery and Ponsonby's three troops of German hussars, rendering all exertion to regain their formation unavailing, Victor, with his discomfited host, retreated, after a combat of an hour and a-half, to his position in the lines round the bay before Cadiz. During this stern struggle, Lapena was sustaining the attack of Villatte at the distance of four miles from the heights. Pursuit of the enemy was not possible on account of the weary state of the British troops, who were exhausted by the rambling march to which Lapena had subjected them before their arrival on the heights, and his refusing to launch Whittingham's cavalry, who were under his command, against the fleeing enemy. Ponsonby's German hussars, however, impatient of the disgraceful inactivity, burst away from the useless mass, and reaching the field just at the moment when the discomfited divisions were attempting to rally on the reserve, rode rapidly in upon them and increased their confusion. The two Spanish battalions who had been attached to Graham's division on the march, hearing the firing on the heights, and impelled by the instinct of brave men, broke away from their dastard of a countryman Lapena, and hurried to the assistance of their former companions; but, unfortunately, the gallant fellows were unable to reach the field until the battle had been won. The victory had been dearly purchased; one-third (1,343) of Graham's little band having been killed or wounded. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 2,000 in killed and wounded, besides 340 prisoners.

Graham now prepared to return to the Isle of Leon, to recruit the strength of his exhausted troops; and, to prevent the possible surmise that the retrograde movement was a retreat, after having remained several hours on the field of battle, he left a detachment of the 95th rifles, under Major Ross, to retain its possession till the approach of night. Lapena, soon after Graham had entered the Isle of Leon, followed his example, and breaking down the temporary bridge at San Petri, thus left Victor at full liberty to re-establish the blockade. Graham, incensed at Lapena's arrogating to himself the victory of Barrosa, and his acquittal by the Spanish tribunal appointed to try him on the ground of his unfair assumption of this honour, soon after relinquished his command to General Cooke, and proceeded to join the army under Lord Wellington in the north of Portugal.

While the expedition which terminated in the battle of Barrosa was in preparation, it had been concerted that the fleet at Cadiz, commanded by Admiral Keats, should, during the operations of the land expedition, make a diversion by an attack on the French siege-works round the Bay of Cadiz; but the weather prevented the landing of the naval force necessary for the purpose till the 6th of February. On that day, parties of marines and seamen, amounting to about 300 men, were landed between Rota and Catalonia, and between Catalonia and Santa Maria. The result was, that two redoubts were stormed, and the guns of all the sea defences and batteries—from Rota to Santa Maria, except those of Catalonia, which were too strong to be carried by a *coup-de-main* with the limited force employed—were spiked, and the works dismantled.

#### WELLINGTON'S SECOND SPANISH CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF FUENTES D'ONORO— FIRST INVESTMENT OF BADAJOS.

WELLINGTON now prepared to commence his second Spanish campaign—"the most glorious and memorable in the annals of warfare, both for its great results in the contemporary and the future destinies of Europe—having defeated and nullified the designs of the ruler of France for universal conquest and subjugation, as well as for the consummate talent and judgment displayed by its principal actor, and the indomitable courage and resistless power of his comrades in arms."

To meet the mighty contest, and provide for all contingencies, the British commander-in-chief determined to act on two lines of operations. For the relief of the south of Spain, and the protection of the south-eastern frontier of Portugal, he dispatched 14,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and eighteen guns to Beresford, who was in Spanish Estremadura, with instructions to relieve Campo Mayor (then besieged by Mortier), and besiege Olivenza and Badajos, both of which towns had lately surrendered to Soult. From its cantonments between the Coa and Agueda, the British chief prepared to engage the army, under his own immediate command, in the reduction of Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo; and on the fall of these fortresses, to push his operations into the heart of Spain, and open a communication with the Anglo-Sicilian army then in

Valencia, under the incompetent command of Sir John Murray, the man who "was afraid of being pushed into the Douro" by Soult's fleeing forces from Oporto, and therefore allowed them to pass him unscathed. During Wellington's absence from the army, and its temporary command by Sir Brent Spencer, Massena, who had collected a large force at Ciudad Rodrigo, thinking he might accomplish something while "the 10th legion was not under Cæsar's command," made two unsuccessful attempts on the British pickets on the Azava, hoping they might lead to a general action.

Beresford, on the receipt of his orders, put himself in motion at the head of 22,000 men; but, rapidly as he moved, he was not able to arrive in time to prevent the surrender of Campo Mayor, bravely as it had been defended by its commandant, a Portuguese officer of artillery. Mortier, however, hearing of the approach of his formidable antagonist, determined to abandon the place. On the morning of the 23rd of March, he prepared to evacuate it and retreat to Badajos; but when about doing so, he was surprised by Beresford's advanced guard, consisting of a brigade of infantry and 2,000 cavalry. 'The French retreat was covered by a strong detachment of hussars; but they, not being sufficient to

beat off their pursuers, four regiments of dragoons advanced to their support. The 13th light dragoons who were in advance, and the French cavalry charging with loose reins, rode so fiercely against each other, that numbers on both sides were dismounted by the shock. The combatants having pierced through each other's lines, re-formed and charged again; when the 13th, piercing again through their opponents, galloped forwards and cut down the gunners who were conducting the battering-train, continuing their gallant but headlong course till they had headed the French column of retreat, and made themselves masters of a convoy of goods, stores, and ammunition. The gallant captors, however, were not able to retain possession of their booty, from the unaccountable want of support from the brigades of heavy cavalry in reserve. But, undismayed, some of these intrepid horsemen formed in front of the French column, and returned to their comrades, by cutting their way through it; while others, hurried on by extreme ardour and impetuosity, kept up a running combat with the enemy's cavalry to the very mouths of the guns on the ramparts of Badajos, and even made some prisoners at the bridge over the Guadiana, leading into the town." The consequence of this gallant and chivalrous exploit—which, while it received a severe reprimand from the commander-in-chief, excited the boundless admiration of the army—was the loss of seventy of those heroic horsemen close to the gates of Badajos; but they had inflicted a loss on their enemies of 300 men in killed and wounded, and had taken 100 prisoners.

Having recovered Campo Mayor, Beresford proceeded to the execution of the remaining part of his orders; but as the Guadiana had risen three or four feet since our heroic cavalry's pursuit of Mortier, thus rendering the fords impassable, it was necessary to erect a tressle bridge, to effect the passage of the troops. The bridge being constructed, on the 3rd of April—a delay occasioned by the difficulty of procuring the requisite materials—they effected the passage of the river, and on the 6th took up a position whence they could invest Olivenza.

On the 9th, Beresford appeared before Olivenza; but as he was desirous to proceed forthwith to the investment of Badajos, he left Cole, with the fourth division and Madden's Portuguese cavalry, to reduce the place. A breach being effected on the

14th, the governor surrendered Olivenza on the following morning.

Beresford was now at Zafra, preparing for the investment of Badajos—the principal fortress and key of the frontier of Spain. Here he was joined, on the 20th, by the commander-in-chief, who, having delivered over the command of the allied army on the frontiers of Beira to Sir Brent Spencer, *ad interim*, was desirous of conducting the siege of Badajos in person. While making the necessary preparations, he was recalled to the frontiers of Beira, by the intelligence that Massena was in force on the Agueda, for the purpose of relieving Almeida. Giving the necessary instructions for the commencement of the siege of Badajos, and instructing Beresford, that should Soult advance to raise the siege, the best battle-field to meet the enemy would be at Albuera, he was again on the Coa on the 28th of April, to make dispositions for preventing the relief of Almeida, and again expelling Massena from Portugal.

For the purpose of impeding the English general's attempts on the frontier fortresses of Spain, Napoleon had transmitted orders to Massena, who was at Salamanca, refitting and reorganising his shattered forces left from his operations in Portugal, to advance with the three corps under his immediate command to Ciudad Rodrigo, where he would be joined by the cavalry and artillery of the imperial guard from Bessières' reserve in Biscay, and attempt the relief of Almeida. For that purpose, the French marshal put his army in motion, and, on the 2nd of May, crossed the Agueda at Ciudad Rodrigo, with 45,000 infantry, 5,000 cavalry, and thirty guns. Wellington immediately concentrated his army, consisting of 32,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry, for the purpose of opposing the advance of the enemy. The ground was unfavourable for the design of the English general; but he determined to turn it to the best advantage which circumstances would allow. For the purpose of covering Almeida, Wellington took up his position on the table-land between the Turones and the Dos Casas (two affluents of the Agueda), having his left on Fort Conception, his centre opposite the fortress and village of Almeida, and his right at the village of Fuentes d'Onoro; thus occupying a position of not less than six miles from flank to flank. The river Coa flowed in his rear, the only passage over which was by the bridge of Castello Bom.

The French marshal no sooner viewed the position of his opponent, than he deemed victory sure,—hoping that if he gained the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, he would turn the British right, push it on its centre, and then drive it back upon the Coa—the only passage it could effect—being by the difficult and perilous bridge of Castello Bom.

Accordingly, on the evening of the 3rd of May, he commenced a fierce attack, under cover of a hot cannonade, on the village of Fuentes d'Onoro, in occupation of a battalion of chosen detachments of light infantry from the first and third divisions, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Williams. So vehement was the onset of the French, and so heavy the cannonade, that they carried the lower part of the village. To recover the lost ground, the 71st, 79th, and a battalion of the 24th, successively advanced to the aid of the original battalion of light companies. A vigorous charge was now made on the enemy at the point of the bayonet, who, though reinforced by repeated additions, was at length driven from the position he had gained, bayonets having been repeatedly crossed during the contest in the streets. Night closed the scene of the angry and deadly strife; and the enemy withdrew across the Dos Casas.

Foiled in his effort to pierce the British centre, Massena employed the whole of the following day in reconnoitring his opponent's position, to ascertain the point in which he was most assailable. Having taken his determination, he collected the whole of his force close to the British position. From the course of the *reconnaissance*, Wellington being of opinion that an endeavour would be made to turn his right by crossing the river at Poço Velho, Houghton's division was moved to that point. The anticipations of the British general were realised. At daybreak of the 5th, three divisions of the enemy, and nearly all his cavalry, advanced against the village of Poço Velho, from which Houghton, overpowered by numbers, was compelled to retreat. The allied horse (about 1,200 in number) and the light division were ordered up to his support. The enemy viewing this movement as a general retreat, pressed forward with all the confidence of victory. The French cavalry instantly swept round the seventh and light divisions, but they were received with so destructive a fire during the movement by squares of these divisions, that they were glad to draw off.

At one period they had surrounded Ramsay's battery of horse-artillery. All gave them over as cut off; when a shout was heard, and, in a moment, the gallant band was seen bursting through the throng of cuirassiers by whom they had been surrounded, the mounted gunners protecting the rear, and checking the head of the pursuing troops.

As the British right was now turned, Wellington determined to take up a more concentrated position towards his left, by forming a new front or alignment at right angles with his former position, by drawing back the centre and right wing of the army on the left, which remained as a pivot at Fuentes d'Onoro. This difficult and hazardous movement was made by the first, seventh, and light divisions moving in squares over a plateau of four miles in extent, pressed on both flanks by the enemy's numerous cavalry, and in the rear by his infantry and artillery. The British army was now posted in dense masses on a ridge not two miles in extent, and covered on either flank by a steep ravine. Here Wellington awaited the attack of the enemy; but Massena declined the challenge, and confined himself to a cannonade along its front.

But the storm of battle, throughout the whole day, had been at the village of Fuentes d'Onoro. There the three victorious regiments which had retained its possession for two days, being attacked by Drouet's whole division, under cover of a tremendous cannonade, were, after a gallant resistance, compelled to withdraw to the upper part of the village. Wellington being now enabled, by the concentration of his forces, to reinforce his left, dispatched the 74th, 83rd, and 88th, under General Mackinnon, to the relief of the gallant defenders of the village. At the moment of the arrival of this force at its destination, the French had just passed out of the upper end of the village, and were about attempting a formation to assail the troops on the plateau or tableland between the Turones and the Dos Casas, when Mackinnon, advancing to the charge, drove them back into the village at the point of the bayonet, where the contest recommenced—bayonets being again crossed—and was kept up with great vigor and obstinacy till nightfall, when the enemy crossed the Dos Casas, and retired about a cannon-shot from its bank, "leaving the English in possession of the upper part of the village, and the lower part in the silent occupa-

tion of the dead." The loss of the British was 1,776, of whom 235 were killed, 1,234 wounded, and 317 missing. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was estimated at 5,000.

Massena having remained three days in front of the British position, retired on the 10th of May across the Agueda in full retreat for Ciudad Rodrigo, having previously transmitted orders to Brennier, the governor of Almeida, to blow up the fortifications and withdraw the garrison. This order Brennier put into execution on the night of the 11th, and marched, unobserved by the blockaders, until he had nearly reached the bridge of San Felices, over the Agueda. Being attacked there, he lost one-fourth of his force, together with his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. On the 12th he joined Massena near Ciudad Rodrigo; and on the same day Wellington took possession of Almeida. Massena withdrew to Salamanca and the banks of the Tormes, where he was soon after superseded by Marmont.

The Spanish generals—Blake, Castanos, and Ballasteros—having at length acceded to the plans which Wellington had enjoined on Beresford as indispensable for the prosecution of the siege of Badajos, and the bridge over the Guadiana being restored, which the sudden inundation of that river had destroyed, the investment of that city took place on the 8th of May, and on the 11th a breaching battery was constructed against Fort Christoval, but the siege *matériel* being perfectly inadequate, the small guns employed were soon silenced. During the ineffective operations, two sorties had been made from Fort Christoval, which were attended with considerable loss to the enemy.

On the 12th, intelligence being received that Soult, who had formed a junction with

Latour Maubourg, was in full march from Seville to relieve the place, the progress of the works was arrested, and the siege *matériel* conveyed across the river to Elvas. On the breaking up of the siege, the whole of the besieging force, except the fourth division, which remained to maintain the blockade, marched, under the command of Beresford, for Albuera, the battle-field which Wellington had enjoined to be selected should Soult attempt the relief of the place. It had been arranged by Wellington that a Spanish army should be collected in Estremadura for the purpose of co-operating with Beresford in pressing the siege of Badajos, and freeing the country of the French. Don Carlos d'España had 5,000 men ready, Castanos 3,000, and on the morning of the battle, Blake arrived from Cadiz with 9,000. On the morning of the 15th, the Anglo-Portuguese reached the field of Albuera; but no part of the Spanish contingent reached the ground till midnight; and Blake's corps did not arrive until three o'clock on the day of the battle. Beresford, to whom the command-in-chief had been conceded at a conference at Valverde, on the 13th marshalled his troops in two lines parallel to the rivulet of Albuera, upon the ridge of ground which gradually ascends from it and covers the roads from Badajoz and Valverde. The Spanish force amounted to 16,000 men, of whom 2,000 were cavalry, the English and Portuguese force to about 12,000, of whom 2,000 were cavalry. Thirty-two guns constituted the whole artillery of the allied army. The Spanish troops were posted on the right of the line.

About three o'clock in the evening of the 15th, Soult, with 19,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, and fifty guns, took his station on the wooded ground on the opposite side of the Albuera.

#### BATTLE OF ALBUERA—SECOND INVESTMENT OF BADAJOS.

SOULT having carefully reconnoitred the allied position, determined to begin his attack on their right wing, which was composed wholly of Spanish troops (whom the troops he commanded had repeatedly put to the most fearful rout), in the expectation that, by the dispersal of its occupants, he would roll up the right wing of the allies on its centre, and drive them into the narrow ravine of the Arroya, and thus cut off their

retreat by the Valverde road, or at least render it disastrous in the face of his numerous cavalry. In pursuance of this plan, he determined to conceal his powerful point of attack, and make a feint so as to prevent the enemy from divining his design, and making the necessary dispositions to meet it. To ensure success by rapidity of attack, he had, in the course of the night of the 15th, concentrated, under the screen of the wooded

heights between the rivulets of Albuera and the Feria Beresford had neglected to occupy, Girard's corps and Latour Maubourg's cuirassiers (in all, 15,000 men), and forty guns under Ruty, within ten minutes' arch of the Spanish position.

Confident of success, he prepared to put his plan into execution. Early on the morning of the 16th, a heavy column, consisting of Werle's division and Godinot's brigade, preceded by a battery of ten guns, and flanked by light cavalry, were seen bearing down on the bridge communicating with the village of Albuera, while dense masses of infantry and hosts of cavalry, consisting of Girard's corps and Maubourg's cuirassiers, preceded by Ruty's guns, were preparing to ascend that part of the allied position occupied by the Spanish troops. The allied guns in the centre of their position, immediately opened on the advancing host. The French artillery thundered back with no less effect. Beresford, observing that Werle's division and the light cavalry did not follow closely on Godinot's brigade, but countermarched, soon gaining the rear of the masses advancing against the Spanish position, felt satisfied that the right of the allied line, and not the village, was the real point of attack, and ordered Cole's fusilier brigade, which had just come up from Badajos, and taken its battle station in the centre of the second line, to form obliquely to the rear of the allied right wing, at the same time dispatching his aid-de-camp, Major Hardinge, to Blake, to request him, as a serious onset might immediately be expected on the right, to throw back his line and face outwards in a perpendicular direction to his original position, so that the allied right wing might correspond to the new front assumed by the centre, and thus be enabled to meet the flank movement of the enemy's principal attack. Blake declining to comply with the order, on the ground that the principal attack was on the village, as also of the danger of his attempting to move his troops in the face of the enemy, Beresford assumed the command, and attempted to wheel the sluggish force into the new front; but before he could effect the movement, the enemy was upon him in appalling strength. The Spanish troops, panic-struck, rushed towards the centre of the allied line in wild and tumultuous confusion, breaking through, and, in their terror, firing on the very troops who were advancing to their assistance. The enemy having now obtained the Spanish

possession, placed his batteries so as to command with a raking fire the whole position of the allies. Soult now deemed victory so certain, that he detached his heavy cavalry beyond the right of the allies, to take advantage of the first signal of retreat, and intercept their flight.

To make an effort to retrieve the fortune of the day, Beresford ordered Major-general Stewart to advance from the centre with the 1st or leading brigade of his division, under Colborne, and check the assailants. This brigade advanced up the hill in columns of companies; but while in the act of deploying into line at the top, it was suddenly assailed in its rear by a regiment of Polish lancers and two regiments of hussars, who had galloped round their flank unobserved during the mist and heavy fall of rain which had obscured the horizon at this time. The 31st, which had not deployed, resisted the shock; but the Buffs, 66th, and the 2nd battalion of the 48th, having deployed, were almost all slain on the spot; or, having been driven into the enemy's line, were made prisoners. Seven hundred men and three standards, fell by this catastrophe into the hands of the enemy. Stewart having escaped the carnage, advanced under cover of Dickson's artillery with his 3rd brigade, under Houghton, to the relief of the 31st, which was now deployed into line, and with the greatest heroism maintaining the contest with the enemy's masses on the deserted Spanish position.

The 29th (the leading regiment of Houghton's brigade) no sooner reached the summit of the disputed heights, than, forming in line with the 31st, it halted and opened fire. The 48th and 57th rapidly taking up their position in the line, the struggle was maintained on both sides with the most desperate and unflinching courage, under a perfect hurricane of grape and canister from the enemy's artillery and numerous musketry. Of the shattered and attenuated line, two-thirds of the 31st and 48th had been struck down; of the 29th, only ninety-six privates, two captains, and a few subalterns were left; and of the 57th, which went into action with 570 privates and twenty-four officers, only one officer and 170 men remained standing to continue the deadly contest.

Still, however, the fight was desperately maintained, often within pistol-shot; but a deep gully, which ran along the front of the British line, prevented a charge of bayonets.

The battle-field now assumed its worst aspect of havoc and destruction; but Cole's fusileer brigade, which hitherto had not been engaged, as it constituted the reserve, was brought into action; but to provide for contingencies, General Hamilton was ordered to assemble the Portuguese and the artillery in a position to cover a retrograde movement by the Valverde road, should the fate of the day require such a movement.

Cole, with his fusileer brigade, consisting of the 7th and 23rd, under Colonel Sir William Myers, pressed forward on the right of the remnant of the heroic band, who were still continuing the unequal fight; while Abercrombie, with the 2nd, or reserve brigade of Stewart's division, advanced on their left. The gallant fusileers, on crowning the heights, were received with a fire so terrific, that at first they recoiled, but instantly recovering their ground, they advanced, together with Abercrombie's reserve, to the aid of the remnant of Colborne and Houghton's brigades, which, in their shattered state, still remained unbroken, with the standards of the respective battalions all flying near to each other, in the centre of the attenuated line, defending with desperate valour every inch of ground, and baffling every attempt of their powerful opponents to dislodge them. No sooner had the smoke cleared away from the fearful discharge of grape and canister from all the enemy's artillery on the approach of the brigade, than heavy masses of the enemy were seen pressing forward as to an assured victory. Withering volleys were instantly exchanged between the contending hosts; but the front as well as the flank and rear of the deep columns of the enemy, being exposed to the rapid and closely-delivered fire of the English infantry, the masses of the foe were driven headlong, and in so utter confusion down the steep,

\* There is not on record a bloodier struggle. In four hours' fighting, 15,000 men were *hors de combat*. The allied loss was frightful; it amounted to nearly 7,000 in killed, wounded, and missing. Almost all its general officers were included in the melancholy list: Houghton, Myers, and Duckworth in the killed; and Cole, Stewart, Ellis, Blakeney, and Hawshaw among the wounded. Never was more heroism displayed than by the British regiments engaged in the murderous conflict of Albuera. The soldiers dropped by whole ranks, but never thought of turning. When a too ardent wish to succour those pressed upon the hill, induced Stewart to hurry Colborne's brigade into action, without allowing it a momentary pause to halt and form,—and in the mist, that unlookingly favoured the lancer charge, the companies were unexpectedly assailed, — though

that Girard's corps threw away their arms to expedite their flight; and the reserve, under Werle, in its endeavours to sustain the fight, was overwhelmed in the confusion. The retreat was effected under protection of Ruty's guns, and the battle ceased a little before three o'clock.

While the deadly struggle was in progress on the right of the position, the contest between Godinot and the Hanoverians, under Alten, at the bridge and village of Albuera, had been maintained with spirit and vigour; but all attempts to obtain their possession had been successfully repelled.

In this fierce and bloody battle, the loss on each side had been great, and, in proportion to the numbers of the combatants, much more so than that of any battle recorded in the pages of history. The total loss of the allies was about 7,000 in killed and wounded; of whom 4,300 were English, 2,000 Spaniards, and 600 Portuguese and Hanoverians. That of the enemy was between eight and nine thousand in killed and wounded, 800 of the latter of whom (who amounted to 6,500) were left to the mercy of the conquerors. The loss of the 1st and 3rd brigades of the second division, and that of the fusileer brigade, had been great. Each of the two brigades had consisted of 1,400 men, and each sustained a loss of above 1,000 men. The fusileer brigade, at the commencement of the action, consisted of 1,500 rank and file; its loss was 953 rank and file, forty-seven sergeants, and forty-five officers. Of the prisoners (570) taken by the savage Polish lancers, nearly 300 rejoined their colours in the course of the night, having effected their escape from the French bivouac, in the midst of the disorder and disorganisation of the fugitive battalions.\*

On the termination of the battle, Beresford† maintained his ground, and, as a proof fighting at dreadful disadvantage, the men resisted to the last. Numbers perished by the lance-blade; but still the dead Poles, that were found intermingled with the fallen English, showed that the gallant islanders had not died without exacting blood for blood.—*Maxwell*.

† Beresford's capability, as exhibited in the conduct of this sanguinary battle, has been frequently assailed. Whatever his errors in judgment, his personal bravery in action cannot fail to command the highest respect and admiration. He was on one occasion furiously attacked by a Polish lancer. The marshal seized the lancer's spear, unhorsed him by sheer strength, and his orderly dragoon dispatched him by a *coup de sabre*. Speaking of this general, Maxwell says:—"No man could make greater exertions to retrieve the day when defeat appeared

that he was the conqueror, "in addition to the horrid piles of carcasses on his lines, which told, with dreadful eloquence, the same tale. He placed some hundreds of spears and flags, taken from the Polish lancers, along the crest of the position." On the day following the battle, the 3rd brigade of the fourth division, by a forced march from Badajos, effected a junction with Beresford; and on the night of the same day Soult retired towards Seville, leaving Badajos to its fate. Perhaps this movement was expedited by the information he had received that Wellington was at hand, and that a more fearful result would attend a second *rencontre*, which had terminated so unfavourably to him by the prowess of those who had handled him so roughly, even "when the legion lacked the charm of Cæsar's presence."

On the day following the retreat of Soult, Beresford ordered General Hamilton to reinvest Badajos with the three brigades of Portuguese under his command; and Wellington, on his reaching the scene of action, directed the third and seventh divisions to come up from Elvas to complete the reinvestment.

On the 23rd, the 3rd and 4th dragoon guards came up at Usagre with a brigade of Soult's heavy cavalry, which formed part of his rear-guard, slaying above one hundred, and taking eighty prisoners.

The partial investment of Badajos, began by Hamilton with the Portuguese on the 19th of May, was completed on the 25th by the third and fifth divisions, which had come up from Elvas for that purpose; and the investment was made on the right as all but certain. When Stewart's imprudence, in loosely bringing Colborne's brigade into action, had occasioned it a loss only short of annihilation,—and the Spaniards, though they could not be induced to advance, fired without ceasing, with an English regiment in their front, Beresford actually seized an engine and dragged him forward with the colours, hoping that these worthless troops would be inspired to follow. Not a man stirred—and the standard-bearer, when the marshal's grasp relaxed, instantly flew back to herd with his cold-blooded associates. In every change of the fight, and on every part of the field, Beresford was seen conspicuously; and whatever might have been his failing as a general, his bravery as a man should have commanded the respect of many who treat his arrangements with unsparing severity."

\* "No army was ever provided for so arduous an enterprise in the engineer and artillery departments; it was in utter destitution of everything which was requisite for the service. It had no corps of sappers and miners, and was without a single private who knew how to carry on an approach un-

well as the left banks of the Guadiana; siege being thus laid to Badajos and the fort of San Christoval simultaneously, instead of confining the operations to the fort, as had been done in the first investment.

As during the raising of the blockade of the first investment, Philippon, the governor of Badajos, had materially strengthened the defences of the place, and as the siege would require a longer time, and more efficient means, than Wellington possessed, and having ascertained by an intercepted despatch that Soult and Marmont were on the eve of effecting a junction for the relief of the place, and that in every requisite *matériel* for the undertaking he was sadly deficient,\* the British general determined to adopt a more compendious siege process than the rules of more regular approaches prescribe.

All being at length in readiness, Badajos and its fort were invested on the 27th, and ground was broken against the latter on the 29th. On the 3rd of June, the batteries opened on both the town and fort; and on the 6th, a breach being declared practicable in the latter, a midnight storming party, consisting of 180 men of the 85th, under Major Mackintosh (Ensign Dias, of the 31st, leading the forlorn hope), advanced to the attack; but they had no sooner reached part of the breach than they were assailed by a shower of shells, while bags and barrels of powder were hurled down upon them by the garrison, and by their explosion destroyed nearly the whole of the storming party. The remaining few, after making vain attempts to enter by escalade, were obliged reluctantly to retire.

It had no guns fit for the service; those it did possess were Portuguese, 150 years' old, consisting of soft brass or bronze, false in bore, worn out by previous service, and the shot of all shapes and sizes. Both the howitzers and mortars were nearly useless, as neither the shot nor shell fitted their bores, and thus a windage rendered the fire vague and uncertain. The siege tools were also so worthless, that the engineers seized with avidity the French tools wherever they could lay hands on them. Thus crippled in every requisite, no other resource was left the British general than to overcome the difficulties with which he had to contend by daring and energy; and the consequence was, that a great sacrifice of life was necessary to be made to compensate for the negligence and inefficiency, not only of the Portuguese regency, but also of his own government and its officials. He had but a single fortnight to endeavour to obtain possession of the place, being well aware that in that time Soult and Marmont would arrive for its relief."—*Campaigns and Battle-fields of Wellington and his Comrades.*

During the three following days the breach having, by a heavy cannonade, been much widened and reduced in height, on the night of the 9th a storming party (Dias again leading the forlorn hope) advanced to the breach, which they no sooner reached than the garrison rolled down the bombs, bags, and barrels of powder, and every form of missile and combustible upon them, as had been done on the first assault. The intrepid stormers made every effort to mount the breach, but in vain; for as the missiles exploded, all within their reach were destroyed. Their gallant efforts being at length evidently unavailing, the order given to retire was reluctantly complied with. The loss on both occasions exceeded 400 men.

On the morning of the 10th, an intercepted letter from Soult to Marmont revealed the simultaneous march of these generals; on the night of that day the siege stores and heavy cannon were removed to Elvas, and Wellington took up a position in front of Albuera, in hopes of bringing Soult to action before he could effect a junction with Marmont, but still sustaining the blockade of Badajos. On the 17th, the two French marshals being about to effect their junction, the blockading force fell back on the main body of the army, which retired across the Guadiana, and took up a position near Campo Mayor, along the frontiers of Portugal. On the 19th the two French marshals entered Badajos, and having revictualled that place and Ciudad Rodrigo, advanced to reconnoitre the British position. A great and decisive struggle seemed to be at hand. The French army amounted to 60,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry, with ninety guns; while that of the allied army amounted to only 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry, with sixty-four guns; 28,000 of which force were British; but the halo of the prestige of the battles of Busaco and Talavera, of Albuera and Fuentes d'Onoro, surrounding the British bayonets, induced the French marshals, after the display of various feints and demonstrations, to withdraw about the middle of July from the contest, and retire to their former positions at Seville and Salamanca. On the retreat of the French marshals, Napoleon directed Dorsenne, with the army of the north, to undertake the protection of Ciudad Rodrigo; and Marmont was instructed to construct a double fortified *tête-du-pont* at Almaraz for the protection of the passage of the Tagus at that point.

On the retreat of Soult and Marmont, Wellington advanced to the frontiers of Beira, and on the 8th of August, took post on the Coa, opposite Ciudad Rodrigo, which, on account of the defective state of its supplies, he hoped might be wrested from the enemy's grasp by a sudden attack. For this purpose, he caused the battering train to be secretly removed from Lisbon to Lamego, and the preparations for the attack went on with great activity; but learning that Marmont and Dorsenne had effected a junction at Tameson on the 21st of September, and were advancing with 60,000 men (of whom 6,000 were cavalry, with 100 guns) and a large convoy for the relief of the place, he suspended his operations, preserving his old line of the Agueda, his head-quarters being established at Fuente Guinaldo.

On the 23rd Marmont appeared near Ciudad Rodrigo, and having thrown his convoy into the place, advanced on the 25th against the heights of El Bodon, the centre of the British position, and on which were posted the 5th and 77th regiments, the 21st Portuguese, and three squadrons of Hanoverian dragoons, under the command of Major-general Colville. Here they were assailed by fourteen battalions of infantry and thirty-five squadrons of cuirassiers. Having repelled the assault for three hours, during which they had several times driven back the enemy, they formed themselves into two solid squares, descended the heights, and began their retreat over the plain, surrounded by the French cavalry. In vain the enemy endeavoured to impede the march, or break the order of the little phalanx of heroes: the enemy was repelled by rolling volleys, which were no sooner delivered than the gallant band, availing itself of the bloody repulses sustained by the enemy, steadily resumed its march. The retreating squares at length being joined by the right brigade of their division (the third), effected a retreat for six miles across the plain, and reached Fuente Guinaldo, around which the whole army had been ordered to concentrate; but, at nightfall, only 15,000 men were in position there.

On the morning of the 26th, Marmont had collected his whole army in front of the British position. There Wellington calmly stood, ready for battle, with his two weak divisions, consisting of 15,000 men, waiting the arrival of his right and left wings. Critical as his situation was, retreat he would

not, as in that case the light division, which had been posted for the purpose of watching the passes over the Sierra de Gata, on the enemy's side of the Agueda, had made a circuitous march, fearful of being intercepted in its passage of the river. In the course of the evening, the two wings having joined the main body, the army retreated, in the course of the night of the 26th, on Alfayates, and on the evening of the 28th was concentrated on the heights above Soito, about twelve miles in rear of Guinaldo, a strong and narrow position, with the Coa in its rear. Here Wellington determined to receive battle, but Marmont, calling to remembrance the results of Talavera, Busaco, Albuera, and Fuentes d'Onoro, and surveying the strong but desperate position his antagonist had assumed, declined the challenge, retiring towards Ciudad Rodrigo, and shortly after to his old position on the banks of the Tagus. The allied army was now put into cantonments on both banks of the Coa, and the blockade of Ciudad Rodrigo resumed. Thus terminated Wellington's second Spanish campaign, which, notwithstanding the disastrous encounters of the patriots with the enemy, and that in all parts of the Peninsula they were succumbing to the power of their oppressors, he had redeemed his pledge and promise to retain possession of Portugal, and make it a *point d'appui* for his operations in Spain. And so confident was he in the resources of his military genius and sagacity, that in replying to the apprehensions of the timid and imbecile cabinet of the day, that he would not be able to contend against the enemy, his remonstrance to Lord Liverpool, the secretary of state for the war department, was, while following Massena's track of retreat and devastation in the midst of burning towns and villages—"I shall be sorry if government should think themselves under the necessity of withdrawing from this country. From what I have seen of the objects of the French government, and the sacrifices they make to accomplish them, I have no doubt that, if the British army were for any reason to withdraw from the Peninsula, and the French government were relieved from the pressure of military operations on the continent, they would incur all risks to land an army in England or Ireland. Then, indeed, would commence an expensive contest; then would our countrymen discover what are the miseries of war, of which, by the blessing of God, they have hitherto had

no knowledge; and the cultivation, the beauty, and prosperity of the country, and the virtue and happiness of its inhabitants would be destroyed, whatever might be the result of the military operations." In the same despatch, the truly patriotic hero adds—"God forbid that I should be a witness, much less an actor, in the scene." When, as an eloquent biographer of the duke observes, it is considered that while he was making these high resolves, and combating the fears and imbecility of his employers, the effective strength of the British army did not amount to 34,000 men, while that of the French, employed in their efforts to establish and maintain themselves in Portugal, was, at the lowest calculation, 100,000 of their choicest troops, the reader will be assisted in forming a correct estimate of the genius, the judgment, and efficiency with which that army was conducted; and that tasteful writer might well have added, the exalted patriotism and lofty devotion of the man who had given birth to sentiments so noble and high-souled.

During these events, the following brilliant partisan exploit took place:—While Wellington was opposed at Fuente Guinaldo by Marmont, Hill, who was in observation of Drouet in Spanish Estremadura, was ordered to drive Girard, who had been detached by the French marshal with a flying column of infantry and cavalry into that province to narrow Wellington's line of action, from his position into the northern part of that province. Hill, receiving intelligence that the French general, with 3,000 infantry and cavalry, lay at Arroyo de Molinos, in the neighbourhood of Caçeres, where by a sudden cross march, it was possible that he might be surprised, marched thither with 6,000 men, and on the night of the 27th reached Girard's position. At two o'clock of the following morning, the British troops, with drums suddenly beating and loud cheers, proceeded to the attack. So unexpected was the onset, that the enemy, who were beginning to muster to resume their march, fled precipitately out of the town, forming themselves into squares as soon as they were on the outside; but being quickly thrown into disorder, they flung away their arms, and ran with the utmost speed to the rugged and inaccessible parts of the Sierra de Montanches. Fourteen hundred prisoners, all their artillery, baggage, ammunition, and the contributions which they had just levied, were the reward of the victors

Only 600 men, with Girard himself, escaped by devious mountain-paths. This brilliant affair was attended with the loss of only seventy men on the part of the English; but several hundreds of the enemy were slain in and near the town and on the mountains.

The repulse of the French from Tarifa, a town situate in the most southerly part of Spain, opposite to the African coast, was a no less distinguished partisan event than Hill's exploit at Arroyo de Molinos. The occurrence was as follows:—

Ballasteros, after the battle of Albuera, had, in the south of Spain, assembled a force of 8,000 men in the mountain district of Ronda; and to his assistance 2,000 men, of whom 500 were English, were dispatched under the command of Colonel Skerret, from Gibraltar and Cadiz. Ballasteros, having been compelled to take refuge under the walls of Gibraltar, the expedition, to secure themselves, took possession of Tarifa. Soult, fearful lest his operations against Cadiz should be impeded by that force, dispatched Godinot, with 8,000 men, from Seville; but as the road which Godinot and his men had to traverse ran along the sea-

shore, and as they were severely raked by the broadsides of the English ships of war which hung on their flank, the French general abandoned the enterprise in despair, and returned to Seville. But the French marshal was not to be diverted from his purpose by the failure of his lieutenant. He sent a larger force, under General Laval. On the 20th of December, Laval broke ground before the place; and on the 31st, a practicable breach having been made in the walls, on the following morning the French advanced to the assault. The breach and ramparts were defended by the 47th, 87th, and a detachment of the 95th rifles. The enemy resolutely advanced to the assault, but were received by their opponents with so stern resolution, that, after a fierce contest, they withdrew from the enterprise. Discouraged by the bloody repulse, the enemy, on the 4th of January of the following year, raised the siege, having previously destroyed the powder and buried the heavy artillery. The loss of the French was 500 men in killed and wounded, and about the same number by sickness, occasioned by the severity of the weather; while that of the allies was 150 men.

#### BRITISH MILITARY OPERATIONS AGAINST DENMARK—REDUCTION OF JAVA.

IN the month of March, the king of Sweden having issued a proclamation abdicating the Swedish crown, and the French marshal, Bernadotte, having been elected Crown Prince by the Swedish diet, which was *ipso facto* his appointment to the sovereign authority, that politic Frenchman relaxed in Sweden the severity of Napoleon Buona-parté's Continental System—a measure which induced Sir James Saumarez, who was in command of the English fleet in the Baltic, to enter into a negotiation with the Swedish government concerning the detained English ships with colonial produce; and to which negotiation Bernadotte had implied his willingness to accede, by the indirect overtures of friendly relationship which he had made to the court of London on his election as Crown Prince. The consequence of this arrangement was, that the Swedish coasting vessels were permitted to pass unmolested, and renew their trade in the Baltic.

On the contrary, the king of Denmark,

in subserviency to the will of the French emperor, enforced the Continental System more rigidly than he had hitherto done; and to further the designs of his ally in his projected designs against England, he sent a large proportion of the Danish seamen into the service of France; while he employed the remainder of them in manning privateers and gun-boats in enforcing the Continental System, and the capture of British merchant vessels. In March he sent a Danish flotilla, with about 3,000 troops, to recover the Island of Anholt, of which the English had taken possession in May of 1809, as a depôt and point of communication with the continent; but the garrison, consisting of but 350 men, repelled the attempt with considerable loss to the assailants.

The government of Calcutta having determined on the capture of the only colonial settlement in the East Indies remaining to the Batavian republic, an expedition sailed, in April, from the Madras Roads, consisting

of four sail-of-the-line, fourteen frigates and other vessels of war, with fifty-seven transports (in all, 100 sail), and carrying nearly 12,000 troops of whom one-half were Europeans. The military and naval commanders-in-chief were Lieutenant-general Sir Samuel Auchmuty and Commodore Broughton, the latter of whom was superseded by Rear-admiral Stopford on the expedition reaching its destination.

The squadron came to anchor on the 4th of August in the bay of Batavia, and on the same day a landing was effected at about ten miles from the city of Batavia, which was immediately abandoned by the French and Dutch troops, who took refuge in the intrenched camp at Meester-Cornelis, about nine miles from the city. Preparations were now made to attack the enemy in his stronghold.

On the 10th, the important post of Wel-

tervreedden, about a league from the intrenched camp at Cornelis, was carried by Colonel Gillespie; and on the 23rd, General Jansens, the governor of the settlement, with the garrison, consisting of 10,000 men, were driven from their strongly fortified camp on the heights of Cornelis. Five thousand prisoners were taken, and above 1,000 were slain. The loss of the British was 156 killed and 788 wounded. Jansens made his escape during the contest to Buitenzorg, distant about thirty miles. Here, on the 16th of September, he agreed to surrender the island of Java and all its dependencies to the British arms. The property captured in Java netted considerably over one million sterling to the captors. The island of Madura, contiguous to the eastern end of Java, capitulated subsequently to the surrender of the principal settlement.

#### NAVAL OPERATIONS.

THIS year was distinguished for several brilliant frigate-fights and in-shore operations. The most memorable were as follows:— On the 15th of March, Captain Hoste, in the *Amphion*, of 32 guns, having under his command the two frigates *Cerberus* and *Active* (38 and 32 guns), and the 22-gun ship *Volage*, while off the island of Lissa, on the Dalmatian coast, fell in with the combined French and Italian squadron, under the command of Commodore Dubourdieu, consisting of six French and Venetian frigates (two of which were of 44 guns, three of 40, and one of 32), a 16-gun corvette, a 10-gun schooner, a 6-gun zebec, and two gun-boats, with 500 troops on board, for the defence of Lissa and the islands in the Adriatic. The little British squadron, undismayed by the superiority of the enemy, immediately formed in line ahead. Just before the two squadrons were within gunshot, Hoste, aware of the talismanic effect, telegraphed, "Remember Nelson." The responsive hurrahs of the crews of the four frigates were predictive of the result of the impending action. The Franco-Venetian squadron bore down in two lines for the purpose of breaking that of the British, but was defeated in its effort by the compact order and well-directed fire of the British ships. The action was then commenced with great fury, and continued for six hours,

when the French commander's ship blew up, and three of the frigates struck their colours. Two of the frigates crowded sail for the port of Lesina, and the small craft dispersed in various directions. The enemy's force mounted 314 guns, and was manned with 2,976 men; while the British mounted only 124 guns, and was manned with 982 men. The British loss was fifty killed and 150 wounded; that of the enemy was not ascertained, but must have thrice exceeded that of the British.

A no less brilliant and desperate action was, on the 20th of May, fought near Foul Point, Madagascar, between three frigates and a sloop, under the command of Captain Scomberg, and a squadron of three French frigates, under the command of M. Roquebert, having on board 200 troops and a supply of munitions of war for the Isle of France. The hostile squadrons, owing to light and baffling winds, did not get into action till four, P.M.; but after an animated contest of above four hours, the French commodore's ship, the *Renommée*, of 44 guns, was captured, and the *Nereide*, also a 44-gun frigate, struck, but escaped to the French port of Tamatave, on the eastern coast of Madagascar, which Roquebert had surprised and taken possession of on the 19th. The British loss had been twenty-four killed and eighty-six wounded. On the 24th, the

settlement of Tamatave, which had, as just stated, been retaken by Roquebert, surrendered with all the vessels in the port; and at the same time the captured British garrison, consisting of 100 of the 22nd regiment, was recovered.

While Captain Bouchier, of the *Hawke* sloop, was cruising off St. Marçou, on the coast of Normandy, for the purpose of intercepting the enemy's trade, he descried a convoy of French vessels steering for Barfleur. Giving chase, he found them protected by three national brigs, carrying from twelve to sixteen guns each, and two large luggers. Nowise discouraged, he met the attack. In a short time two of the brigs and the luggers, with fifteen of their convoys, were driven on shore; and of the remainder many had struck, when the *Hawke* unfortunately grounded; but being soon again at anchor, her boats were sent to bring away or destroy as many as possible of the enemy's vessels on shore. They succeeded in bringing off, under a heavy fire of musketry from the beach, one of the brigs and three large transports; the rest were on their broadsides, and completely bilged. This dashing exploit was performed with but small loss of the crew of the *Hawke*.

On the 20th of September of this year, Napoleon Buonaparte, during his visit to Boulogne, had a mortifying proof of the insufficiency of his boasted armament collected in that port to contend with the British navy. The British frigate *Naiad* was at the time anchored off that port. The French emperor ordered his flotilla to proceed to its capture. For this purpose seven praams, each carrying twelve long 24-pounders, stood out with the flood-tide towards the *Naiad*, which waited the attack at anchor, with springs on her cables. The praams, which had the option of choosing their distance, came up successively within gunshot, discharged their broadsides, and tacked, when, being joined by ten brigs, they continued this mode of action for two hours. The *Naiad*, having returned their fire, weighed and stood off to repair some slight damage she had received, but principally to get to windward, that she might be enabled to close with the enemy. She soon tacked, and made all sail towards her opponents; but, it falling calm, the flotilla anchored under the batteries of Boulogne, when the *Naiad* resumed her former anchorage.

On the following morning, seven praams

and fifteen smaller vessels weighed and stood out, apparently to renew the preceding day's cannonade. The *Naiad* weighed, and getting well to windward, joined the brigs *Rinaldo*, *Redpole*, and *Castilian*, with the *Viper* cutter, which had arrived in the night to her support. They all lay-to on the larboard tack, gradually drawing off shore, in order to entice the enemy further from the protection of his batteries. At the moment when the French admiral, having reached his utmost distance, tacked on shore, the English squadron bore up with the greatest rapidity in the midst of a shower of shot and shell, without returning fire till within pistol-shot, when their firing threw the enemy into inextricable confusion, and they captured one praam carrying 112 men. The remainder of the flotilla hastily regained the protection of their formidable land batteries.

On the 16th of May of this year occurred the untoward contest between the United States' frigate the *President*, and the English sloop of war the *Little Belt*, which eventually occasioned the war between England and the United States.

The *President*, which mounted thirty-six 24-pounders on her main-deck, twenty 42-pound carronades, and four long 24-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, manned with 470 seamen, and commanded by Commodore Rodgers, came in sight of the *Little Belt*, mounting sixteen 32-pound carronades and two long nines, manned with 121 men and boys, and commanded by Captain Bingham, off Cape Henry, on the 16th of May. Captain Bingham discovering the stranger to be a ship of war, made the private signal, which not being answered, and as the stranger was coming fast on the *Little Belt*, Bingham hoisted his colours, and, to prevent surprise, double-shotted his guns and prepared for action. By his manner of steering, it appeared to be the wish of the stranger, whom Captain Bingham now discovered to be an American, to rake the *Little Belt*, which Bingham forestalled by wearing three times. At a quarter-past eight, P.M., when the two ships were about ninety yards apart, Bingham hailed the stranger in the customary manner, the stranger at the same time hailing the *Little Belt*. Immediately each ship commenced firing, and a furious engagement ensued, which lasted about three-quarters-of-an-hour, when the *Little Belt*, having been reduced to a wreck, ceased firing. The

stranger then hailed to know what ship it was, and being answered that it was the British sloop of war *Little Belt*, he inquired "if she had struck her colours." To which inquiry an indignant negative was given by Captain Bingham, who, at the same time, demanded the name of his opponent, and was informed—"A United States' frigate." The stranger then wore, and running a short distance to leeward of the *Little Belt*, came to on the starboard tack to repair the slight damage which she had received. The *Little Belt* brought to on the larboard tack, and commenced repairing her damages and stopping her leaks. At daylight on the 17th the enemy bore up, to all appearance ready to renew the action, and passing within hail, asked permission to send a boat on board the *Little Belt*, which permission being granted, an officer came to say, that Commodore Rodgers, of the United States' frigate *President*, lamented much the un-

fortunate affair, and had he known that the force of the British vessel was so inferior, he would not have fired at her. On Captain Bingham's asking his motive for firing, the reply was that the *Little Belt* had fired first; an assertion positively denied by the British captain. The United States' frigate then sailed for an American port, and the *Little Belt* for Halifax. That the *rencontre* was not a misapprehension on the part of the American commodore, but a designed aggression, appears from the circumstance, that on the *President's* appearing in sight of the *Little Belt*, the surgeon began preparing his plasters and splinters, and rubbing up his instruments for amputation. The bulk of the petty officers and seamen of the *President's* crew were of the first order of British seamen; which was also the case in all the frigate engagements which took place between Great Britain and the United States in the ensuing war.

#### CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1811

NAPOLEON had no sooner received information of the aspect of the war in Portugal, than orders were transmitted to Soult to march to the assistance of Massena. His orders were to confide the blockade of Cadiz to Victor, and advance, with all his disposable force, to lay siege to Olivenza and Badajos, to prevent those fortresses being made by Wellington the base of his operations in his advance into Spain.

The French marshal, in prosecution of his orders, advanced, with 20,000 men, from Seville on the 2nd of January. Coming up, at Usagre, with the rear-guard of the army of the late Marquis Romana (then under the command of Mendizabel), he drove it, with considerable loss, across the Guadiana. No sooner had his breaching batteries began to play on Olivenza, than that fortress, with a garrison of 4,500 men, capitulated. Then collecting his troops, he took up ground before Badajos, defended by a garrison of 9,000 men, supported by Mendizabel's army, which occupied a strong position under the cannon of that fortress. Attacking that incompetent commander, after a contest of few minutes' duration, the Spanish army was almost annihilated; 5,200 being taken prisoners, and about 1,000 slain. The siege of Badajos was immediately prosecuted with vigour; and on the 10th of

March, its treacherous governor, Imaz, after eighteen days of blockade, surrendered the place, though garrisoned by 8,000 men, to a force which did not exceed 9,600 infantry and 2,000 cavalry; and this notwithstanding that on the night preceding the capitulation, Imaz received a letter from Lord Wellington, apprising him that Beresford was at hand with 12,000 men for its relief. In communicating the disgraceful affair to the regency of Portugal, the British commander-in-chief remarked: "Besides the capture of Olivenza and Badajos, Marshal Soult, whose army never during the time exceeded 20,000 men, has made prisoners and destroyed above 22,000 Spanish troops." The surrender of Campo Mayor, Albuquerque, and Valencia d'Alcantara, following the fall of Badajos, Soult put his troops in motion to cross the Guadiana and the southern frontier of Portugal, to co-operate with Massena, and aid him in opposing the victorious progress of Wellington; but intelligence reaching him of the battle of Barrosa, he transferred his command in Estremadura to Mortier, and hastened to Seville to take the command of the French force before Cadiz and in Andalusia, lest the French should be compelled to raise the siege of Cadiz.

The contest between the patriots and

their oppressors on the eastern coast of Spain was now renewed with fresh fierceness. The reduction of the important fortress of Tortosa, which capitulated on January 2nd of this year, has been recorded among the events of the preceding year. Suchet, fully sensible of the value of his conquest, lost no time in repairing the fortifications, and putting the forts at the mouth of the Ebro in a state of defence. On January 8th he sent a division against Fort Balaguer, situated on the coast, at some distance to the north of that river. On its arrival before the fort, hesitating to obey the summons to surrender, an assault was immediately made, and the place carried; part of the garrison escaping to Tarragona, and the rest being made prisoners.

The relief of Barcelona and the siege of Tarragona were the next operations of importance meditated by the French.

For the relief of Barcelona, which was closely pressed by the patriots, Macdonald, who had superseded Augereau, put his army in motion from Lerida. In his march, the Italians, who formed the head of his column, having been resolutely opposed by Sarsfield's force at the bridge of Mauresa, as soon as they entered the town, wantonly set fire to it: but this act of barbarity so excited the inhabitants of the neighbouring hills, that the French rear-guard, while defiling out of the town, were attacked with such irresistible fury, that they lost above 1,000 men.

The Spanish general (Campoverde) had, in the meantime, attempted to surprise Barcelona and its forts. For that purpose, he had entered into a conspiracy with the town mayor and the inhabitants of Montjuic (the citadel of that fortress), to aid him in the attempt; but no sooner had the column of grenadiers appointed for the purpose descended into the ditch, in expectation of having the gate opened to them, than they were overwhelmed with a destructive fire from the ramparts. This failure of the patriots was, however, soon compensated by the surprise and capture of the fortress of Figueras. A leader of the Miquelets, named Martinez, with the aid of some of the inhabitants, formed the design of surprising the place. For this purpose, on the night of the 9th of April, descending from the mountains, he dispatched his advanced guard, under Rovira, close to the ramparts. The citizens inside

the town opening the postern, Rovira and his men immediately rushed in, and Martinez rapidly following, the garrison, amounting to 1,700 men, were made prisoners. To recover the place, the French general, Baraguay d'Hilliers, collecting a force of 8,000 men from Gerona and the neighbouring forts, closely blockaded it. For its relief, the Marquis Campoverde, early in May, with 8,000 infantry, 1,200 horse, and a large convoy of ammunition and provisions, advanced to its relief. Sarsfield's column, after overthrowing all opposition, penetrated into the town with a considerable convoy; but Campoverde's force, being assailed in flank, was driven from the beleaguered fortress with the loss of one-fourth of his army.

Suchet, who had been engaged for months in preparations for the siege of Tarragona, and having, in obedience to Napoleon's instructions, been reinforced with two divisions of Macdonald's army, amounting to 17,000 men, marched from Saragossa about the end of April, and on the 4th of May, completely invested the place from the foot of the cliff or rocky eminence on which Fort Olivo was situated, to the sea. The place was defended by a garrison of 10,000 men, and derived assistance from the English squadron in the bay, consisting of three sail-of-the-line, under Commodore Codrington. On the 29th, the fort of Olivo, about 800 yards distant from the city, was attacked and carried by storm, and nearly 1,000 men were made prisoners. To recover the fort, a sortie of 3,000 men was made on the 31st; but the attempt failing, a council of war was held, in which it was decided that the governor, Campoverde, resigning his post to Don Juan de Contreras, should leave the place to raise the mountaineers of Catalonia, then mustering 10,000, in the neighbourhood of Valls, and endeavour to raise the siege. Meanwhile the siege was pressed with the utmost skill and exertion, and three breaches being declared practicable on the rampart of the lower town, preparations were made for the assault. At seven o'clock of the night of the 27th, 1,500 chosen men, disposed in three columns, swiftly marched on the breaches, and after a desperate resistance, the ramparts were won, and the bastions and walls of the lower town swarmed with the assailants. The shouts of the victors and the cries of the vanquished were heard on all sides. With terrific carnage, the fleeing

Spaniards, both soldiers and citizens, were unrelentingly pursued; and when the morning dawned, the enemy appeared masters of the harbour and lower town.

The upper town still, with mournful resolution, maintained the contest. A flag of truce sent by Suchet, on the day following the capture of the lower town, was sternly rejected. Undismayed, the besieged still held out, in hopes that Campoverde would advance to their relief. But though that general had 12,000 infantry and 2,000 horse under his command, he merely made a demonstration, and then withdrew, leaving the garrison to its fate. Disappointed by their own countrymen, the spirits of the gallant Tarragonans were revived by the arrival in the bay, on the 26th of June, of 2,000 English troops from Cadiz, under Colonel Skerret. But the English engineers reporting that the wall of the town was already shaking under the French fire, it was arranged that the English reinforcement should proceed to co-operate with Campoverde to endeavour to raise the siege.

At this time, nearly half of the upper town was in possession of the enemy. But the garrison, nowise discouraged by their desperate situation, or their abandonment by Campoverde and their English allies, determined to resist to the uttermost: the houses were loopholed, and barricades erected across the streets leading into the interior of the town. At length a breach being reported practicable, on the evening of the 28th, 1,500 picked troops rushing forward from the trenches towards the rampart, supported by 8,000 in reserve, the whole body, amidst a frightful storm of grape and musketry, reached the breach, and overthrowing the three battalions placed in it for its support, the town, after a stout resistance by a handful of desperate men at the barricades and loopholed houses, was in the possession of the enemy. To use Suchet's words, "a horrible massacre" now ensued: not only on the garrison, but also on the defenceless inhabitants, the storm of the victors' fury fell with unexampled vengeance. On the one side the French artillery kept up an unceasing fire on the thousands of the fleeing multitude; on the other the cavalry charged among them, sabring and trampling down all who came within their reach. On that dreadful night, above 6,000 human beings, almost all defenceless, and many of them women and children, were massacred. In the words of

an eye-witness and a participator in the horrid scene, "the streets and houses were inundated with Spanish blood." In the course of the siege above 20,000 Spaniards had perished; while the loss of the French was 5,000 in killed and wounded. "On the morning following this dismal tragedy, Suchet ordered the alcaides and corregidores of the surrounding country to be brought into the town and led through its streets, that they might see the slaughtered bodies of Spaniards which were lying there, and report to their countrymen what they might expect if they dared attempt resistance to the arms of the emperor."

After the reduction of Tarragona, Suchet marched into the interior of the province to disperse the irregular forces which Campoverde had collected; but the Spanish general retreating rapidly into the upper valleys and mountain ridges of the province, evaded his pursuers. Shortly after he was superseded by General Lacy, who, satisfied of the inability of the patriots to contend with the disciplined armies of France, reorganised the shattered remains of the armies of Eastern Spain by re-forming it into guerilla bands, with permission to select the chiefs under whom they preferred to serve; at the same time issuing a proclamation, in which he called on his countrymen to join the patriotic standard. "Every father of a family has wrongs," said the gallant chief, "to avenge; war and vengeance must now be our only business; and those who have not spirit to follow this resolution, let them abandon us and join the enemy, that we may know whom to treat as enemies and whom as friends."

Suchet, in obedience to his orders from Paris to reduce Monserrat, Murviedro, and Valencia, proceeded to the execution of the design.

Monserrat, which lies about seven leagues from Barcelona, and is a mountain fortress, situated on precipices of a prodigious height, was taken by storm on the 25th of June. The fortress of Murviedro, situated on a steep and rocky hill, about twelve miles from Valencia, was invested on the 27th of September, and an assault being made the following day, the assailants, thinking to be able to take the place by *coup-de-main*, advanced to the assault, but were repulsed with the loss of 400 men. The necessity of making approaches in form being now evident, regular siege process was resorted to. A practicable breach being at length made

in the walls, the enemy again, on the 18th of October, advanced to the assault, but were once more driven back with considerable loss. During these operations, Blake was advancing from Valencia to the relief of the place, with 22,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry, and on the 24th of October reached the heights which overlooked the besieging army. Suchet, on receiving intelligence of Blake's advance, leaving the gunners in the trenches, with orders to redouble their fire on the breach, in order to deceive the besieged as to the amount of force left before the town, took post, with 17,000 men, in the pass through which Blake must advance to reach Murviedro. On the following morning Blake approached the French position. A desperate contest ensued; but success variously inclining to both sides, the patriot army was routed, with the loss of 1,000 men killed and wounded and 2,500 prisoners. The garrison of Murviedro, discouraged by the disaster, capitulated on the night of the battle. Blake retreated to Valencia.

On the day following his victory over Blake, Suchet summoned Valencia to surrender; but as the town was strongly fortified, and within the circuit of Blake's intrenched camp, the Valencians did not deign to reply to the mandate. Suchet now seeing his hopes disappointed, made preparations for the siege.

On November 26th, an attack was made on the line of Blake's protecting army, and his cavalry being routed, the infantry took shelter in the intrenched camp. This was afterwards forced, the artillery and baggage were all taken, and the fugitives being cut off from the road to Murcia, were obliged to throw themselves into the city of Valencia, which was, on the 25th of December, invested on all sides. Its fall was an event of the succeeding year.

The blockade lasted four months, during which the garrison had been reduced to the

\* Miranda had made advances on this subject not only to England but to the government of the United States of North America, as also to Catherine, Empress of Russia. Not receiving encouragement from them he chartered the *Leander*, a British armed vessel of 18 guns, and with three or four hundred men of all countries, but chiefly American sympathizers (which latter portion of his armament were men ready to engage and fight in any quarrel), he sailed to St Domingo, where chartering two schooners, in the month of April he set sail with the design of invading the Caraccas, and hoisting in that province the flag of independence. The Spanish governor of the province having been apprised of his design, sent a 20-gun brig and a 16-gun schooner to

oppose him. The two flotillas met about the end of April near Puerto Cabello. Miranda was defeated, and his two schooners were captured, himself escaping with the *Leander* to Trinidad, where, collecting a number of desperadoes, he again proceeded to erect the standard of independence in the Caraccas. He effected a landing on the 2nd of August at Vela de Coro; but the people, instead of joining him, fleeing into the interior, he re-embarked his associates and returned to Trinidad. From that time till 1809, the cause of South American independence was in abeyance. The invasion of Spain by Buonaparte at that time, resuscitated the desire of the colonists to declare their independence.

greatest straits for want of food; and had been compelled to live on horse-flesh. In the course of one day three attempts were made to break through the strong lines of circumvallation; failing in these, the garrison capitulated to Macdonald on the 19th of August.

During this year, the city of Hamburg was formally annexed to the French empire. In the midst of his violence and aggression in the mother country, the Emperor of the French did not neglect to prosecute his designs against the Spanish transatlantic colonies. While at Bayonne, he dispatched the brig *Serpent* with secret instructions to the captain-general of the Caraccas and the governor of Mexico, to induce those officers to yield obedience to Joseph, as king of Spain; but the Spanish colonists, who had been apprised of the real character of the events at Bayonne, indignantly rejected the proposal, and proclaimed Ferdinand VII. as their king. But though the French emperor was foiled in his attempt to possess himself of the Spanish colonies, events soon followed which inclined the colonists to separate themselves from the mother country, and proclaim their independence.

Symptoms had for some time been shown of the declension of the power of the Spanish monarchy in South America. In consequence of the weakness and misrule of the court of Madrid, many insurrections had taken place: in some parts, the population, having driven away their Spanish governors, were already virtually independent. Proposals had been made by the colonists to the British government to assist them in throwing off the yoke of the mother country and towards the attainment of that object, Pitt, in 1797, sent instructions to Sir Thomas Picton, the governor of Trinidad, to tender assistance to the inhabitants of Venezuela: and a negotiation took place with General Miranda,\* the grandson of the governor-

oppose him. The two flotillas met about the end of April near Puerto Cabello. Miranda was defeated, and his two schooners were captured, himself escaping with the *Leander* to Trinidad, where, collecting a number of desperadoes, he again proceeded to erect the standard of independence in the Caraccas. He effected a landing on the 2nd of August at Vela de Coro; but the people, instead of joining him, fleeing into the interior, he re-embarked his associates and returned to Trinidad. From that time till 1809, the cause of South American independence was in abeyance. The invasion of Spain by Buonaparte at that time, resuscitated the desire of the colonists to declare their independence.

general of the Caraccas, in 1806, for the same purpose. In the course of this year Miranda made an effort to erect the standard of independence in his native province of the Caraccas; but being foiled in his design, South American colonial independence slumbered till 1809, when the invasion of Spain by the French called it into fresh action; and the flight of the junta of Seville to Cadiz, in 1810, brought matters to a crisis. The colonists now considered that, as the junta of that city was, for the most part, elected by the population of Cadiz—the very city which had been enriched by the monopoly of their commerce and the restraints of their industry—the government of Spain was virtually vested in the inhabitants of that city, and that therefore their connexion with the mother country was virtually dissolved by the dissolution of its legitimate authority. In consequence of that virtual separation, the provinces of Caraccas, Cumana, Berinos, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, on the 19th of April, 1810, declared themselves united in a federative government, under the designation of "The American Confederation of Venezuela." Mexico, Buenos Ayres, Guayaquil, and several other provinces, soon following the example of the Caraccas, elected juntas. The regency of Cadiz, and the merchants of that city, indignant at the proceedings of

the colonists, enacted decrees declaring the insurgent provinces in a state of blockade. Everything seemed now to presage a bloody war. The royalist party being still very strong in the colonies, Porto Rico, Mexico, Cuba, Spanish Guiana, Monte Video, and Peru adhered to the mother country, and sent large subsidies to the regency at Cadiz to carry on the contest with the usurper of the Spanish throne; while the maritime and commercial provinces of Venezuela, Quito, and Buenos Ayres, were enthusiastic in the cause of freedom. To assist the monarchical provinces, Brazil dispatched an army of observation (10,000 men) to the frontiers of Buenos Ayres; while the whole Gauchos of the Pampas promised the aid of their numerous cavalry to the patriots. The regency at Cadiz fitted out an expedition against the insurgent colonies.

Hostilities now commenced. The Spanish viceroys of Santa Fé de Bogota and Peru, uniting their forces advanced against Quito, and seizing the junta, put them to death. Mexico hoisting the standard of revolt, the insurgents were defeated in three bloody battles. The war continued during the whole of this year to be carried on between the contending parties with various success, and in its prosecution, as is generally the case with civil wars, unparalleled atrocities were practised by both sides.

#### WELLINGTON'S THIRD SPANISH CAMPAIGN—SIEGE OF CIUDAD RODRIGO.

At this period of the history of Europe, the power of Napoleon Buonaparte had become so colossal, his career of victory so irresistible, that "ages of military servitude were regarded by the strongest heads as the inevitable destiny of Europe; as despotism in its worst form—a universal monarchy\*—was about to be established, unless Providence in its mercy should raise up one of those extraordinary geniuses who seem created for the emergencies of tyranny and oppression. In the present crisis, that genius was the leader of the British armies in the Peninsula, who was destined to open the career of freedom to the world."

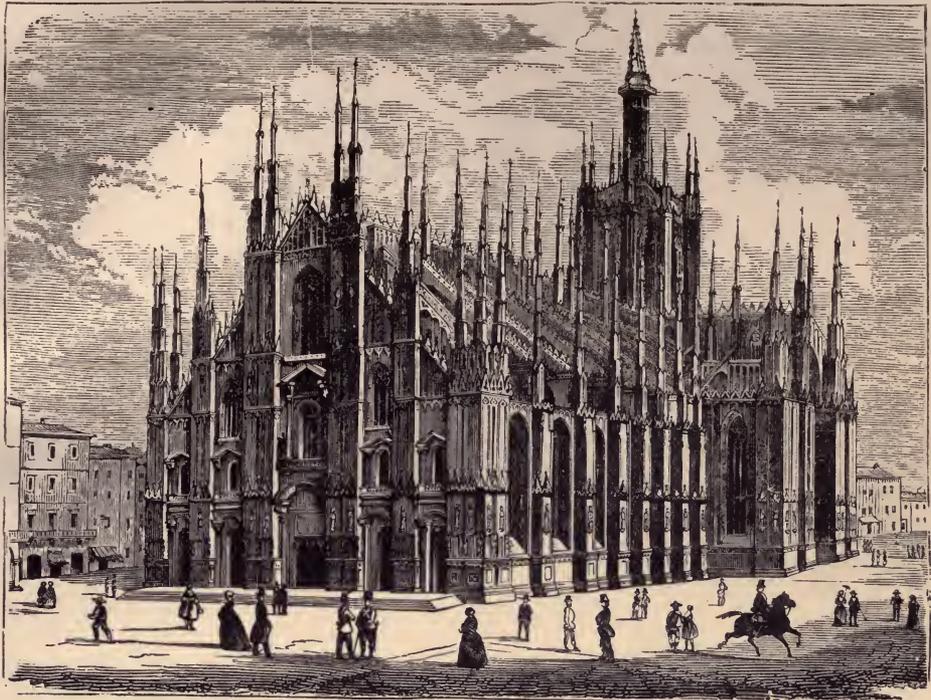
While the army was in cantonments on

the Coa, its chief was unweariedly engaged in making preparations for his projected design on Ciudad Rodrigo. He had collected a battering train and siege stores at Almeida, and had caused a portable trestle-bridge to be constructed in that place. The better to conceal his design, Hill was ordered to assume the offensive in Estremadura, so as to induce the French generals to believe that Badajoz was threatened.

All things being in readiness, the trestle-bridge was laid down at the ford of Salices on the 6th of January, 1812; but, on account of a heavy fall of snow, the troops did not move till the 8th. On that day the fortress was invested; and on the even-

\* This opinion was no doubt occasioned, not only by the French emperor's astonishing success, but also by his rhapsodical exclamation to Fouché, when that astute politician was endeavouring to dissuade him from undertaking the Russian war:—"My destiny is not yet accomplished: my present situation is but

the outline of a picture which I must fill up. I must make one nation out of all the European states, and Paris must be the capital of the world. There must be all over Europe but one code, one court of appeal, one currency, one system of weights and measures."



MILAN CATHEDRAL.



VIEW OF NAPLES.



ing of the same day, the redoubt on the Great Teson (a hill overlooking the town) was stormed by three companies of the light division. On the following day the first parallel was established; and on the 13th and 14th, the fortified convents of Santa Cruz and San Francisco were carried by escalade. The breaching batteries now opened, and, for the three following days, the fire was continued with great spirit on both sides. On the 19th, two breaches being declared practicable, and intelligence being received that Marmont, with 40,000 men, was hastening to its relief, an assault was ordered to be made at seven o'clock of the evening of that day. To the light and third divisions, under Craufurd and Picton (whose turn of duty was in the trenches that day) that perilous task was assigned; to the third division the greater breach, and the lesser one to the light division: while to Pack, with the Portuguese brigade, was assigned the duty of making a false attack by escalade on the outwork of St. Jago, to be converted into a real one if a favourable opportunity of penetrating should occur. The "forlorn hopes" and stormers were ordered not to fire a shot, but to use only the bayonet in their endeavours to gain the breaches, which were formidably defended, their tops being lined with bombs, shells, hand-grenades, and other combustibles, to roll down on the assailants; bags of powder being dispersed among their ruins, to explode when they attempted the ascent: two heavy guns, charged with grape, flanked the summit of the larger breach, and a mine was prepared under it, to explode if the other defences failed.

As the cathedral bell tolled seven o'clock, both divisions rushed forward from the trenches to the points of attack, preceded by their respective forlorn hopes and stormers, and the sappers with the bags, ladders, &c. The forlorn hope and storming party of the third division were led by Lieutenant Mackie and Major Manners; those of the light division by Lieutenant Gurwood and Colonel Colborne. The supporting columns of each division followed close.

As soon as the forlorn hope and stormers of the third division reached the brink of the ditch, the sappers throwing down the bags of hay so as to diminish the depth, the assailants immediately jumped down, amidst a crash of shells and combustibles; but undismayed they rushed forward to the

breach, under a concentric fire of musketry and artillery. At this moment the 2nd brigade of the third division, under Major-general M'Kinnon, appeared. The whole body resolutely pushed up the breach and gained the summit, though torn to pieces by the rapid and destructive enfilade or intersecting fire of musketry and artillery. The enemy being at length driven from the opening, retired behind an inner retrenchment, which cut off the breach from the rampart by a deep ditch. Here the assailants were maintaining a desperate struggle in their endeavour to surmount the obstacle opposed to them, when the stormers of the light division and Pack's brigade appeared on the right and left, rushing along the ramparts to their assistance. With loud cheers the retrenchment was assaulted on both flanks. The garrison, threatened in its rear and flanks, fled in confusion; and thus Ciudad Rodrigo, which had occupied Massena six weeks in its reduction was, won after a siege of twelve days.

The efforts of the light division, in the assault of the lesser breach, had been attended with no less difficulty than that of the greater breach by the third division. Reaching the brink of the ditch, eleven feet deep, they resolutely leaped into the chasm in the face of a dreadful fire of grape and musketry; but before they had gained two-thirds of the ascent, the opposition of the enemy was so resolute, and their fire so destructive, that the stormers appearing to falter, the officers sprang to the front, and cheering the men forward, ascended the summit—an example which so animated the men, that rushing impetuously forward, the breach was won.

The loss of the British, in the siege and storm, had been about 1,000 men in killed and wounded, and that of the garrison about half the number. Among the British loss had been generals Craufurd and M'Kinnon. The first was mortally wounded while leading the attack on the lesser breach; the second perished by the explosion of a powder-magazine in the greater. M'Kinnon was possessed of great mental accomplishments, and was "one of those men whom the dreadful discipline of war renders only more considerate for others, more regardless of themselves, more alive to the sentiments and duties of humanity." His death was universally regretted throughout the army. Many British deserters had been bayoneted by

the side of the French in the breaches. A few of those who were taken were executed as traitors to their country.\* The trophies of the captors were nearly 1,600 prisoners, 150 pieces of artillery, the whole of the battering train of Marmont's army, and an immense quantity of stores of every kind.

The town was no sooner won, than a scene of plunder, violence, and intoxication ensued. "The victors, preceded by Spaniards to conduct them to the species of plunder they most coveted—the wine and spirit cellars—committed much excess during the night. Next morning, a part of the covering force being marched into the town, the victors were marched out; and never could masquerade, in point of costume and grotesque figures, rival the marauding characters. Hams, loaves, and joints of meat garnished the bayonets of some regiments; cinctures of eighteen or twenty pair of shoes encircled the waists of some soldiers; half-a-dozen silk or satin gowns surmounted the tattered uniform of others."

As a tribute of his country's gratitude, the English general was created Earl of Wellington, with an annual pension of £2,000; and that of the Spanish nation was indicated by his appointment as a grandee of the first class and Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. By the Portuguese regency he was created Marquis of Torres Vedras. The annual pension assigned to his Spanish and Portuguese titles he renounced, desiring them to be applied to the exigencies of the respective states. In the debate which took place in the House of Commons upon the grant for supporting the earldom to which Wellington had been raised, Mr. Canning stated, that a revenue of £5,000 a-year had been granted to Lord Wellington by the Portuguese government when they conferred on him the title of Conde de Vimeira; that as Captain-general

of Spain, £5,000 a-year had been offered him; and £7,000 as marshal in the Portuguese service;—all which he had declined with magnanimous disinterestedness, saying he would receive nothing from Spain and Portugal; to his country alone he would look for reward.

On receiving intelligence that Rodrigo was besieged, Marmont had hastily concentrated his troops which were in cantonments; but as the intelligence had only reached him on the 15th at Valladolid, he was not able to advance till the 25th, on which day the different French corps united at Salamanca amounted to 45,000 men: but the French marshal then learning the fate of Ciudad Rodrigo, retired to Valladolid.

Having rendered the prize he had won from the enemy thoroughly defensible, the fortress was delivered over, on the 5th of March, to the Spaniards, and the garrison supplied with provisions from the British magazines.

Since the preceding December, active preparations had been in progress for the investment of Badajos, the other frontier fortress. But here again the utmost secrecy was necessary in order to deceive the French generals as to the object of attack: for this purpose, the battering train and engineers were embarked at Lisbon as if for Oporto; and when at sea they were reshipped on board small craft, and sent up the river Caldao, to Alcacer do Sal, whence they were conveyed across the Alentejo to the banks of the Guadiana. Stores were collected, and fascines and gabions prepared at Elvas with the same caution. These preparations, from want of a proper supply of animals of draught—the Portuguese regency having culpably neglected to direct the magistrates to put in requisition the resources of the country for the purpose, notwithstanding all the urgent remonstrances

\* A treasonable correspondence was discovered to have existed between some of the inhabitants and the French marshals. At Lisbon many persons in immediate connection with the regency were more than suspected of holding a correspondence with the enemy. But the system of secret espionage for the purpose of ascertaining the objects and capabilities of the English general, were not confined to the French. Wellington himself practised it on a large scale. "He had a number of spies amongst the Spaniards who were living within the French lines; a British officer in disguise constantly visited the French armies in the field; a Spanish state councillor, living at the head-quarters of the first corps, gave intelligence from that side; and a guitar-player of

celebrity, named Fuentes, repeatedly made his way to Madrid, and brought advice from that capital. Mr. Stuart, under cover of vessels licensed to fetch corn from France, kept *chasses marées* constantly plying along the Biscay coast, by which he not only acquired direct information, but facilitated the transmission of intelligence from the land spies, amongst whom the most remarkable was a cobbler, living in a little hut at the end of the bridge of Irun. This man, while plying his trade, continued for years, without being suspected, to count every French soldier who passed in or out of Spain by that passage, and transmitted their numbers by the *chasse marée* to Lisbon."—*History of the War in the Peninsula.*

of Wellington and Mr. Stuart, the English ambassador at Lisbon, for that purpose—were rendered very tedious; and while forage and provisions were scarcely procurable at any price, the military chest was exhausted. “But the talents of the English general rose with his difficulties, although the want of specie crippled every operation. A movement into Spain could not be effected without magazines when there was no harvest on the ground, except by paying ready money; because it was certain that the Spaniards, however favourably disposed, would never diminish their own secret resources for mere promises of payment. The English general and Mr. Stuart, therefore, endeavoured to get British bank notes accepted as cash by the merchants of Lisbon and Oporto; and Lord Wellington reflect-

ing that, from the enormous sums spent in Portugal, many persons must needs have secret hoards which they would be glad to invest if they could do it safely, asked the government for English exchequer-bills to negotiate in the same manner, intending to pay the interest punctually and faithfully, however inconvenient it might prove at the moment. This plan could not be adopted with Portuguese paper, because the finances were faithlessly managed by the regency; but some futile arguments against the proposition were advanced by Lord Liverpool, and money became so scarce, that even in the midst of victory, the war was more than once like to stop altogether from absolute inability to proceed.”\* This was the cause which occasioned the delay in the inception of operations against Badajos.

#### SIEGE AND REDUCTION OF BADAJOS.

HAVING at length overcome the difficulties by which he was beset, and all preparations being completed, the English general, leaving the Hanoverian cavalry, under Alten, on the Agueda, to retard any incursion—and for the purpose of covering the siege and preventing a junction between the armies of Soult and Marmont, directing Hill to take post at Almendralejo with 30,000 men, and Graham, with the fifth, sixth, and seventh divisions, and two brigades of cavalry, to march on Llerena)—which the enemy might make on the Beira frontier, marched, with 22,000 men, from the north to the south of Portugal; on the 16th of March crossed the Guadiana by a pontoon and two flying bridges; and on the following day the investment of Badajos was completed.

Since the former siege, the governor had materially strengthened the place; retrenched the castle and secured Fort San Christoval, connecting it with the city by a covered way. The Pardaleras, also, had been repaired and strengthened, and magazines established in the castle. Galleries and trenches had also been formed at each salient point of the counterscarp, the front of which it was supposed would be the point of attack, in order that mines might be formed under the breaching batteries, and shafts sunk for other mines, whereby the works might be destroyed in proportion as

\* *History of the War in the Peninsula.*

the assailants should gain them, and thus only a heap of ruins be left should the place be taken. The inhabitants had either deserted the place or were expelled. The garrison, amounting to 5,000 men, was amply provisioned and supplied with ammunition. Thus the governor, Philippon, one of the most skilful engineers in the French service, had exercised consummate judgment and foresight in making provision for the defence of the place.

Such was the condition of Badajos when Wellington determined to attack it, though limited both in time and means, and unprepared to undertake a formal siege. Mortars he had none; his sappers and miners were few and inexperienced; and his operations, if delayed, might be interrupted by the advance of Soult and Marmont, and thus his efforts to reduce Badajos rendered unavailing. Undiscouraged by these difficulties he determined to proceed, and after-events sanctioned his magnanimous resolve. What the energy of man could do with defective means, and in so short a space of time, he, setting all calculation at defiance, effected, and which ordinary men would not have dared to attempt.

As the defensive preparations had rendered an attack on Fort Christoval unadvisable, Wellington determined to commence operations against Fort Picurina, an outwork distant about 160 yards from the fortress, with a view to his final attack on

the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria. Accordingly, on the evening of the 17th ground was broken and in the course of the night and following day, parallels were established within 200 yards of its walls. On the 19th, while the working parties were engaged in the trenches, a joint sortie was made from the town and Fort Picurina by 1,500 men, including some squadrons of cavalry: the men were driven from their posts in great confusion,\* and the enemy possessed themselves of 700 intrenching tools, Philippon having promised a high price for every one brought into Badajos; but the working parties being quickly rallied by their officers, and supported by the covering party (third division), the enemy was charged and repulsed with the loss of 300 men in killed and wounded, while that of the working party and its aiders amounted to 150. Several officers were taken by the French cavalry, who secured them to their saddles, but they were pursued so hotly that they were obliged to set free their captives. To give timely warning of the enemy's approach in future, a signal-post was established on a neighbouring height, with a reserve guard of six field-pieces near the trenches.

From the commencement of the siege the rain had fallen incessantly; but it now descended in such torrents, that the trenches were overflowed, and when emptied of the water, were so muddy, that it was necessary to renew their bottoms with sand-bags and fascines. The river had, through the same cause, risen to such a height that the pontoon bridge had been carried away; and the current had become so strong, that the flying bridges were worked with great difficulty, and fears were entertained that the siege must be raised, from the inability of supplying the army with provisions and bringing over the necessary guns and military stores. At length, on the 24th, the atmosphere clearing up, the breaching batteries were armed, and on the forenoon of the following day a fire from twenty-eight guns was opened on the Picurina. Though the defences were only injured, an assault was determined on, information having been received that Soult was collecting his forces for the relief of the place. For that pur-

\* There is no story a British soldier performs with so much reluctance as working in the trenches—excepting a retreat, when his spirits flag, he becomes sulky, growls and grumbles. The inglorious toils and fatiguing business of sieges—the digging and delving in dust and dirt—to be shot at with his pickaxe

pose, soon after dark on the 24th, Major-general Kempt, with 500 men of the third division, advanced to the assault. Applying their scaling-ladders to the walls, with loud cheers they mounted the rampart, while the axemen of the light division, hewing down the gate in the gorge, burst in on the opposite side. So sudden was the onset, and so vehement was the fight, that the garrison had not time to roll over the loaded shells and barrels of combustibles placed on the ramparts. After an hour's contest the place was won. Ninety prisoners were taken, and the rest of the garrison, which consisted of 250 men, were either killed, or drowned from the inundation of the river in their endeavour to escape. The loss of the assailants was 321 in killed and wounded.

On the following night, the second parallel being completed in advance of Picurina, breaching batteries were erected in it, and after an incessant crushing fire, two breaches were, on the 5th of April, declared practicable in the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria. But Lord Wellington observing, on a close *reconnaissance*, that they were defended by formidable interior retrenchments, directed a third breach to be effected on the curtain which connected the bastions of La Trinidad and Santa Maria, so that the retrenchments might be turned. By four in the afternoon of the 6th, the curtain was beaten down and the breach reported practicable. Though the counterscarp was still entire, yet as Soult was rapidly advancing from Andalusia to the relief of the place, and as Marmont had concentrated his whole force at Salamanca, with the intention of menacing Ciudad Rodrigo, the British general determined to hazard the assault on that night. Orders were accordingly issued—"The fort of Badajos is to be attacked at ten o'clock this night. The attack must be made at three points—the castle, the face of the bastion La Trinidad, and the flank of the bastion of Santa Maria, and on the Pardaleras and the bastion of San Vincente, on the southern side of the town. The attack of the castle is to be made by escalade; that of the two bastions by storming the breaches."

In the execution of these orders, on the right Picton's division (third) was to enter with a shovel in his hand, instead of his firelock and bayonet on the field of battle, and a fair stand-up fight, are not to his taste; and what materially enhances the disgust is not having the opportunity of a slap at his enemy, and repaying the compliment of his attentions.

deavour to scale the castle walls, which were eighty feet in height, situate on a rock which is elevated upwards of a hundred feet above the plain. On the left Leith's division (fifth) was to make a feint on the Pardaleras outwork, and a real attack by escalade on the San Vincente bastion, near the western gate. In the centre, the fourth and light divisions, under Colville and Barnard, were to assault the breaches in La Trinidad and Santa Maria, and the curtain which connected those bastions. The Portuguese division, under Brigadier-general Power, was to storm the bridge over the Guadiana, and attack the works on the right bank of the river. Each column of assault was furnished with ladders and axes, and preceded by storming parties of 500 men, led by their respective forlorn hopes.

To meet this attack, and baffle the assailants, the governor of Badajos had erected the most formidable obstructions which destructive ingenuity could devise. The breaches had been retrenched and secured by interior defences, and deep intrenchments covered by loopholed walls: casks filled with tarred straw and powder, shells, hand-grenades, burning compositions, and missiles of every kind, were arranged on the parapets, ready to be hurled down on the heads of the assailants. A *chevaux-de-frise*, consisting of a massive beam, stuck full of sword-blades and bayonets, stretched across the summit of the breaches, and loose planks, studded with spikes, covered their slopes. At the foot of the large breach, sixty 14-inch shells, communicating with powder-hoses, and imbedded in the earth, were ready for explosion; and round the trench holes were cut in the ramparts, in which muskets, with fixed bayonets, were firmly and perpendicularly buried up to the locks. On the flanks of each curtain, batteries were charged to the muzzle with case and grape-shot, and mortars were doubly loaded with grenades. The trenches were defended by a multitude of light infantry, ranged in form of an amphitheatre, tier above tier, and by the side of each man lay four loaded firelocks, with supernumerary men, ready to re-load as they were discharged. With the exception of the *chevaux-de-frise*, similar preparations had been made at the castle and the bastion of San Vincente. In this formidable manner was Badajos fortified and defended.

According to the plan of attack, the different points were to have been assailed

at the same time; but as a bomb burst close to the third division, the assault was commenced half-an-hour sooner than the time appointed—ten o'clock. Each column immediately advanced silently to its appointed point of attack. No sooner had the forlorn hopes and storming parties of the light and fourth divisions reached the brink of the ditch, than a line of levelled muskets, and every gun which could be brought to bear on the spot, vomited forth a rapid and murderous fire. The assailants cheered, and the bags filled with hay being thrown into the ditch, and the ladders lowered, the forlorn hopes and storming parties descended. Five hundred were already down, and approaching the breaches, when suddenly a bright flame flashed upwards; a crash, louder than the outburst of a volcano followed, and 500 of the foremost were blown to atoms by the explosion of hundreds of shells and powder-bags which had been laid in the ditch. Without hesitation, the supporting columns rushed down into the fiery gulf. A frightful scene of carnage and confusion now ensued from the incessant explosion of shells, powder-barrels, and combustibles of every kind, accompanied with the withering fire of musketry and artillery from the whole front and flanks of the parapet and defences. Yet no pause occurred in the attack; but onward the assailing columns pressed, answering with vehement cheers the loud shouts of defiance from the enemy. But on gaining the summits of the breaches, impassable barriers were presented by the innumerable *chevaux-de-frises*, and the ranks of the assailants were torn down by discharges of grape and musketry on either flank. No-wise daunted, officers and men, in fast succession, rushed up the ruins into the breach, the rearmost striving to force the front forward, in order to make a bridge of their writhing bodies over the obstacle which opposed their passage. Some even strove to make their way under it; but they had no sooner forced their heads through, than the enemy beat out their brains. After two hours' unavailing efforts, during which 2,000 men had fallen upon the ruins, a staff officer was dispatched, about midnight, to Lord Wellington—who, with his staff, was stationed on a height beside the quarries, as the best point from which he could issue future orders for the conduct of the attack—to apprise him of the result, and that the troops were without leaders, the

majority of the officers having fallen. At the same moment another officer rode up, with tidings that the third division was in possession of the castle. Orders were sent to Picton to retain his position at all hazards till assistance was sent; and to the officers in command at the breaches, to withdraw the troops, to be re-formed for a fresh assault as soon as the day should dawn.

While this tremendous conflict had been raging in the breaches, the third and fifth divisions had maintained a struggle hardly less violent at the castle and the San Vincente bastion.

Immediately on the explosion of the bomb discovering their array to the enemy, the third division crossing the stream of the Rivillas, rushed rapidly up the rugged steep to the foot of the castle wall, and immediately, under a terrible fire from the ramparts, raised their ladders. In an instant huge logs of wood, heavy stones, and other missiles were hurled down upon them. Undaunted, the assailants persevered; but all who ascended fell by musketry or the bayonet. Hundreds had fallen; but the survivors, nowise dismayed, continued to ascend. At length, after a fierce contest of one hour, a footing was gained on the ramparts, and, after a slight resistance, the castle was won.

The fifth division, under Walker, was no less successful. Though assailed with logs of wood, shells, and other combustibles, and a heavy fire of grape and musketry, they escaladed the walls and obtained a firm position on the ramparts; when, sounding an English air on their bugles, which was answered by a similar note from the castle, the governor finding the town in possession of the assailants, retired with the garrison into Fort Christoval, where, on the following morning, he surrendered at discretion.

The town was now won; but it was at the disposal of an infuriated army, over whom, for a time, control was lost, aided by the followers of the camp and a horde of vagabonds, Spanish and Portuguese, as also by some of the garrison who had concealed themselves. For two days and nights the devoted city was subjected to pillage and violence, in attempting to restrain which more than one officer perished by the bullets and bayonets of the very men whom, but a few hours before, they had led to the assault and capture of the town. At length, on the third day a brigade of troops who had not participated in the

assault was marched into the town, accompanied by the provost-marshal attached to each division, and gibbets and triangles were erected in the great square, and some offenders were flogged, the rest quietly submitted, the rope carrying more terror than the bayonets of the brigade.

Badajos had not been won but at the fearful loss of 1,035 killed and 3,787 wounded. The trophies of the victors were 170 heavy guns, 5,000 muskets, the garrison, amounting to 3,800 men, and about 4,000 prisoners—Spaniards, Portuguese, and English—who had been collected in Badajos as a safe depôt. The only colours taken were those of the garrison and of the regiment of Hesse-Darmstadt; the eagles of the five French battalions having been removed prior to the siege. Soult, who on the 31st of March had begun his march from Seville for the purpose of relieving Badajos, on being apprised by the body of cavalry who had escaped from Fort Christoval that that fortress had fallen, and was at the time only two marches distant from it, on the 9th of April he retraced his steps towards Andalusia; but his rear-guard was overtaken on the 11th at Usagre, by Sir Stapleton Cotton, and defeated with the loss of 150 prisoners, besides many slain and wounded.

While Wellington was engaged in the siege of Badajos, Marmont had marched from Salamanca, and in the beginning of May, leaving one division to blockade Ciudad Rodrigo, invested Almeida with the remainder of his force; his marauding parties ravaging Beira with the most remorseless vengeance. To oppose his progress, Wellington, leaving Graham with 10,000 men to restore Badajos to a defensible state, marched the remainder of the army to the north of Portugal; and on Marmont's retreat towards Salamanca, he re-established his head-quarters at Fuente Guinaldo, and cantoned the troops between the Agueda and the Coa.

Had the Spanish junta and the Portuguese regency put Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida in a state of defence, so as to secure them from surprise, it was Wellington's intention to have advanced into Andalusia and give Soult battle; but that neglect had compelled him to confine his operations to the north for the present, while those fortresses were being secured from molestation. In the meantime he was engaged in devising his plans for the ensuing campaign.

## DESTRUCTION OF THE BRIDGE OF ALMARAZ—ADVANCE ON SALAMANCA—OCCUPATION OF THE TOWN, AND REDUCTION OF ITS FORTS.

For the purpose of severing the corps of Soult and Marmont, and interrupting their communications, Wellington directed Hill to destroy the pontoon bridge thrown across the Tagus at Almaraz, which was defended by two strong redoubts—namely, Fort Napoleon on the left bank, and Fort Ragusa on the right. The only route passable for artillery in that quarter is by the Puerto de Mirabete, an opening or gorge in the mountains, distant about a league from the bridge, and commanded by a castle. As the corps of Drouet, Foy, and d'Armagnac lay at no great distance from Hill's point of attack, Graham, with two divisions and Cotton's cavalry, was posted at Portalegre to protect Hill in his movement.

To destroy this bridge, Hill moved on the 12th of May from Almendralejo with 6,000 men, including 400 cavalry. On the 15th the expedition reached Truxillo, and on the 16th arrived at the pass of Mirabete. Here, finding the castle too strong for surprise, Hill divided his force into two columns, leaving one under the command of General Chowne, with instructions to make a false attack on the castle, while he advanced with the other, by the village of Romangorda, towards Almaraz. On May 18th he reached the vicinity of Fort Napoleon, and on the following morning the 50th and a wing of the 71st rushed forward with the bayonet, and, amidst a crashing volley of grape and musketry from the fort, as also a flanking fire from Fort Ragusa, planting their ladders, they escalated the fort, and driving their

\* While Wellington was preparing to invade Spain, Soult was making preparations for the invasion of Portugal, with the design of diverting the English general from his purpose. Entrusting the siege of Cadiz to Victor, whose force had been increased to 20,000 men by the Spanish troops who had joined his standard, Soult, with 40,000 men, was in readiness to begin his intended movement; and the defeat of Ballasteros by Coureux at Bornos, favoured his design. It was therefore a matter of little importance who should take the initiative in the movement—whether the English general or the French marshal. Wellington, with his characteristic promptitude, determined the point. Throughout the whole contest in the Peninsula the great English commander had continually to complain of the apathy and indolence of the native authorities, both civil and military, and of the disregard by the Junta of the obligations undertaken with regard to the victualling of the British troops, and the furnishing of assistance. Thus, for instance, Lord Wellington had left money

opponents before them at the point of the bayonet through the inner defences, entered the *tête-du-pont* or bridge-head with the fugitives. The guns of Fort Napoleon being then turned on Fort Ragusa, the governor and garrison abandoned the fort and hurried towards Naval Moral. Having destroyed the bridge and forts, with all the stores and magazines, and thrown the guns into the Tagus, Hill on the 21st retired to Merida. Had it not been for the groundless report of Erskine—who was a Marplot in all transactions in which he had any interference—that Soult, with a formidable force, was in Estremadura, Hill would have assailed the mountain fort of Mirabete, having commenced operations for that purpose. On the 11th of July, the garrison was withdrawn by Marmont, and thus the pass was left open, and Lord Wellington's wishes fully realised. In the forts of Napoleon and Ragusa, 250 prisoners were taken, and a colour belonging to the 4th battalion of the *corps étranger*.

Wellington now prepared to undertake his projected offensive movement into Andalusia. His right flank had been secured by the destruction of the pontoon bridge of Almaraz; and as his communication with Hill—who was posted in Estremadura, near Badajos, with 23,000 men—had been thus facilitated, on the 13th of June the British chief crossed the Agueda, and plunging into the heart of Spain, began that campaign which has immortalised his name.\* The first collision with the enemy took place on

to carry on the works at Ciudad Rodrigo; yet, on the 28th of April, 1812, we find him complaining that very little had been done since he was there last—that a great quantity of valuable time had been thrown away entirely. He says:—"I have sent Alava over to the place, to point out to the principal officers how much their indolence and their indulgence of the indolence of their men affect the cause; and I have told them that I should give no assistance in English soldiers to work, unless the demand for such assistance should be founded on an acknowledgment that the Spanish officers have not the authority over their men to induce them to perform works for their own defence. But the indolence and apathy of their nature is terrible. Yet they boast of their energy and activity." Long before this we find Lord Wellington writing to his brother Marquis Wellesley at the war office, complaining of the utter neglect of their duty by the Spaniards and the Junta, and declaring "the British army in the Peninsula will be lost, if this treatment is to continue."

the 16th, near the Valmusa rivulet, distant about six miles from Salamanca, between the German hussars and the enemy's cavalry. With evening the skirmish closed; the enemy retiring across the Tormes, and the British bivouacking on its banks.

Marmont having garrisoned the three forts of the town of Salamanca (San Vincente, Los Cayetanos, and La Merced), as also the castle of Alba de Tormes, which commanded an important passage over the river, evacuated Salamanca. On the 17th the allied army passed the Tormes by the fords of Santa Martha and Los Cantos, and entered Salamanca, which instantly became a scene of rejoicing and universal acclamation: the streets were crowded to excess; signals of enthusiasm and friendship waved from the balconies; every window was filled with beautiful women to welcome their liberator. In the midst of the general exultation, the allied army passed through the shouting crowd, and took a position on the heights of San Christoval, which is situated about three miles in advance of the town. Orders were immediately issued, and arrangements made for the reduction of the forts.

The siege of the forts was committed to the sixth division; and the batteries opened fire against them on the 17th; but as time was invaluable, an attempt was made on the night of the second day after the investment, to carry Los Cayetanos and La Merced by escalade; but the storming party was repulsed, with the loss of 120 in killed and wounded. On the 20th, Marmont advanced with 25,000 men for the relief of the beleaguered forts. The allied army instantly formed in order of battle on the heights of San Christoval. In the afternoon he advanced against the right of the allied position, and, by an impetuous assault forcing back their picket, he possessed himself of the village of Morisco, which lay at the foot of San Christoval. During the night each army rested on their arms; the enemy within cannon range in front of San Christoval. On the evening of the following day, the village of Morisco was recovered by the allies; and as the French marshal had, in the course of the night, seized a height which overlooked the right of the allied position, the seventh division, under Graham, was dispatched to dislodge him. On the approach of the allied force, the French marshal retired from the height, and, having been joined by three fresh divisions, took up a new position two

leagues in the rear. By this change he had the power of crossing the river and opening a communication by the left bank with his beleaguered garrison; but his able antagonist, by detaching Bock's German cavalry across the river, as promptly effected a counter-movement, which commanded both banks and completely covered Salamanca.

The 23rd of June passed without any hostile demonstration on either side; but at daylight of the 24th, a spattering fusilade, succeeded by the booming of artillery, told that the enemy had passed the river, and that Bock's cavalry were attacked. As the fog cleared up, Bock was seen retiring before 12,000 French infantry, who, in battle array, were rapidly following him. Graham, with two divisions and Le Marchant's cavalry, was instantly detached across the Tormes; while Wellington concentrated the main body of the army between Morisco and Cabrerijos, in readiness to avail himself of any false movement of his antagonist. The French marshal observing these dispositions, not willing to risk an action, re-passed the river, and resumed his position in front of San Christoval.

While these movements were in operation, the requisite siege stores having been brought up from Almeida, the forts were pressed vigorously. On the 27th, the buildings in San Vincente having been set on fire by the guns of the besiegers, and a breach having been made in Los Cayetanos, the governor of San Vincente, in order to gain time, expressed a desire to capitulate; but after a certain number of hours, on his non-compliance of five minutes for consideration, Los Cayetanos was ordered to be stormed and La Merced escaladed, and both attacks being successful, the commandant of San Vincente surrendered. Seven hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the captors, whose loss in killed and wounded was 486. On receipt of intelligence of the fall of the forts, Marmont, withdrawing the garrison from Alba de Tormes, and setting fire to Morisco and the neighbouring villages, retreated by Toro and Tordesillas on the Douro, to wait behind that river for the reinforcements under Bonnet and Caffarelli, which were on their march from the Asturias and Biscay to join him.

Wellington having ordered the Salamanca forts to be razed and the castle of Alba dismantled, on the 29th proceeded in pursuit of the retreating French army. On

the 2nd of July he came up with their rear-guard, and drove it across the Douro in great confusion. On the following day the hostile armies were in presence of each other on the opposite sides of the river. Preparations were immediately commenced for forcing the passage as soon as the waters should subside, so as to render the fords practicable. Marmont having been reinforced by Bonnet's division, determined to assume the offensive. For this purpose, on the 16th he passed two divisions across the bridge at Toro; but in the course of the night these divisions were withdrawn, and Marmont marched all his forces on Tordesillas. Immediately the river was passed at that point, and before nightfall the whole French army was concentrated in the neighbourhood of Nava del Rey, on the left bank.

Wellington's situation was now critical. Marmont's manœuvre had established his communication with the army under Joseph, which was rapidly advancing from the Guadarrama pass, and which with Caffarelli's reserves would raise the army of Portugal to 70,000 men. To meet the difficulty, the English general determined on a retrograde movement. For this purpose he proposed to take up a position on the Guarena, a tributary of the Douro, and Sir Stapleton Cotton was directed to take post, with the fourth and light divisions, at Castrejon, the Trabancos to favour the concentration of the allied forces. At daybreak of the 18th, Cotton was attacked by the whole of the French army, but he contrived to maintain his position till Wellington arrived with the cavalry (German and Le Marchant's) to his support, when the troops were withdrawn, and effected their junction with the main body on the Guarena. In this affair the loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, was 550; while that of the French was 400, and 240 prisoners.

While Lord Wellington was observing the enemy's movements in this affair, a body of French cavalry crossed the low grounds at a gallop, and being mistaken for deserters, succeeded in mounting the height on which the allied cavalry was posted, when falling boldly on the skirmishers, they drove them in, and occasioned a general disorder. But the panic was but temporary. "The reserves came up, and those furious swordsmen being scattered in all directions, were in turn driven away or cut down; but meanwhile, thirty or forty, led by a gallant officer, brought up their

right shoulders, and came over the edge of the table-land, above the hollow which separated the British wings, at the instant when Wellington arrived on the same slope. There were some infantry pickets in the bottom; and higher up, near the French, were two guns covered by a squadron of light cavalry, which was disposed in perfect order. When the French officer saw this squadron, he reined in his horse with difficulty, and his troopers gathered round him in a confused body as if to retreat. They seemed lost men; for the British instantly charged; but with a shout, the gallant fellows soused down on the squadron, and the latter turning, galloped through the guns; then the whole mass, friends and foes, went like a whirlwind to the bottom, carrying away Lord Wellington and his staff, who, with drawn swords and some difficulty, got clear of the tumult. The French horsemen were now quite exhausted, and a reserve squadron of heavy dragoons coming up, cut most of them to pieces; yet their invincible leader, assaulted by three enemies at once, struck one dead from his horse, and, with surprising exertions, saved himself from the others, though they rode over a him on each side for a quarter of a mile."

Marmont, emboldened by the retrograde movement of his opponent, on the 18th pushed forward a body of infantry and cavalry across the Guarena at Castrillo, with the intention of turning the left of the allies in the command of the Salamanca road; but Wellington, in expectation of this movement, dispatched the 27th and 40th regiments with the German cavalry, who meeting them just as they were about to enter the valley, drove them back, with the loss of 240 prisoners and 300 in killed and wounded.

"The 19th and 20th of July were passed in countermarches and manœuvres in parallel or corresponding ridges of country, each chief endeavouring to outflank the other, and each watching a favourable moment to attack. To reach a certain point was Marmont's object; to intercept him was that of Wellington. During these manœuvres, each hour wore away, in the belief that the succeeding one would usher in a conflict. As the dread note of artillery resounded among the hills, and as circumstances were favourable for its play, each host prepared to form into line. A battle on the plain of Vallesa was considered inevitable. But

though the line of march of both armies was within half cannon-shot range—often half musket-shot—of each other, and was at times in an open plain, the horse-artillery and cavalry of each side hovering round the moving hosts, to take advantage of the slightest disorder which might ensue, or dash into the first chasm that appeared, the discharge of a few cannot-shot alone interrupted the stillness of the scene, according as the diversities of ground or other accident afforded either party an advantage, or an occasional fusilade brought the light troops, or the stragglers of both armies into collision in their contests for the plunder of the villages which lay in the intermediate space between the parallel lines of march of the hostile hosts: so skilful were the manœuvres of the respective leaders, that they afforded no opportunity of a favourable result from a collision." But towards the evening of the 20th, it being manifest that the allied army was outflanked, and that it was not possible to prevent the junction of Marmont's army and that of the centre,

under Joseph, which was within a few days' march, the English general abandoned the parallel line of march, and detached the sixth division and Alten's German cavalry to secure, by a forced march, the heights of San Christoval. The morning of the 21st found the allied army in that position; and thither it had been followed by Marmont, who, on the 20th, having garrisoned Alba, which had been abandoned by the Spaniards to whom it had been entrusted, crossed the Tormes, and bivouacked in the forest of Calvaraso de Ariba, nearly opposite the allied position. The right of the allied army *appuyed* on the larger and nearer of the Arapiles; its left extended to the Tormes, below the fords of Santa Martha. In taking up their positions, both generals had overlooked the advantage the two steep and rugged hills called Dos Arapiles (the two Arapiles) presented, and which lay about half cannon-shot from each army. On the morning of the 22nd Marmont took possession of the smaller and more distant one, and Wellington of the larger and nearer.

#### BATTLE OF SALAMANCA—ADVANCE ON MADRID.

AFTER a variety of evolutions and movements by the French marshal, which seemed to imply that he designed to attack the allied left, about two o'clock in the afternoon he opened a heavy cannonade, and under its cover he detached Thomière's division to outflank the allied right, and cut off its retreat by interposing his force between them and the Rodrigo road. This injudicious extension of his line was occasioned by his observing the dust which arose from the motion of the allied commissariat and baggage waggons, which had been ordered to the rear of the allied position. No sooner was the chasm which this extension occasioned in the enemy's line observed by the English general,\* than he made dispositions for attack. The third division, under Pakenham, supported by d'Urban's cavalry, was ordered to advance against Thomière; while the fourth and fifth divisions, supported by the sixth and seventh, and the heavy and light cavalry, proceeded to the attack of the

hostile force in front, amidst a storm of grape and bullets which seemed to cut away the surface of the earth over which they moved. Marmont, now aware of the consequences of the extension of his line, dispatched orders to his left to close to his centre; and, for the purpose of expediting the movement, hurried towards the spot, when the accidental explosion of a shell stretched him on the ground, with a broken arm and severe wound in the side. Bonnet succeeded to the command-in-chief. About five o'clock the third division, checked by the destructive cannonade, deploying into line as they advanced, and having scattered the light troops who endeavoured to check their progress, fell furiously on the main body drawn up on the crest of the hill. The enemy, unable to stand the shock, rapidly retreated to a second height, and formed his forces in squares. On cresting that height, a sheet of fire burst from their faces on the assailants, who replied with a rolling volley. The double fire hid the combatants from each other; but in the midst of the smoke, the third, with a wild cheer charging bayonets, shattered the French squares, who taking to headlong

\* As he took the glass from his eye—"At last I have them!" was his exclamation; and at the same time, turning to the Spanish general Alava, he said, "Mon cher Alava, Marmont est perdu!"—"My dear Alava, Marmont is lost!"

flight down the opposite side of the steep, left 3,000 prisoners in the hands of the victors.

While the ruin of Thomière's division was being consummated, the fourth and fifth divisions, under Cole and Leith, flanked by Le Marchant's heavy dragoons and Anson's light cavalry, advanced against Clausel's division, forming the remainder of the French left. While the contest was being vigorously maintained by the infantry of both sides, the brigade of the allied heavy cavalry suddenly burst in upon the already shaken lines. Whole companies immediately threw down their arms. Sweeping through the mob of the fleeing enemy, the brigade rode against the three battalions of the French 66th, which had formed in six supporting lines to check its advance, and afford time for the broken divisions to have reform restored. Heedless of the searching fire, the brigade passed through the opposition; and pursuing its headlong career, it broke through and scattered a second and a third column. In this part of the field, 2,000 prisoners and five guns were the reward of the victors. Thus, in less than half-an-hour, the French left was routed and dispersed.

Hitherto all had been propitious to the allied arms; but the contest in the centre was doubtful. Pack's Portuguese brigade, in its attack on the French Arapile hill, had been driven in confusion down the descent. At the same moment the fourth and fifth divisions, who were in pursuit of Clausel's discomfited men, were attacked in flank and rear by Bonnet, who, having been reinforced by the fugitives from the left, had re-formed his division. Under a murderous fire of grape and musketry from Bonnet's men and the crest of the French Arapile, they were obliged to give way. The crisis had now arrived. To restore the battle, Beresford brought up a brigade from the second line, which, by a skilful change of front, took the enemy in flank with a heavy fire, and drove him backward. At the same moment Wellington ordered the sixth division from the rear to attack the enemy's reformed front, while the first and light divisions, which had been in reserve, and two brigades of the fourth, were directed to turn his right. It was now nearly dark. The glare of light produced from the thunder of the artillery, the continued blaze of musketry, and the lurid glare of the

burning dried grass, which had caught fire from the ignited cartridges, gave to the face of the hill a terrific appearance. But no-wise daunted, the sixth division rapidly advanced with loud cheers, amidst a tempest of grape and bullets, with desperate resolution to carry the hill. Onward they rushed with levelled bayonets. A close and furious conflict ensued. The French wavered; the sixth division cheered, and pushing forward, drove the enemy at the point of the bayonet from the hard-contested field.

The battle being irretrievably lost, Clausel, who had succeeded to the command-in-chief on Bonnet's being wounded, rallied the divisions of Foy and Maucune on the heights behind the Ariba streamlet, in order to cover the retreat of the reserve parks and artillery, and the flight of the fugitives. To dislodge him, the light division, part of the fourth, and the guards, supported by the seventh, were detached to turn his right, while the sixth and third assailed his front. After a gallant defence, the enemy was compelled to take to flight under cover of the night, and crossing the Tormes by the bridge and fords of Alba de Tormes, retreated on Penaranda.

Wellington, in the belief that the castle of Alba de Tormes was in possession of the Spaniards under Carlos d'España, directed his pursuit towards the fords of Huerta and Encina; but España's suppression of the fact of his abandonment of the castle, enabled the enemy to effect a passage at that point unmolested, and thus the French army was saved from total destruction. At day-break the pursuit was renewed, and in the course of the morning the allies came up with the rear-guard of the enemy on the height of La Serna, drawn up in three squares, covered by their cavalry. Each of the squares was successively attacked and broken by the allied cavalry.

The loss of the allies in the battle of Salamanca was 5,200 men; of whom 3,176 were British, 2,018 Portuguese, and six Spanish. The heavy cavalry brigade, consisting of the 3rd and 4th dragoons, and the 5th dragoon guards, had suffered so severely in their daring exploit against Clausel's division, that of the three regiments, consisting of 1,100 men when they entered the field, only three squadrons could be formed of the survivors on the evening of the battle. The trophies of the victors

were 7,134 prisoners, two eagles, six standards, and eleven cannon. The prisoners taken at La Serna amounted to 1,200. The loss of the allied cavalry (the German dragoons) to about 100; of whom, though the combat lasted but a few minutes, fifty-one were killed; "and in several places man and horse had died simultaneously, and so suddenly, that falling together on their sides, they appeared alive—the horse's legs stretched out as in movement, the rider's feet in the stirrup, his bridle in hand, the sword raised to strike, and the large hat fastened under the chin; giving to the grim but distorted countenance a supernatural but terrible expression."\* General Foy, in his *History of the Peninsular War*, says that this was "the boldest charge of cavalry made during the war;" and Wellington adds—"It was one of the most gallant he ever witnessed."

After the defeat of his rear-guard, Clausel retreated with so great celerity, that on the evening of the 23rd of July, his head-quarters were at Flores de Avila, no less than forty miles from the field of battle; and being joined at Naval de Sotroval by Caffarelli's artillery and cavalry, who now formed his rear-guard, he hastened to Valladolid. Being followed thither by Wellington, he fell back on Burgos. On the 30th Wellington entered Valladolid, where he took seventeen cannon and 800 sick; but seeing no prospect of coming up with the fleeing army, he recrossed the Douro, and leaving the sixth division, Anson's cavalry, and some of the regiments which had suffered most in the late battle to observe the line of the Douro, on the 6th of August he marched on Madrid by the route of Segovia and St. Ildefonso. On approaching Segovia, Joseph, who had, with the army of the centre, advanced to Blasco Sancho on the 25th, for the purpose of effecting a junction with Marmont, abandoned that city and retreated across the Guadarrama, whither he was closely followed by the allies, who on the 11th defied through the passes of the Guadarrama. On that evening the advanced guard of the allies, consisting of d'Urban's Portuguese cavalry, supported by a troop of British horse-artillery, driving in the French outposts, took possession of the village of Majalahonda; but the enemy re-

\* Napier.

turning in greater force in the course of the day, the Portuguese cavalry, when ordered to charge, being seized by some unaccountable panic, faced about and took to flight, closely followed by the French, overthrowing in their confusion three guns of the horse-artillery, and rushing through the village of Las Rosas, about a mile in their rear, where the German heavy cavalry were posted. The Germans, being taken unprepared, resisted in the best way they could, and with their accustomed gallantry; but many of them being undressed, they lost about 300 men and 140 of their horses. On the same evening the pseudo king and his court, with a crowd of 20,000 persons who were linked to his fortunes, abandoned Madrid and retreated on Aranjuez. On the 12th the allied army entered Madrid amidst the most enthusiastic acclamations, and every demonstration of joy and exultation by all ranks throughout the capital. "Every individual, from the first to the last," says a participator in the scene, "embraced either the officer or a soldier whom they could first lay hold of while we were marching through the streets. They invited us to their homes, and insisted on our drinking wine with them almost at every corner of the streets." Every balcony and window was filled with spectators, who showered down flowers upon the heads of the troops. Elegant females not only threw laurels and flowers, but even shawls and veils of the finest texture, under the feet of the English general's horse, and many fell on their knees, to kiss the ground his horse's hoofs had pressed. When he attempted to alight at the palace assigned for his residence, women of the first quality embraced him, or even every person whom they took for him, so that it was a long time before he could get housed. On the 13th, Carlos d'España was appointed governor of the province and capital. On the same evening the investment of the Retiro was completed; and on the following morning, while arrangements were being made for its attack, the commandant surrendered the place. The garrison, consisting of 2,500 men, 200 pieces of ordnance, 23,000 stand of arms, 900 barrels of powder, an immense quantity of stores, and the eagles of the 13th and 57th regiments, which were deposited there, fell into the hands of the allies.

## SIEGE OF BURGOS—RETREAT TO SALAMANCA.

CLAUSEL having reorganised his army, and raised it by reinforcements to 23,000 men, made demonstrations against Paget's force posted at Cuellar, and Wellington, to prevent the interruption of his communication with Portugal, determined to besiege Burgos. He therefore directed Hill to cross the Tagus, march on Toledo by the bridge of Almaraz, and take post at Aranjuez for the purpose of covering Madrid on that side. The Murcian army was directed to move in the same direction, while Ballasteros should observe the mountain fortress of Chinchilla, and the Partidas occupy La Mancha. Leaving the third, fourth, and light divisions, Alten's brigade of cavalry, d'Urban's Portuguese cavalry, and d'España's Spanish corps, in Madrid and its vicinity, under the command of Hill, Wellington dispatched the first, fifth, and seventh divisions, Bradford and Pack's Portuguese divisions, and Bock's and Anson's heavy and light cavalry, to form a junction with Paget at Arevalo; and he himself quitted Madrid on September the 1st to take the command of that force.

On the 4th of September, the allied army moved from Arevalo, on the 6th forded the Douro, and on the 7th entered Valladolid; ClauseL having on the preceding night quitted it, retreating through the valleys of Arlanza and Pisuerga, which abounded with numerous positions capable of vigorous defence, and of which the French general skilfully availed himself. Now began a trial of consummate military skill between the opposing generals. "Each day ClauseL offered battle, but on ground which Wellington was unwilling to assail in front, partly because he momentarily expected the Galician army up, but chiefly because of the declining state of his own army from sickness, which, combined with the hope of ulterior operations in the south, made him unwilling to lose men. By flank movements he dislodged the enemy; yet each day's darkness fell ere they were completed; and the morning's sun always saw ClauseL again in position as unassailable as that of the preceding day." The allies being on the 17th joined by the Galician army, under Santocildes, at Palencia, ClauseL hastily retreated to Burgos, and on the allies approaching that city, leaving 2,500 men, under Dubreton,

in the castle, he retired to Briviesca, where he was joined by Souham with 9,000 infantry of the army of the north. On the 18th the allies crossed the Arlanza, and taking possession of the heights on the north-west of the castle, entered the city of Burgos.

On the 19th of September the castle was invested; and as it was necessary before commencing approaches against the body of the place, that the hornwork of St. Michael, situate on a rocky hill, and which commanded some of the works of the castle, should be won, on the night of that day two storming parties were formed—one to make a front attack; the other, under Major Somers Cocks, at the gorge. No sooner had this position been carried, than the garrison, which consisted of a strong battalion, rushing out, burst through the assailants and escaped into the castle, leaving sixty-three prisoners behind them. The loss of the assailants was, in killed and wounded above 400, the front attack having completely failed; while that of the enemy was about 140.

Batteries were erected on the hornwork against the exterior line of the defences, and the operations of the siege committed to the first and sixth divisions, and Pack and Bradford's Portuguese brigades; while the covering army, under the immediate command of Wellington, took post in front of Monasterio, which is about three leagues distant from Burgos, to hold ClauseL and Souham in check. After the breaching guns had played a few days, an attempt was made by detachments from the different regiments before the place to effect an escalade; but though the storming party forced their way up the wall, no sooner had the leading men gained a footing than they were bayoneted, while shells and other destructive combustibles were hurled down on those who were in the act of ascending the ladders. After a bloody conflict of half-an-hour the assailants were obliged to retire, having sustained a loss of 350 men.

An attempt was now made to breach the outer or escarp wall;\* but the commanding fire of the castle having soon disabled the

\* The battering train with which the siege of Burgos was undertaken, consisted only of three 18-pounders and five iron 24-pounder howitzers. But little hope of a successful issue to the enterprise could therefore be reasonably entertained.

few guns placed in battery, it was determined to resort to the slower but more certain process of mining. A gallery being at length carried under the outer wall, and a mine charged with 1,100 lbs. of powder, at midnight of the 29th the hose was fired and a breach effected: a sergeant and three privates, who formed the forlorn hope of the storming party, rushed through the smoke, and mounting the ruins, gained the breach; but the storming party having missed their way, the forlorn hope was driven down from the breach they had so bravely won, and before daylight of the next morning an entrance was rendered impracticable.

Undiscouraged by the preceding failures, a new gallery was run under the wall, which was mined, and a new breaching battery erected. On the 4th of October the mine was sprung. One hundred feet of the wall having been brought down by the explosion, and the old breach completely exposed by the fire of the battery, an assault was ordered at the old and the new breach. In an instant the advanced parties of the 24th regiment were on the ruins of both breaches, and, before the dust created by the explosion had subsided, were in contact with the defenders on the summit of the breaches, and, immediately uniting, drove the enemy into their interior line. In this gallant affair, about 200 of the assailants had been killed and wounded.

But soon a succession of disasters occurred. On the afternoon of the day following this gallant affair, the garrison made a furious sally against the advanced posts of the besiegers within the outer wall,—destroyed the lodgment, carried off the intrenching tools, and occasioned a loss of 150 men in killed and wounded.

Again, a sap having been pushed to within ten yards of the second line or wall, another fierce sortie was made on the night of the 8th, and the assailants, by a desperate rush, having gained the trench, levelled the works and carried off the tools, with the loss of 200 men to the besiegers.

In consequence of the want of ammunition, a suspension took place in the siege operations until a supply arrived from Santander. At length, on the 15th the fire was renewed from the breaching batteries, which was now limited to one gun and the five iron howitzers, and at the same time a mine, charged with 900 lbs. of powder, was run under the church of San Roman. The batteries having at length effected a new breach,

and cleared away the obstructions which had been run up in the breach of the second line, an assault was ordered for the night of the 18th. The mine beneath San Roman was sprung at half-past four in the morning. Instantly the assaulting columns rushed to the breaches. Colonel Browne, with a detachment of the Portuguese and Spaniards, after a severe struggle, established himself in the ruins of the church. A detachment of the guards rushing through the old breach in the first line, escaladed the second line of defence, and, in front of the third line, encountered the enemy in overpowering numbers; and at the same time a detachment of the German legion carried the breach in the second line, while some of them escaladed the third. But the enemy poured so destructive a fire from the third line and the castle, and rushed down from the upper ground with so overpowering a force, that the assailants, from want of adequate support, were driven from the lines which they had so gallantly won, with the loss of 200 in killed and wounded.

On the day of this last assault, Souham, who had succeeded Clausel in the command of the army of Portugal, advanced from Briviesca with 45,000 men against Monasterio (the outpost of the army covering the siege of Burgos), and obtained possession of the heights commanding that place. In consequence of this menacing movement, Wellington, uniting nearly the whole besieging force to the covering army, and leaving Pack in command of the investing force, moved near Quintanapalla. On the evening of the following day, Souham drove in the allied pickets, and obtained possession of Quintanapalla; but Sir Edward Paget advancing against him with two divisions, he was immediately driven back.

The siege had now lasted thirty days, and 2,000 of the allies had been killed and wounded in their gallant efforts. At the same time intelligence was received from Hill that the armies of the south and centre, under Soult and Joseph, had effected a junction. This last information determined the English general to raise the siege of Burgos, and effect a junction with Hill. Two routes were open for the retreat; one by the bridge of Villaton, the other by the bridge of Burgos. The latter being the shorter was preferred, though the army in its progress must defile over fords and bridges enfiladed by the artillery of the castle.

The English general having apprised the engineers that he intended to withdraw, such stores and ordnance as could not be removed were destroyed, and at eleven that night, the artillery, consisting of the heavy guns and howitzers, commenced its retreat by the Villaton road.

Orders were given, about nine o'clock, to keep up the fires and march. The allied army defiled at midnight of the 21st of October within musket-range, under the walls of the castle and over the bridge, with their entire baggage and field equipage; the wheels of the field artillery having been muffled with straw, to prevent their making any noise. The whole would have passed in safety, had not a party of guerilla horsemen, failing in nerve, put their horses to their speed, and by their clatter attracted the attention of the garrison, who immediately opened a heavy fire on the bridge. The first discharge was destructive;\* but the range and direction being soon lost by the recoil of the guns, the army reached the other side of the Arlanza with but little loss, though the fire was kept up by the garrison during the whole night. By this night-march the army gained a full day in advance of the enemy.

On the morning of the 22nd, the allied army reached Celada del Camino; and on the 23rd continued its retreat to Torquemada. On the forenoon of that day, while the main body of the allies was crossing the Pisuerga, the French cavalry pressed forward, but were held in check for nearly three hours by Anson's brigade of cavalry, which, with Bock's brigade, and two battalions of infantry of the German legion under Halkett, formed the rear-guard. The rear-guard then retired slowly; but the guerilla horsemen of Marquinez and Julian Sanchez, who occupied the space between Anson's men and the enemy, being rapidly driven back on Anson's flank, that officer was obliged to fall back on Halkett's battalions, which, being formed into squares in *échelon*, repulsed the repeated charges of the enemy. On the following day the

\* In anticipation of the attempt, the guns of the castle had been turned upon the bridge; and this the garrison had been enabled to accomplish with precision, as during the siege the officers of the covering army would gallop across the bridge and back again merely for the sake of provoking a shower of balls from the soldiers of the garrison, who were always leaning over the parapet, sometimes firing, and at others good-naturedly laughing at their pranks.

allies crossed the Pisuerga, and on the 24th reached Duenas,† across the Carrion, where the guards, under Lord Dalhousie, who had landed at Corunna, joined the allies.

The bridges over the river having been either destroyed or mined for explosion, the allied army halted a day behind the Carrion, for the purpose of recruiting the strength of the troops, and affording time for the commissariat arrangements, which the want of the means of transport and the desertion of the muleteers had greatly disarranged. But the enemy having surprised the guard of the bridge of Palencia, and discovered a ford at Villamuriel, attacked the left of the allies, but were at length driven across the Carrion. On the 26th the allies crossed the Pisuerga at Cabezon. On the 27th the whole French army was in front of Cabezon; on the 28th it attempted to turn the left of the allied position, and having opened a passage over the river, by surprising the detachment of the Brunswick-Oels light infantry, posted in a tower behind the broken bridge at Tordesillas, Wellington, to prevent the enemy intercepting his line of communication with Hill (to whom he had transmitted orders to advance on the Adaja, in order to effect a junction with him), on the 29th, retreated across the Douro, and took a position on the heights between Rueda and Tordesillas. In this position he remained till the 6th of November, to afford time for Hill's movements. The enemy having in the meantime restored the bridges of Toro and Tordesillas, and the line of the Douro being no longer tenable, the retreat was resumed; orders being dispatched to Hill to direct his march on Alba de Tormes, instead of on the Adaja—a change of direction necessary, as Soult and Joseph were advancing with an overwhelming force from the south; and thus the allied army was exposed to attack both in front and rear. In these operations, the loss of the allies, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to nearly 900 men.

On the 7th the advanced posts of the two armies entered into communication at Me-

† At this time the troops, as soon as their arms were piled, rushed in crowds to the wine-stores, and breaking open the doors, drank to excess. Some of them were found next morning drowned in the wine, the thoughtless men having staved the butts in their impatience to gratify their appetites. When the bugle sounded to march, the whole of the troops were so stupefied, that they could scarce totter along.

una Campo; and on the 8th, a junction being effected, the united army took up its position on the heights of San Christoval. On the 10th, Soult and Souham, having effected a junction (their forces amounting to 97,000 men, of whom 12,000 were cavalry), attacked the allied post at Alba de Tormes, but being resolutely resisted, they crossed the river at the ford of Galisancho, and took post in a strong position near Mozarbes, whence detachments of their cavalry and a strong body of infantry threatened the communications of the allies with Ciudad Rodrigo.

Wellington, now apprehensive that his position would be outflanked, determined to retreat, as the enemy would not fight. Accordingly, the baggage having already defiled through Salamanca, the allied army, on the afternoon of the 15th, was in motion, and marching to its right, passed round the enemy's left flank, at little more than cannon-shot distance—a violent storm of rain and a thick mist favouring the hazardous movement. During this interval of obscurity, which lasted for two hours, the allies had passed the dangerous ground; and having now gained the direct road to Portugal, encamped for the night on the banks of the Valmusa river. During the two following days, a strong advanced guard of French cavalry pressed on the line of retreat, and at the passage of the Huebra by the allies, attempted to arrest the progress of the light division. The allied army was now but one day's march from Ciudad Rodrigo. On the 18th the army reached that city, and rations being liberally served out from the magazines, the wearied troops bivouacked on the sandy hills near that fortress. On the 20th they crossed the frontiers of Portugal; and as soon as it was known that the French had crossed the Tormes, the army went into its old cantonments on the Coa and the Agueda, the left resting on Lamego, and the right advancing to Bejar, to hold the pass of Banos.

This difficult and masterly retreat was attended with considerable loss; for although that sustained by casualties and prisoners did not exceed 1,500 men, yet the stragglers who fell into the enemy's hands exceeded more than twice that number. But so skillfully had the retreat been conducted, that not a gun or standard had been lost; no stores, treasure, or provisions destroyed; and none of the sick and wounded abandoned. The large number of prisoners who had fallen

into the enemy's hands were the drunkards who had broken into the wine-stores at Duenas and Torquemada in the retreat from Burgos, and those of Hill's rear-guard at Valdemoro, during his retreat from Madrid. That part of the retreat from Salamanca to Ciudad Rodrigo was attended with great severity. The weather was very inclement, storms of wind and rain succeeding each other with but little intermission; and the negligence of the commissariat had been so great, that the troops received only two rations during the three days the retreat lasted. The deficiency was supplied by the acorns which the men picked up while marching through the woods, or by shooting the swine which grazed in them.

Thus ended the glorious campaign of 1812—the most glorious, in a military point of view, of which English annals can boast. During it the south of Spain had been cleared of the enemy, its frontier fortresses wrested out of his hands, and his great arsenals of Madrid, Seville, Ciudad Rodrigo, and the lines before Cadiz captured by his opponent; and these wonderful successes were obtained by an army which never exceeded 60,000 men, over an enemy who had 240,000 veteran troops at his disposal. "The campaigns of Marlborough had no such momentous triumphs to commemorate; the glories of Crecy and Agincourt were, in comparison, sterile in durable results."

The army being now disposed in its winter quarters, the commander-in-chief devoted his attention to restore it to its moral and military efficiency; and having put matters in a train for its re-equipment and reorganisation, he transferred the command, *ad interim*, to Hill, and on the 12th of December, accompanied by Lord Fitzroy Somerset and an orderly dragoon, proceeded to Cadiz, to induce the Spanish government to endeavour to effect the reform and more efficient organisation of the Spanish army—intending, as he expressed it, "to throw himself in fortune's way at the commencement of the next campaign, if he could collect a sufficient army." Arrangements were made that he should have the co-operation of 50,000 Spanish troops in the next campaign. From Cadiz he went to Lisbon, for the purpose of investing Sir Charles Stuart with the order of the Bath. Leaving Lisbon on the 20th of January, 1813, he reached his old head-quarters at Frenada on the 25th of the same month.

Honours now were showered on him. He

was created Marquis of Wellington by the prince-regent, and made knight of the order of the Garter. By the Spanish government he was appointed generalissimo of the Spanish armies, and invested with the order of the Holy Ghost. By the prince-regent of Portugal he was created Duke of Vittoria. The British parliament voted him £100,000, for the purchase of an appropriate residence.

While Wellington was achieving these memorable exploits in the centre and north of Spain, Maitland, Popham, and Skerret were carrying on operations on the eastern and western coasts, and in the south. It having been arranged by the English commander-in-chief and the British cabinet, that a force should be dispatched from Sicily to the eastern coast of Spain, to clear that part of the Peninsula of the enemy, and, if possible, expel him from Catalonia, Valencia, and Murcia, Lord William Bentinck, the English commander-in-chief in Sicily, detached, in an early part of this year, 6,000 men (one-third of whom were British, 1,000 Germans, and the rest Calabrians and Sicilians), under Lieutenant-general Maitland, for that purpose. In the middle of July the expedition arrived at Port Mahon, in Minorca, where it was joined by a Spanish division of about 4,500 men, chiefly French deserters and Spanish criminals. From Minorca the expedition sailed for the coast of Spain, and on the 1st of August anchored in the bay of Blanes; but Maitland, ascertaining that Alicante, an important city of Valencia, was in danger, in consequence of O'Donnell's recent defeat at Castalla, sailed for that city, and on the 10th of August disembarked his troops there as a base for his operations. Suchet immediately withdrew his vanguard, which was within sight of the place, and at the same time Maitland advanced forward and occupied the country from which the enemy had retired; but on the 18th, receiving intelligence that the armies of Suchet and Joseph were on the eve of forming a junction, he fell back to his position before Alicante. Maitland now seemed disposed to put into execution Lord William Bentinck's instructions, and re-embark for Sicily; but Wellington ordered him to remain where he was until he should receive the further orders of the secretary of state; at the same time transmitting to him instructions for his operations,—showing how he might maintain his position at Alicante; how to keep open his communication

with the sea and the British shipping; and ordering him not to embark till the last extremity. He invited Maitland to place confidence in the gallantry and discipline of the British troops under his command, telling him, that he himself had tried them frequently, and that they had never disappointed his expectations. But Maitland had not the habitude of a separate command, and knew not how to elicit the qualities of the English soldier. He therefore, early in October, resigned his command, and was succeeded by Major-general Mackenzie, until Major-general Clinton arrived from Sicily. Clinton, on his arrival, was exposed to all the difficulties which every British officer serving with Spaniards was doomed to undergo. His efforts were paralysed by the jealousy and ill-will of the Spanish governor of Alicante, who refused to give Clinton possession of the citadel and seaward batteries of the place, which were necessary to secure his communication with the English shipping, and, in case of a reverse, his retreat and re-embarkation. This conduct prevented Clinton adopting any offensive operations till the arrival of General Campbell with a reinforcement of 4,000 men from Sicily, and then the season was too far advanced for active operations. As the Spanish government had made no provision for the supply of their Majorcan division, and as Campbell could no longer furnish it with rations, it broke up and went marauding into the country. Many of the Sicilians and Italians who had come with Maitland also deserted and joined Suchet. At the time of Maitland's arrival in Catalonia, 1,200 men, under General Donkin, disembarked at Denia, to the east of Alicante, but being assailed by superior numbers, they were obliged to re-embark.

In the Asturias, with the aid of the English squadron under Sir Home Popham, the whole coast, from Corunna to Guetario, was in the hands of the allies; and though their combined attempts on Santander, Guetario, and Bilboa failed, eventually these towns were evacuated by the enemy, in consequence of the battle of Salamanca, and the necessity of the general concentration of the French forces in the northern provinces.

The British advance on Madrid also occasioned the raising of the siege of Cadiz. Soult no sooner heard the result of that battle than he abandoned the lines constructed against it, together with several hundred pieces of ordnance, and a large

portion of his stores and *matériel*, and retreated on Granada. His rear-guard was attacked by a joint English and Spanish force, under Colonel Skerret, who drove it

from San Lucar, and pursuing it to Seville, took that city, on August 27th, by assault, though garrisoned by eight battalions.

#### NAVAL OPERATIONS.

LISSA, in the Adriatic sea (the scene of Captain Hoste's gallant exploit in 1811), witnessed another severe action in November of this year, between three English frigates and as many French ships of the same class, accompanied by other craft.

While lying off Lissa, the English squadron, consisting of the *Alceste*, *Active*, and *Unite*, under Captain Murray Maxwell, descried, on the 28th of November, the French squadron to the south of Lissa. The English ships, on the morning of the 29th, came in sight of the enemy formed in line of battle ready to receive them; but seeing the British vessels bearing down on them in close line, two of them bore away, under a crowd of sail, to the north-west, the third steering to the north-east. The English commodore, detaching the *Unite* after the third vessel, prepared to attack the other two with the *Alceste* and the *Active*. The *Alceste* brought the nearest ship to action at one o'clock, but losing her maintop-mast, she dropped a little astern; but the *Active* pushing on, came up and supplied her place, which compelled the French commodore to hasten to the assistance of his consort. After a spirited conflict of two hours and twenty minutes, the French commodore, in the *Pauline*, taking advantage of the crippled state of the *Alceste*, made sail and escaped. The other frigate, called the *Pomone*, 44 guns, struck to the *Active*. The third frigate, named *La Personne*, of 28 guns, was captured the same day, after a chase of eight hours. The *Alceste* had seven men killed and thirteen wounded; the *Active*, eight killed and twenty-four wounded. Of the crew of the *Pomone*, consisting of 322 men, the loss in killed and wounded amounted to fifty.

In September, Captain Hoste, in command of the *Bacchante*, on the coast of Istria, detached his lieutenant to bring out from Leone some merchant vessels loaded with ship-timber, an armed xebec, and two gun-boats, all of which he captured; and on the 18th, the same officer captured, on

the coast of Apulia, eighteen merchant vessels, together with the eight gun-boats by which they were protected.

On the 27th of March, Captain Henry, of the brig-sloop *Rosario*, and Captain Trollope, of the *Griffon*, observing a flotilla, consisting of twelve brigs and one lugger, and which formed the fourteenth division of the Bologna, flotilla of gun-boats, after a severe contest, captured four of them; and in the month of April, Captain Thomas, of the *Undaunted*, coming suddenly on twenty-six sail of gun-boats and merchantmen, off the mouth of the Rhone, burnt twelve and captured seven of them.

In May, Captain Hotham, of the *Northumberland* line-of-battle ship, descried the two French frigates *l'Ariane* and *l'Andromache*, of 44 guns and 450 men each, and the *Mameluke* brig, of 18 guns and 150 men, which had been cruising since January in the Atlantic, with great success, against British commerce, off L'Orient, brought them to action, and after a continued fire had been kept up on them for more than an hour, the three vessels were set on fire, and exploded in the course of the ensuing night.

In February, Captain Talbot, of the *Victorious* (74-gun ship), accompanied by the 18-gun brig-sloop the *Weasel*, descried the *Rivoli* (a 74-gun ship), accompanied by the two brigs *Jena* and *Mercure*, of 16 guns each, and the *Mameluke*, of 8 guns, and two gun-boats from Venice, bound to the port of Pola, in Istria, the *Victorious* and *Weasel* gave chase. The *Weasel* was directed to bring the brigs astern of the *Rivoli* to action, in order to induce the French commodore to shorten sail. This the *Weasel* did so effectually, that, after twenty minutes' contest, one of the brigs took fire and blew up; the other, crowding sail, made off. At half-past four, the *Victorious*, being within pistol-shot of the *Rivoli*, a furious action ensued. The *Weasel* was now recalled from her chase of the two fleeing brigs, as the *Victorious* and *Rivoli* were in but seven fathoms' water, lest either of the large ships

should get aground. The captain of the *Weasel*, obeying his orders, returned, and placing his ship on the bow of the *Rivoli*, raked her with three broadsides, at musket-shot distance. The action had now lasted four hours; and the *Rivoli*, being perfectly unmanageable, struck, and had suffered so great damage, that, on her valuation, £13,000 were deducted from the proceeds for damages done to her during the action. The loss of

the *Rivoli*, in killed and wounded, was 400; that of the *Victorious*, 141. The *Weasel* did not lose a single man.

In the course of the year, the Dutch islands of Macassar and Timor were captured by an expedition which was fitted out from Batavia, the capital of the island of Java, under Colonel Gillespie and Captain Sayer, of the *Leda*. The same expedition reduced Palembang.

#### WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA.

FROM the temper manifested by the president and congress of the United States towards the close of the last year, it was evident that war was on the eve of breaking out between America and Great Britain. Though their commerce was equally injured by the Berlin and Milan decrees of Napoleon Buonaparte and the orders in council of the British government, yet, from the common democratic feelings and republican institutions by which they and the French were animated and influenced, the American democrats were as loud in their clamours for a junction of their arms with those of the French empire, as they were disposed for a war with England. The requisition of the English government to impress British seamen found on board American vessels, tended to promote the hostile feeling; and the collision which took place on the 23rd of June, 1807, between the *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*, off the Cape of Virginia, expedited that feeling. The circumstances of that collision were:—The captain of the *Leopard*, knowing that the *Chesapeake* had several English deserters on board, whom he had vainly endeavoured to recover by amicable means, hailing the *Chesapeake* while cruising off Virginia, insisted on his right of search, which the captain of the *Chesapeake* refusing to admit, fired a broadside, which killed three and wounded eighteen of the *Chesapeake's* crew. The American frigate, hauling down her colours, five deserters were, on search, found on board that vessel. On the news of this affair reaching Washington, the American president issued a proclamation, ordering all British vessels of war to leave the harbours of the United States, though not a murmur of complaint had been uttered against the French, who had, in 1807, forcibly boarded the United States' sloop of

war *Hornet*, while lying in L'Orient, and seized five Frenchmen, naturalised citizens of the United States, and who had served several years in the American naval service. But when intelligence of this affair reached London, the British cabinet, before any demand for redress had been made by the American envoy in London, caused to be conveyed to the American government a disavowal of the right to search ships of war of any country for deserters, and offered to make reparation for the unauthorised act of the *Leopard*, at the same time issuing a proclamation to that effect. Thus matters remained till Mr. Rose was dispatched as British envoy to Washington, for the purpose of restoring an amicable understanding; but Jefferson, demanding the revocation of the British orders in council, and the entire exemption of ships bearing the flag of the United States from search, the British envoy returned home. In 1807, Jefferson being succeeded as president by Madison, who professed a desire to adjust the differences between the United States and Great Britain, Mr. Erskine, British envoy and minister-plenipotentiary at Washington, offered to Mr. Smith, the American foreign secretary, public reparation for the forcible taking of the men out of the *Chesapeake*; and Mr. Smith replying in an amicable spirit, Mr. Erskine agreed that the British orders in council should be withdrawn on the 10th of June, 1809; Mr. Smith consenting that the Non-intercourse Act should be withdrawn on the same day. But the British ministry refusing to ratify Erskine's arrangement, the Non-intercourse Act was renewed by the government of the United States, and all communication broken off with the British envoy; and on the 1st of March, the United States' envoy to the court of London, took leave of the prince-regent.

A rupture between the United States and Great Britain seemed now inevitable; and the collision between the *Little Belt*, Captain Bingham, and the American frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers, on the 16th of May, 1811 (and which has been already detailed in Vol. I., p. 381), tended to exasperate the national feelings of both countries; but the affair being at length adjusted, all hostile aggression was, for a time, suspended.

At length, in the year 1812, the democratic government, feeling themselves sufficiently strong, raised the military force of the states from 15,000 to 25,000 men, with the intention of invading Canada, and capturing the homeward-bound West India fleet, before the British government were aware of their designs, either to put Canada in a proper state of defence, or to have prepared a convoy for the West India fleet. With this view, in the beginning of April, a general embargo was laid on all vessels in the harbours of the United States; and on the 18th of June, war was declared between the United States and Great Britain. This was an uncalled-for measure by the American government; for Napoleon having, in the preceding April, repealed the Berlin and Milan decrees, the British government had, on the 23rd of June, repealed the orders in council, so far as they related to the United States. But on receipt of intelligence of the declaration of war by the congress, and the issue of letters of marque and reprisal, together with the disregard of the American government to the notified repeal of the orders in council, and its refusal to continue the armistice agreed on by the commanders (Sir George Prevost and General Dearborn) on each side, in Canada, being now known, orders were issued by the British government, dated October 13th, for granting general reprisals against the ships, goods, and citizens of the United States, in the usual form towards a hostile power, but with a declaration, that nothing in that order was to annul the authority given to the British commander on the American station, to sign a convention for recalling all hostile orders issued by the respective governments, with a view of restoring the accustomed relations of amity and commerce.

In prosecution of their hostile designs, early in July, their fastest-sailing ships, brigs, and schooners, were fitted out as privateers; in the same month, General Hull, who was deemed by the Americans a great general and strategist, with 2,500 men,

crossed the river above Detroit, and marched to the village of Sandwich, in Upper Canada. His next operations were against Fort Amherstburg; but he met there with so warm a reception, that he recrossed the Detroit Strait, and retreated under the walls of Fort Detroit; where, being beset by Major-general Brock, with 1,300 regulars, militia, and Indians, he capitulated on the 10th of August. The fort of Detroit, its ordnance, stores, a frigate, and Hull's artillery, were the prizes of the conquerors. Brock immediately moved forward to the Niagara frontier, to clear it of its American posts and forts. But his operations were paralysed by the incompetency of Sir George Prevost, the commander-in-chief and governor of the province, who had concluded an armistice with the American general Dearborn, which provided that neither party should act offensively until the government at Washington should ratify or annul the treaty. In the meantime the Americans assembled an army of 6,300 on the frontier, and fortified all their posts. On the 18th of October, General Wadsworth, with 3,000 men, crossed the Niagara opposite the village of Queenstown, where a British detachment of 300 men was posted, who contested the passage with the enemy. During the struggle Brock arrived, and assuming the command, fell in the act of cheering on his little band, who being at length overpowered, retreated, leaving Wadsworth and his men in possession of the fort. But the triumph of the American general was of short duration. In the course of the same afternoon he was attacked by 1,000 regulars and militia, under General Sheaffe, and, after a brief contest, captured, with 900 of his followers, also one gun, and two stand of colours; the Americans had 1,000 killed and wounded; and the loss of the remainder in their flight across the Niagara. Such was the result of Maddison's first Canadian campaign, to make, in his own phrase, "territorial reprisals for oceanic outrages."

Maddison now strained every nerve to reinforce Dearborn. By the middle of November that general was at the head of 10,000 men, on the frontier of Lower Canada; and General Smyth had 5,000 on the Niagara frontier. With these forces an attack was made on both Upper and Lower Canada. Smyth, on the 28th of November, invaded Upper Canada by crossing the St. Lawrence; and Dearborn, about the same time, broke up from his camp at Platts-

burg, and marched to Champlain, the nearest point, on the Canadian line, to Montreal. No operations of consequence, however, were undertaken during the remainder of the year.

While increasing their military force, the Americans were equally strenuous in their exertions to augment their naval forces on lakes Ontario and Erie; and, in a short time, their fleet on the former lake was so formidable, that the British flotilla was obliged to leave them in its undisturbed possession. The naval power of America at this time became so great, that the British were compelled, on several occasions, to surrender the palm of victory to their enemies. This arose from the superior size, weight of metal, and number of men with which their ships were manned; and also from the circumstance that among their crews were to be found a large number of sailors who had been trained in the British navy. For many years previous to the war, the Americans, in anticipation of a rupture with England, had been decoying the men from British ships by every artful stratagem. No ship which anchored in their waters could send a boat on shore without having the crew assailed by a recruiting party from some American frigate fitting out in the vicinity. Many seamen had also entered on board American merchant vessels; and the numerous non-intercourse and embargo bills in existence, at different periods, during the few years preceding the war, threw many merchant sailors out of employment. These circumstances enabled the captains of the American frigates to pick their crews from a numerous body of seamen. In the action between the *Guerriere* and the *Constitution*, it was well known that there were about 200 British seamen on board the American vessel, and that many of them were leading men and captains of guns. The marines also consisted of expert marksmen, who were collected from the backwoodsmen of the western states, and afterwards drilled in the marine barracks established near Washington; from which depôt the American ships were supplied with that species of force. Another advantage which they also possessed over the British service was, that the crews of their ships were taught the practical rules of gunnery; and ten shot, with the requisite quantity of powder, were allowed to be daily expended in play by a ship's crew, to make one hit.

The first naval action which took place

after war had been declared between the United States and Great Britain, and which proved the advantage of their provident provision, was between the English 36-gun frigate *Belvidera*, Captain Byron, and the American frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers. The British frigate was in charge of the West India fleet of merchantmen, on their homeward passage. On the 23rd of June, Rodgers, who had on the 21st sailed from New York, in company with two frigates, a sloop of war, and a brig-sloop, for their capture, fell in with the *Belvidera* off the Nantucket shoal. Chase was immediately given. After a contest for two hours—sometimes in a running-fight, at other times at rather close quarters—the *Belvidera*, by good seamanship, outmanœuvred the *President* and the squadron, which appeared in sight during the action, and finally escaped, as did also the whole of the merchant fleet.

While Rodgers was looking out for the West India homeward-bound fleet, on the 19th of August, the American frigate *Constitution*, Captain Hull, fell in with the *Guerriere*, Captain Dacre, which was returning to Halifax, after having escorted another homeward-bound fleet of merchantmen to refit. About ten minutes past four in the afternoon the action began, the *Guerriere* being the first to open fire. The American frigate shortly after hoisted her colours and commenced the action, which was contested with great obstinacy on both sides. The *Constitution* endeavoured to cross the bows of the English ship, so as to get into a raking position, which Captain Dacre, by skilful management of his ship, for some time prevented. When the ships had been in action upwards of three-quarters of an hour, a 24-pound shot struck the mizen-mast of the *Guerriere*, and it fell over the larboard-quarter. The *Constitution* now poured in a destructive raking fire into the disabled ship, and the two vessels shortly after coming in contact with each other, a mutual attempt was made to board; but the roll of the sea again separating them, the attempts were rendered ineffectual. A heavy fire of small-arm men was kept up by the two opposing ships whenever they came within range of musket-shot, which caused great havoc among the officers and crew. For upwards of three hours the contest was maintained, and during the greater part of the time the combatants were yardarm to yardarm of each other; when the English vessel being a perfect

wreck, wholly dismasted, rolling about in the trough of a tempestuous sea, struck her colours, but was so complete a wreck that the captors set fire to her. The loss of the *Guerriere* was fifteen killed and seventy-three wounded; that of the *Constitution*, seven killed and as many wounded. The *Guerriere* mounted twenty-four broadside guns, and her crew consisted of 244 men and nineteen boys. The *Constitution* mounted twenty-eight broadside guns, and her crew consisted of 460 men. The weight of the *Constitution's* broadside was one-half heavier than that of the *Guerriere*; and besides being in a crippled state from age and long service, her powder had lost its strength from damp.

The balance of success in the naval war continued to preponderate in favour of America. On the 18th of October, the *Frolic*, British sloop of 18 guns, Captain Whinyates, convoying the homeward-bound trade from the bay of Honduras, while in the act of repairing damages to her masts and sails (received in a violent gale on the preceding night), descried the American brig *Wasp*, of 18 guns, giving chase to the convoy. The *Frolic* soon brought the *Wasp* to action; but her rigging was in so shattered a condition from the previous storm, that in ten minutes she lay as a log in the water, when the *Wasp* taking a raking position, and the *Frolic* not being able to get a gun to bear, and not more than twenty of her crew remaining unhurt, she was compelled to strike. But in the course of a few hours, the *Poictiers* line-of-battle ship heaving in sight, recaptured the *Frolic* and her captor the *Wasp*. The crew of the *Frolic* amounted to ninety-two men; that of the *Wasp* to 135.

A more serious discomfiture occurred to the British navy in the contest between the English frigate *Macedonian*, Captain Carden, and the American vessel *United States*, Captain Decatur. On the 25th of October, the *Macedonian* descried the *United States*, in lat. 29° N., long. 29° 30' W., and at the distance of about twelve miles, made all sail, and closed with the enemy about nine, A.M. After an hour's furious contest, having received nearly one hundred shots in her hull, and her lower tier of guns, owing to the rolling of the vessel in a tempestuous sea, being almost useless, while more than one-third of her crew were either killed or wounded, she was compelled to strike her colours. The *Macedonian* mounted forty-five guns, and her crew consisted of 254

men; of whom thirty-six were killed and sixty-four wounded. The *United States* mounted fifty-six guns, and her crew consisted of 474 men; of whom five were killed and seven wounded. A large proportion of the crew of the *United States* were British seamen.

Neither was this the last of the discomfitures which befell the British navy, this year, from American enterprise. For the purpose of annoying British commerce in the South Seas, the United States' government ordered Commodore Bainbridge to proceed thither with the *Constitution*, the *Hornet*, and the *Essex*. On the 29th of December, the British frigate *Java*, Captain Lambert, having in tow the American merchant ship *William*, which she had captured on the 12th of the same month, desecring in the offing off St. Salvatore the *Constitution*, bore up in chase of the American, and immediately a close action ensued within pistol-shot. After the battle had lasted two hours Captain Lambert falling mortally wounded, the command devolved on Lieutenant Chads. When scarcely a stick was left standing—when the ship was encumbered with wrecks of spars and rigging, and when almost every discharge set her on fire, the crew of the *Java*, seeing the *Constitution* running from her to take her long-range discharges, cheered her to come back, as they could not give chase. At length, after a desperate contest of three hours and a-half, the *Java* lowered her colours; when the enemy, discovering her disabled state, removed the crew and blew her up. The *Java* mounted forty-four guns, and her crew consisted of 344 men; of whom twenty-two were killed and 102 wounded. The *Constitution* mounted fifty-six guns, and her crew consisted of 460 men, of whom ten were killed and forty wounded.

This succession of naval disasters (occasioned to a power which held the sceptre of the ocean, and was believed to be invincible on that element), by the American diminutive marine of four frigates and eight sloops, was the cause of unbounded exultation, not only to the people of the United States, but also to all the continental nations of Europe who were jealous of English maritime power. No one was willing to see that it was to the peculiar build of their vessels—(their frigates being absolutely ships-of-the-line in their build and weight of metal, and consequently, though nominally of the same class, were not a fair match for

them)\*—not to mention the circumstance of their being manned with a considerable number of British seamen of the first class, that this success was owing.

THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1812—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND RUSSIA.

At the conclusion of 1811, the city of Valencia was invested on all sides by the army under Suchet. On the night of the 1st of January of the following year, the trenches were opened, and on the 5th the bombardment commenced, and was continued for the ensuing three days and nights. The horrors of an assault were now impending over the devoted city, to avert which a capitulation was consented to by the governor. The trophies of the captors were 18,000 prisoners, nearly 400 pieces of artillery, and an immense quantity of military stores.

Near the conclusion of the year 1811, the French had also invested Tariffa with about 5,000 men, whose operations were covered by another strong corps posted at Vejer; and a breach having been effected in its walls, on the last day of that year, an attempt was made to storm the place; but being driven back with considerable loss, on the 4th of January, 1812, the assailants withdrew, leaving their artillery and stores, collected for the siege, behind them.

On the 1st of June, Ballasteros was defeated, on the plains of Bornos, by General Coureux, with the loss of 1,500 men in killed and wounded.

During the month of August, Bilboa was evacuated by the French, who were repulsed, with considerable loss, in their two attempts for its recovery.

On the 24th of the same month the French raised the siege of Cadiz, destroying all the forts and batteries in the lines, and abandoning several hundred pieces of ordnance: and on the 27th of August they were driven out of the city of Seville by a joint force of Spaniards and English.

Among the causes which tended to the rup-

ture of the courts of France and St. Petersburg, was the annexation by Napoleon of Cracow and Western Galicia to the grand-duchy of Warsaw, and vesting the sovereignty in the King of Saxony. This act, the Emperor Alexander considered as a design of the French emperor to reunite, at some future period, the provinces of that dismembered realm, held by Russia and Austria, to that duchy, and thus restore Poland to its original independence, thereby establishing a frontier or vanguard for Europe to drive back the Russians to their native forests, and annihilate their influence on the general feeling of the civilised world. The czar's dream of forming an universal empire, to be divided on equal terms with "the great man whose amity was to be deemed a benefit of the gods," being dissipated, and political negotiation and intrigue having exerted all their influence on both sides, each party began to put into operation military preparations of the vastest magnitude. Alexander exhausted all the energies of his vast empire; Napoleon put forth his utmost strength, not to cope with, but to crush his antagonist.

The first military operation of Napoleon which was connected with his projects in Russia, was the occupation of Swedish Pomerania. The crown prince, Bernadotte, indicating an unwillingness to put the anti-commercial edicts of the Berlin and Milan decrees into operation, was treated like a revolted subject and traitor;† and in January of this year, Davoust took possession of Swedish Pomerania and the Isle of Rügen. This aggression induced Bernadotte to sign a treaty of alliance with the Russian emperor in the following March; and in an interview which took place be-

\* Captain Carden, of the *Macedonian*, in his despatch to the admiralty, thus explains the cause of the success of the Americans in the naval engagements which have just been recounted. He says—"When I was taken on board I ceased to wonder at the result of the battle. The *United States* is built with the scantling of a 74-gun ship, mounting thirty long 24-pounders, English ship guns on her main-deck, and twenty-two 42-pounder carronades, with two long 24-pounders on her quarter-deck and fore-castle, howitzers on her top, and a travelling car-

ronade on her upper deck, with a complement of 478 picked men (many of them English seamen) on board."

† Napoleon spoke openly of punishing Bernadotte's contumacy, by causing him to finish his Swedish studies at Vincennes, and had organised a conspiracy for the purpose of putting his threat into execution; but this was frustrated by the zeal of a private friend at Paris, who apprised Bernadotte of his imminent danger, and he was thus enabled to take measures accordingly.

tween Bernadotte and the czar, they settled their plan of resistance on the model of Wellington's defensive campaign of 1810, in Portugal.

Though war had not yet been formally declared, the French emperor began to pour troops into Prussia, Pomerania, and the duchy of Warsaw. All the disposable French troops, amounting to 270,000 men, 80,000 Germans of the confederation of the Rhine, 30,000 Austrians, 20,000 Prussians, 30,000 Poles, with Italians, Lombards, Tuscans, Venetians, Romans, and Neapolitans (in all amounting to half a million of men), divided into thirteen corps of infantry and four of cavalry, supported by 1,300 pieces of cannon, marched in the same ranks. The jealousies of those who had suffered most in Napoleon's career of conquest, were now supposed to be extinguished; and those who had been vanquished on the disastrous fields of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena, were seen side by side with their conquerors, all animated by one passion—the desire of conquest and the love of military glory. To meet this formidable array, the strength of the Russian empire, amounting to 300,000 men (of whom 50,000 were cavalry, supported by 800 pieces of cannon), had been collected on the Niemen; and an entrenched camp, of unusual extent and strength, had been constructed at Drissa, to defend the approach to St. Petersburg. As the enemy advanced, the country was to be denuded of its inhabitants and laid waste.

“The grand army,” which was now concentrated on the frontiers of Poland, was divided into three great masses;—the first, consisting of 240,000 men, under the immediate orders of Napoleon, was opposed to the Russian army under Barclay de Tolly, amounting to 130,000. The second, consisting of 80,000, under Jerome, was to crush Count Bagration's army, amounting to 50,000; while Eugene Beauharnais, at the head of 80,000, was to throw himself between Tolly and Bagration's armies, and prevent their junction.

Having made the necessary arrangements for the government of France during his absence, Napoleon, with his empress, left Paris for Dresden on the 9th of May, to join the grand army assembled on the Polish frontier, and where he had commanded the Emperor of Austria, the kings of Prussia, Naples, Würtemberg, Westphalia, and also every German sovereign of inferior rank, to meet him. In this congregation of royal-

ties he played the part of undisputed master for some days, kings obsequiously waiting in his antechamber, and queens being maids of honour to Marie Louise. With more than eastern magnificence he distributed diamonds, snuff-boxes, and crosses among the throng of princes, dukes, ministers, and courtiers, who servilely followed his steps. Having thus for some days figured as king of kings among his obsequious guests, on May 19th he broke up his court and set forward for Dantzic, where he arrived on the 7th of June.

Before giving the signal for hostilities, a final effort was made to conciliate the czar. Count Lauriston was sent to Alexander to endeavour to effect a reconciliation between the sworn “imperial brothers” of Tilsit and Erfurt; but neither Alexander nor his ministers would deign to grant the envoy an audience. On receipt of intelligence of the contemptuous repulse, orders were given for the army to advance and pass the Niemen; and the following proclamation, dated from the imperial head-quarters, was forthwith distributed among the soldiers:—

“Soldiers!—The second war of Poland has commenced. The first was terminated at Friedland and Tilsit. At Tilsit Russia swore eternal alliance with France, and war against England. She has openly violated her oath, and refuses to render any explanation of her strange conduct till we shall have repassed the Rhine, and, consequently, left our allies at her discretion. Russia is impelled onwards by fatality. Her destiny is about to be accomplished. Does she believe that we have degenerated? that we are no longer the soldiers of Austerlitz? She has placed us between dishonour and war: the choice cannot for an instant be doubtful. Let us march forward then; let us cross the Niemen; let us carry war into her territories. Our second campaign of Poland will be as glorious as our first; but our second peace shall carry with it its own guarantee; it shall put an end for ever to that haughty influence which Russia has exercised for fifty years in the affairs of Europe.”

The grand army, which consisted of thirteen corps, exclusive of the imperial guard, was now reviewed in the field of Friedland, and being immediately put in motion, advanced in three overwhelming columns. Before daybreak on the 23rd of June, the advanced guard of the grand army reached

the banks of the Niemen. In the course of the day the whole of the army was assembled. The spectacle was magnificent: half a million of men, of whom eighty thousand were cavalry, were, in all the splendour of military array, gathered in three mighty masses, flushed with hope and thirsting for renown. With these were 1,362 pieces of cannon, six bridge equipments, many thousands of artillery, hospital and provision waggons and carts, a besieging train, and innumerable herds of oxen, driven by Polish peasants, and escorted by Polish hussars. Before advancing to the Niemen, provisions had been served out to the troops sufficient to supply them in their advance from that river to their reaching Wilna, the capital of Russian Poland.

Three bridges having been constructed across the Niemen, on the 24th of June Jerome Buonaparte arrived at Grodno, Eugene Beauharnais at Piloni, Macdonald at Tilsit, and Napoleon himself at Kowno. As soon as intelligence of the passage of the river reached the czar at Wilna, that town was abandoned by the Russians; and on the 28th, Napoleon, with the Polish guard, made his public entry into it.

The sultry heat of the weather which the grand army had experienced at the passage of the Niemen, was now succeeded by a tempest, the fury of which resembled the devastating hurricanes of tropical climates. No sooner had the frontier been crossed, and the army began to penetrate the sombre pine forests of Lithuania, than the summer sky was overcast and the day looked like night. The thunder and lightning were succeeded by torrents of rain and gales of wind, and the insupportable heat of the atmosphere was suddenly changed into distressing cold. Before the middle of July, above 25,000 sick and dying men filled the hospitals of Wilna and the villages of Lithuania, and above 10,000 horses had perished between the Niemen and that city.

While Napoleon, with the main body of the grand army, was moving on Wilna, Jerome and Davoust had advanced towards Minsk, to intercept the army of Bagration and the Cossack force under Platoff, which had been left on the Niemen to observe the movements of the French army; but owing to the blunders and obstinacy of Jerome, he was completely surrounded, Napoleon being seven days nearer than he was to the fortified camp of Drissa, on the Dwina, whither Barclay de Tolly, who led the Rus-

sian main army, under the nominal command of Alexander, had retired, as being a favourable position for covering either St. Petersburg or Moscow, and rendering the advance of a hostile army towards either capital impossible.

Bagration having been defeated by Davoust at Mohilev, with considerable loss, and thus his junction with the main army prevented, Barclay de Tolly broke up his intrenchments, and, on the 14th of July, evacuated the camp at Drissa, with the hope of enabling Bagration to effect a junction with him at Witepsk, which town he reached on the 25th of July. Napoleon, apprised of the abandonment of Drissa, immediately issued orders to pursue the fleeing foe. On the evening of the 25th, the French army bivouacked in the plain which surrounds Witepsk. At daybreak of the 27th, the French were in motion, and several severe skirmishes took place between the advanced guards of the hostile armies; but Barclay de Tolly, receiving information that Bagration had crossed the Dnieper, and was moving towards Smolensk, at break of day of the 28th he abandoned Witepsk, and advanced to the purposed goal of junction. The French finding the Russian camp deserted, took possession of Witepsk. Here, to recruit his magazines, and recover the exhausted strength of the soldiery, Napoleon determined to halt for some days.

Meanwhile, a junction having been effected between the main army and that of Bagration, Barclay de Tolly resolved to assume the offensive. Napoleon was equally desirous to meet his opponent. Accordingly, quitting Witepsk on the 13th of August, he advanced with 170,000 men towards Smolensk, and on the 17th the hostile armies were in presence of each other. The French were repulsed in their attempt to carry the place by a *coup-de-main*; but the Russians finding their position untenable, in the course of the night set fire to the town, Barclay retreating towards St. Petersburg, and Bagration in the direction of Moscow. At two in the morning of the 18th, the French took possession of the smoking ruins of the town, the naked walls and the cannon which surmounted them being their only trophies. Napoleon having re-established the bridges over the Dnieper, advanced his columns in pursuit of the enemy. On the 19th, the French advanced guard came in sight of the Russian rear-guard posted at

Valtelina, the junction which Barclay de Tolly now saw necessary to effect with Bagration, by a cross movement from the St. Petersburg to the Moscow road. A furious engagement ensued. Four times the Russians were driven from their position, and as many times returned to the encounter. The carnage was terrible, and the battle lasted till nightfall, when the Russians, under favour of the darkness, retired on the Moscow road.

The condition of the grand army was now alarming. Wilna, Witepsk, and Smolensk were vast hospitals, which soon became equally vast charnel-houses. Already the native French troops had lost a fourth of their number, and the allies a half. The roads were obstructed and the atmosphere infected with the heaps of dead and dying men and horses. Food and forage could scarcely be procured in any direction, and medicine and surgical requisites so deficient, that the surgeons were compelled to tear up their own linen for dressings; and when that supply failed, they were obliged to have recourse to parchment and paper, and at length, to the down gathered from the birch-trees, with which the Russian forests abounded.

While the grand army was suffering this accumulation of misery, the Emperor Alexander and his cabinet were actively employed in exciting the hatred of the Russian population against their invaders. The priests denounced Napoleon as the foe of the human race and of heaven; and they charged him with all the vice and crime which they could collect from Russian annals. According to bulletins of the czar, wherever Muscovite soldiers and those of the French had crossed arms, "the children of the revolution had been compelled to yield to the superior valour and skill of the loyal armies of the north." *Te Deum* was celebrated at St. Petersburg for the "constant victories" of the Russians against their invaders; thus, as Napoleon justly said, "lying not to man alone, but to God." To naturalise the war as much as possible, Barclay de Tolly, a German of Scotch descent, was now superseded in the command-in-chief of the Russian armies by General Kutusoff, a genuine Scythian in features and character.

In the meanwhile, Oudinot, with a joint

Bavarian and French force of 35,000 men, had, on the 17th and 18th of August, defeated Wittgenstein at Polotzk; Prince Schwartzenberg, with the Austrian contingent, on the 12th of the same month, had also defeated Tormasoff on the Styr; and Macdonald, with the Prussian contingent, had compelled Grawert at Eckau, in the neighbourhood of Riga, to retire before him. Victor, with 30,000 men, had advanced to Smolensk, in the rear of the grand army, and on its line of communication; and Augereau's corps, 50,000 strong, occupied the line of the Elbe and the Oder; while one hundred cohorts of the national guard of France were moved forward from the fortresses of the Rhine; these bodies forming the rear-guard of the mighty host which was to drive back to their primeval forests the Tartar race, and liberate Europe from their aggression.

Having thus completed his dispositions to secure his rear, and preserve the chain of communication between the Rhine and the Moskwa, Napoleon having remained a few days in Smolensk, pushed forward in pursuit of the retreating Russians, who committed to the flames every town and village, as they had done at Witepsk and Smolensk. On the 1st of September, the advanced guard took possession of Gjat, only a portion of which the Russians had time to burn. The army having halted here two days to refresh itself, resumed its march on the 4th. On the 5th, the Russian army was discovered strongly posted on the elevated plain of Borodino, between the Kalouga and the Moskwa rivers, with a number of skilfully constructed field-works and batteries in their front; and on the flank of their position clouds of Cossacks were traversing the plain. In the evening Napoleon issued the following proclamation:—"Soldiers! Behold the battle which you have so long desired. From this moment, the victory depends on you. It is necessary for us; it will give us abundance; good winter quarters, and a prompt return to our country. Conduct yourselves as at Austerlitz, at Friedland, at Witepsk, and at Smolensk, so that the most remote posterity may proudly cite your actions on this day, and say of each of you, 'He was in the great battle fought beneath the walls of Moscow.'"<sup>\*</sup>

\* The effective force of the French army, under the immediate command of Napoleon, which at the passage of the Niemen amounted to 300,000 men,

was now only 133,000. The Russian force was about the same number. The French artillery consisted of 590 pieces of cannon: that of the Russians, of 640.

During the 6th the Russian army was engaged in confession, and receiving absolution from their priests, who assured their ignorant and fanatical followers, that all who should be slain on the morrow would be instantly admitted, without question, to the enjoyments of Paradise; they were unsparing in their curses of the infidels who had dared to profane their sacred soil.

Both armies passed a restless night. While Napoleon, on the following morning, was surveying the Russian frontier, the sun, suddenly breaking through a fog, appeared in cloudless splendour. Pointing to the east, he exclaimed, "Behold the sun of Austerlitz!" The omen was hailed with loud and repeated acclamations by the troops.

The battle of Borodino—the fiercest, the most murderous, and most obstinately disputed of which history has preserved a record—was begun by break of day of the morning of the 7th of September. Under cover of a thick fog, the French army advanced, and simultaneously assaulted the centre, the right, and the left of the Russian position. Such was the impetuosity of the charge, that they drove the Russians from their redoubts; but this was but for a moment: they rallied, and instantly re-advanced. After several alternations of success and failure, the Russians, at the close of the day, had lost their original line of defence; and on the following morning, retired by the Moscow road to Mojaisk. In this terrible battle, the loss on each side had been great. Of the Russians, 15,000 had been killed, 30,000 wounded, and 2,000 were prisoners; and of the French, 12,000 had been killed, and 38,000 wounded. Above thirty generals had been either killed or wounded on each side. The French had captured thirteen guns, the Russians ten. On the morning of the 9th, Mojaisk being attacked by the French advanced guard, the Russians set fire to the place, and resumed their flight: on the 13th they reached Fils, a position a little in advance of Moscow; and on the 14th abandoned the capital, accompanied by the whole of its remaining population, towards Vladimir. About noon of the same day, the advanced guard of the French army reached the height called "the Mount of Salvation," so named because from that eminence the Russian traveller obtains

his first view of the holy city, hardly less sacred in his eyes than Jerusalem. The cry of "Moscow! Moscow!" ran through the lines; but on entering the city, all their hopes of enjoyment and pleasure were found mere illusions: the dwellings of 300,000 inhabitants were as silent as the wilderness—the city had been deserted; and not a living creature was to be seen to explain the cause of the universal desolation.

No sooner had the French taken up their quarters, than a fire broke out in the chief market on the night of the 13th. This catastrophe occurred on subsequent nights; but, on that of the 19th, it attained its greatest violence, the whole city being wrapped in flames, and exhibiting the spectacle of a vast ocean of fire, agitated by the wind. At length nine-tenths of the city had been destroyed, and the remainder offered no resources for the French army.\*

The stern master of the north was now visibly approaching, and the situation of the French army becoming hourly more difficult; the whole forces of Russia were gathering around it; and the determined hostility of the peasantry, aided by the Cossacks, who formed a vast circle round Moscow, occupying every road, prevented the smallest supplies from being introduced into Moscow. These difficulties and dangers increasing with fearful rapidity, in conjunction with the defeat of Murat by Benningsen, at Vincovo, on the 18th of October, determined Napoleon to leave Moscow. Accordingly, on the 19th of October, the French emperor left that city at the head of about 100,000 fighting men, 550 pieces of cannon, 2,000 artillery waggons, and an immense and almost interminable baggage train, laden with the spoils of Moscow. The last columns of the grand army quitted Moscow at midnight on the 22nd, and at one o'clock in the morning, the Kremlin was blown up by Mortier. On the 27th a bulletin was issued, announcing that "Moscow had been found not to be a good military position—that it was necessary for the army to breathe on a wider space; and that all which remained of that city was a den for savages and thieves." The sick and wounded were left to the mercy of the Russians.

While the transactions above narrated were taking place, Kutusoff had, by a semi-circular march, regained the route to Ka-

\* It is now ascertained as a fact, that the conflagrations were occasioned by the prisoners whom Rostopchin, the governor of Moscow, had liberated

from the various prisons of the city prior to his evacuation, and whom he engaged to undertake the dreadful task.

loug, in the neighbourhood of the Smolensk road; but on ascertaining the abandonment of Moscow by the French, he, on the 24th of October, marched towards Malo-Jaroslavitz, the strongest position on the road from Moscow to Kaloug, in the hope of anticipating the French in its occupation; but that town was already in their possession. At midnight of that day a furious assault was made on the enemy, and they were driven across the river Louja, where the main army bivouacked. Early on the following morning the French retook the place at the point of the bayonet, and the greater part of the day was spent in a succession of obstinate contests, in the course of which the town five times changed masters. At daybreak of the 25th, Napoleon passed the Louja for the purpose of reconnoitring the strong position which Kutusoff occupied. He had scarcely passed the bridge, when a party of Cossacks, galloping furiously, and sweeping some scattered companies of French before them, came full on the emperor and his suite. Napoleon was urged to seek safety in flight; but he drew his sword, and took post on the bank by the wayside. The wild spearmen, intent on booty, plunged on immediately, within a spear's length of the imperial party, and after stripping some of the dead and wounded, were about to return; but Bessières, with the cavalry of the guard, coming up at the critical moment, the Cossacks fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving the booty, for which they had overlooked a greater prize, on the field.

Napoleon now deeming it too hazardous to attempt to force the position occupied by Kutusoff, issued, at daybreak of the 26th, orders for a retreat; the Russian general at the same time, by some strange presentiment, abandoning his position. On the 27th, the army being divided into three *corps d'armée*, passed through Mojaisk on the 28th, over the battle-field of the Moskwa, and on the 29th regained the Smolensk road, and the bloody field of Borodino, covered with 30,000 skeletons.

As soon as Kutusoff had been apprised of the French retreat, he dispatched large bodies of Cossacks and light troops to harass their rear and flank. Although only a few Cossacks, as yet, hung on the rear of the retreating army, the dreadful features which were attendant on the remainder of the retreat began to appear. From the commencement to the termination of this dread-

ful march, hardly a day elapsed in which some new calamity did not befall those hitherto invincible legions. On the 3rd of November the corps of Davoust was defeated near Wiazma, by Miloradovitch, with the loss of 6,000 men. But it was on the 6th that the invaders had to encounter their bitterest and most destructive enemy. On that day the Russian winter set in with unwonted severity. So thick a murky darkness overspread the firmament, that the sun could not be discerned through the atmosphere. Whirlwinds of sleet, rain, and snow drove full in the soldiers' faces, and penetrated their clothes till their limbs chilled and stiffened. Their breath froze as it was exhaled, and being converted into icicles, hung from their chins and beards. Nor was this the whole of their frightful sufferings. Clouds of vultures and troops of dogs hovered over and followed the line of march, often pouncing on their victims before life was extinct. So great had been the sufferings of the retreating columns, that, from leaving Moscow to the present time, the muster-rolls exhibited a deficiency of 43,000 men and 30,000 horses.

On the 9th of November Napoleon reached Smolensk. From that day to the 13th, the other corps of the French army continued to assemble there. With great difficulty the army could now muster only 40,000 fighting men. These Napoleon divided into four columns, nearly equal in numbers: of the first, which included 6,000 of the imperial guard, he himself took the command, and marched with it towards Krasnoi, the first town on the road to Minsk, and thence to the Niemen; the second corps was commanded by Eugene Beauharnais; the third by Davoust; and the fourth, destined for the perilous service of the rear, and accordingly strengthened with 3,000 of the guard, was entrusted to Ney. The emperor left Smolensk on the 13th, having ordered the other corps to follow him on the 14th, 15th, and 16th respectively, thus interposing a day's march between every two divisions. Kutusoff, with an army exceeding 90,000 men, was marching in a line parallel to that of the French, whom he speedily outstripped; and for the purpose of cutting off their retreat, Miloradovitch was sent forward to take post with his Cossacks across the road, to dispute the passage; but on the approach of the imperial column of the old and young guard, the Russians, influenced by the awe which

had been the growth of a hundred victories, confined their efforts to a heavy cannonade from the neighbouring heights. The vice-roy, in his attempt to force a passage, lost above half his corps; and in the same attempt, the corps of Davoust was almost annihilated. Now that only the rear-guard remained to contend with, Kutusoff prepared to assume the offensive.

On the second afternoon after he had left Smolensk, Ney came in view of the Russian army, consisting of 80,000 men and a powerful artillery. The two armies were posted on opposite sides of a deep ravine, which at this point intersected the plain. Kutusoff sent an officer to summon Ney to surrender, stating the amount of his force, and offering permission to Ney to send an officer to verify his representations by inspection. While the envoy was still speaking, forty guns opened their fire on the French. Ney exclaimed in anger, "A marshal of France never surrenders; neither do men treat under fire: you are my prisoner." The artillery redoubled its thunder, amidst which this "man of fire," as the French soldiers termed him, seemed to feel in his true element.

His whole force consisted of between five and six thousand men and six guns. Opposed were 80,000, strong in cavalry and artillery. The French vanguard of 1,500 men passed along the road into the ravine, and dashed up the opposite side; but the Russians met them at the top, and at once shattered their feeble column. Ney rallied them, and forming them in reserve, led on the main body. The impetuosity of his charge broke and scattered the first opposing line, and he immediately advanced on the second; but ere he reached it, a tempest of cannon and musket-balls whistled through the column: it staggered, broke, and retreated.

Convinced that it was impossible to force his way, the French marshal returned to his former position on the other side of the ravine, drew up the remnant of his gallant band, and awaited the attack; but the enemy, mindful of the heroic lesson which had been just read to them, contented themselves with maintaining a murderous cannonade, to which the six French guns feebly replied. Still the troops, though falling thickly, remained immovable, deriving confidence from the tranquillity of their chief.

At nightfall, Ney gave orders to retreat

towards Smolensk. All who heard the order were struck with amazement. Napoleon, their comrades, and France, lay in front; it was proposed that they should turn their backs on them and retreat into a country which they had too much reason to detest and flee from. However, such was the confidence they had in their chief, that they obeyed. They retrograded for about the space of an hour, and were then halted. Descending into a ravine, Ney caused the snow to be cleared away until the course of a rivulet was exposed. "This," said the French marshal, "must be one of the feeders of the Dnieper. It will conduct us to the river; and on the further bank of that river lies our safety." The army followed its course, and about eight o'clock in the evening arrived on the bank of the Dnieper. Their joy was unbounded on seeing that river frozen over. Above and below the spot which they had reached, and where a sharp bend in the course of the river had arrested the floating ice, and which the frost had converted into a continuous line, the river was still unfrozen. An officer volunteered to try the strength of the ice. He reached the opposite bank and returned. "It would bear the men," he said, "and some few horses; but a thaw was commencing, and there was no time to be lost." The fatigue and difficulties attending a night-march had scattered the troops, on which account three hours' time were allowed for rallying. This interval the intrepid chief spent, wrapped in his cloak, in deep and placid sleep on the river-bank.

Towards midnight the troops began to pass the river. Those who first tried the ice warned their companions that it bent under them, and sunk so low that they were up to their knees in water. The deep, threatening sounds of the cracks were heard on all sides, and those who still remained on the bank hesitated to trust themselves to so frail a support. Ney ordered them to pass in single file. Much precaution was necessary, for large chasms had opened, doubly concealed by the darkness of the night and the general covering of water. The men hesitated, but they were driven on by the impatient cries of those who remained on the bank, still ignorant of the dangers of the passage, and goaded by the constant fear of the enemy's approach.

The carriages and cannon attendant on the army were of necessity left behind, with those of the wounded who were

unable to make their way across. The chief of the hospital department tried the experiment of sending some waggon-loads of sick and wounded men across the ice. A scream of agony was heard when they had reached the middle of the stream, succeeded by a deep silence. The ice had given way and all perished, except one officer, who supported himself upon a sheet of ice, and, crawling from one piece to another, reached the bank.

Ney had now placed the river between himself and the Russian army, by a stroke of promptitude and courage rarely equalled. He was in a desert of forests, without roads and without guides, two days' march from Orcha, where he arrived on November 20th, with 1,500 men. As soon as he was in the presence of Napoleon, the emperor saluted him with the title of "the bravest of the brave;" adding, "I have 300,000,000 gold francs in the cellars of the Tuileries, but I would sooner have lost them than thee."

The wrecks of "the grand army," amounting now to 12,000 men, being united at Orcha, on the 25th they began to push forward towards the Berezyna. But Admiral Tchitchagoff, the general in command of the Moldavian army which was opposed to the Austrians, leaving a division in the duchy of Warsaw to observe their movements, marched on Minsk and Borizoff, to cut off Napoleon's retreat. At the last-mentioned town there was a bridge over the Berezyna, and on the possession of the town and the command of the bridge, depended the means of crossing that river; but the Russian admiral had rendered it impassable. Napoleon, therefore, was compelled to seek a passage elsewhere. A place above Borizoff, called Studzianka, was selected, where the river was only 300 feet across. The chance seemed desperate, for the opposite heights were occupied by 6,000 Russians, and bridges were to be constructed, and the army was to defile across them under their fire; but desperate as it was, and this seeming the only hope, Napoleon quitting the road, plunged into the thick pine woods which border the Berezyna, to conceal his march. The joy of the army may well be imagined, when, in traversing these forests, they met Victor's corps of 50,000 men, which had been engaged in checking Wittgenstein on the western flank.

On November 26th, two bridges were constructed at Studzianka, and Victor, with 6,000 men, was appointed to cover the re-

treat of his unhappy comrades. He was no sooner attacked by Wittgenstein, than the confused mass of soldiery and followers of the camp, who were in Studzianka, rushed pell-mell from their bivouacs in that village towards the bridges. In the midst of the disorder the bridge for artillery broke, and all upon it, hurried on by the pressure, were engulfed in the stream. The shriek of the perishing multitude rose high above the storm and the battle: a witness of the scene declared, that for weeks that horrible sound never ceased in his ears. Artillery and waggons then poured in one hurried press to the other bridge, and on the steep and icy bank whole ranks were prostrated under their wheels, or crushed between their unmanageable weights. The voice of the storm, the roaring of the cannon, the combined whistling of the wind and the bullets, the bursting of shells, the cries, the groans, the fearful imprecations of the crowd, united in as horrible a concert as ever was heard by human ears. At nine at night, Victor, who till then had kept Wittgenstein in check, commenced his retreat, and opened a dreadful passage through the wretched mass of fugitives whom he had hitherto defended. A rear-guard was still left, and the bridge was allowed to stand that night; but the wretched band clung so obstinately to their baggage and plunder, that when fire was set to the bridge on the following morning, numbers lost their lives in a final effort of despair to swim across the icy river, or to cross upon the burning timbers. According to the Russian reports, 36,000 bodies were found in the Berezyna after the thaw, and burned upon its banks.

The situation of "the grand army" during the three days occupied in passing the Berezyna, had been dreadful. The corps of Victor and Oudinot, which had till then preserved their organisation, were now involved in the common ruin. Provisions were scarcely to be obtained, and so severe was the weather, that the tears which were forced by agony and suffering, froze on the cheeks of the men.

On the 5th of December the troops reached Smorgoni, and Ney having brought up the rear-guard, with which he had so heroically protected the helpless multitude from the unceasing attacks of the Cossacks, Napoleon collected the French marshals around him, and dictated the twenty-ninth bulletin; and having appointed Murat to the command of the army, he set out for

Paris. On the 10th he reached Warsaw, and on the 18th, unexpectedly arrived in the capital of France.

After the departure of Napoleon, the disorder which had pervaded all ranks, even during his presence, became uncontrollable. At the same time, the cold increased so much, that on the ensuing morning, the decaying embers of the melancholy bivouacs of the preceding night were seen surrounded by circles of bodies erect and stiff in frozen piles, though life was perfectly extinct. From Wilna, they were quickly driven by the pursuing Cossacks. On the 12th of December, the wreck of the grand army arrived at Kowno, on the Niemen, and passed that river on the ice. The only French corps which now remained in Russia were those of Macdonald and Schwartzenberg. The first consisted in part of the Prussian contingent under d'Yorck, which had been left in Courland to hold in check the garrisons of Riga and St. Petersburg; the second, of the Austrian contingent, posted to awe the Russian Polish provinces. On the 30th of December, d'Yorck signed a convention with the Russian general, Diebietsch, by virtue of which the Prussians seceded from their French alliance; and at the same time Schwartzenberg, forming an armistice with the Russians, evacuated their territory. The heat of the Russian pursuit had abated at the passage of the Niemen, and that of the Cossacks and other light troops, at Kalish, in the end of January of the ensuing year.

The remnant of the grand army, continuing its retreat through the Polish territory, at length arrived at Königsberg, where Murat, calling a council of war, renounced the command of the army, and on the 16th of January, 1813, set out on his return to Naples. From Königsberg, the shattered remains of that army, amounting to 35,000 men, of seventeen different nations, took refuge; and thus terminated the calamitous Russian campaign of Moscow, during which the French had lost above 350,000 men; of whom 100,000 had been slain during the advance and retreat, 100,000 wounded and captured, and 150,000 perished through want, fatigue, and the severity of the weather. Besides this enormous consumption of life, they lost above 100,000 horses, nearly 1,000 cannon, and 20,000 ammunition and commissariat carriages. The loss of the Russians almost equalled that of the French from the severity of the weather. In the course of this fatal campaign, it was remarked, that the natives of the southern countries of Europe bore the cold better than those of the northern countries. "The natives," says Laney, who was chief physician to Napoleon during the campaign, "of the southern countries of Europe bore the cold better than the natives of the northern and moister climates—such as the Hanoverians, the Dutch, the Prussians, and the other German people: the Russians themselves, from what I learned at Wilna, suffered more from the cold than the French or Italians."

#### WELLINGTON'S FOURTH SPANISH CAMPAIGN—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIED ARMY— BATTLE OF VITTORIA.

THE year 1813 opened auspiciously on Spanish affairs. Andalusia, Estremadura, with the whole of the south of Spain, and almost the whole of Galicia and the Asturias on the north, were freed from the domination of the enemy. Everything was also in readiness for the commencement of the campaign. The Portuguese had been restored to a degree of efficiency, and the English army had been greatly increased by reinforcements from home and convalescents from the hospitals. The operations of the campaign commenced on the eastern coast of Spain, by the Anglo-Sicilian army, to the command of which Lieutenant-general Sir John Murray had succeeded towards

the end of February of this year. The Spanish Murcian army, under Elio, was to co-operate with him.

Early in March, Murray moved into the maritime district of Castalla, and driving Suchet's outposts before him, established his own advanced posts in the pass of Biar, while Elio's corps, extending to the left, took possession of Yecla and the castle of Villena. Early in April, Suchet assuming the offensive, surprised and defeated the Spaniards at Yecla, with the loss of 1,500 men; and on the following day the post at Villena being insulated, surrendered. On the 12th he moved forward against Murray's advanced post at Biar, and driving it

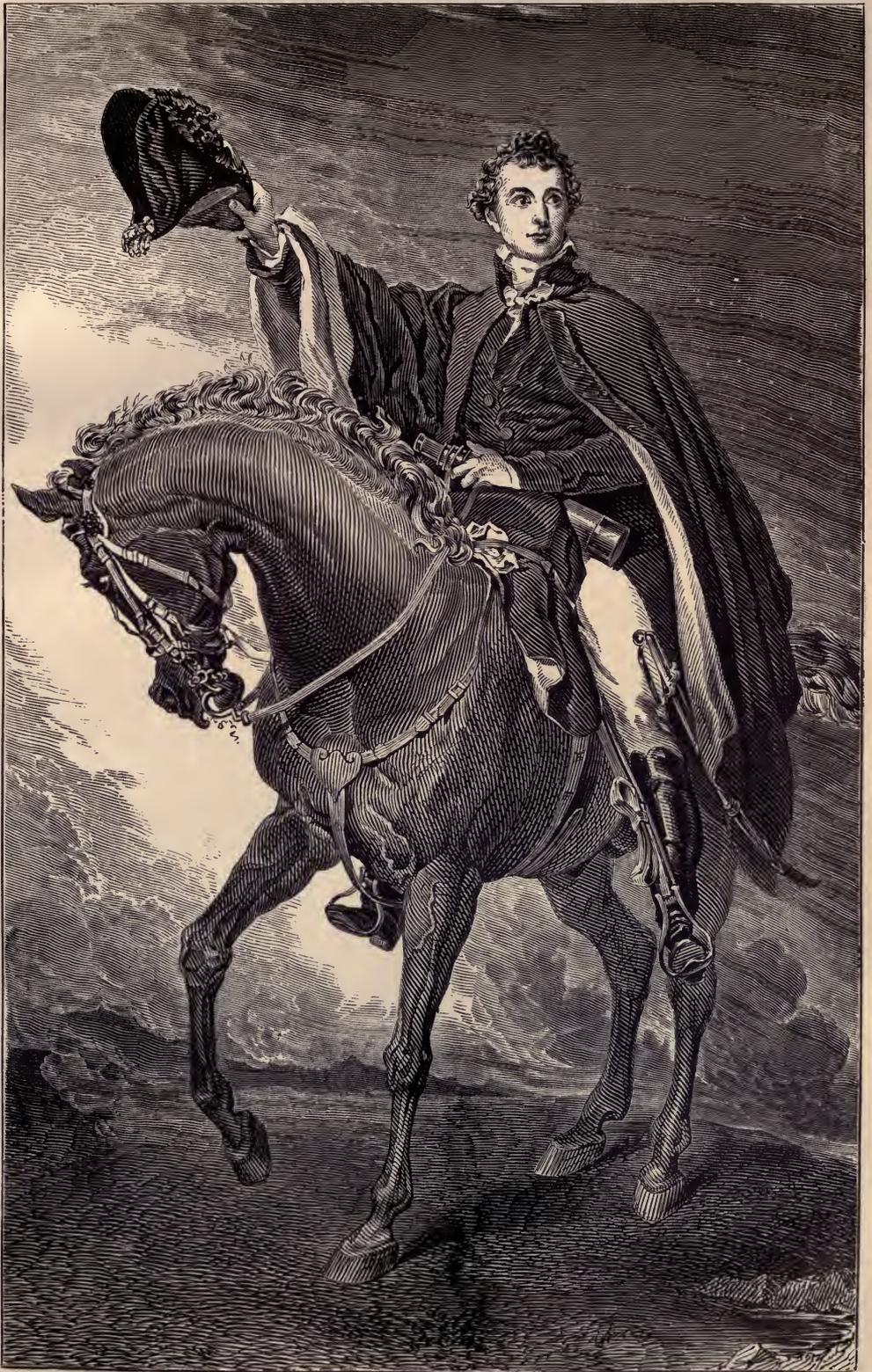
through the pass, on the following morning attacked Murray, posted on the heights at Castalla, about three miles distant from the pass of Biar. The French reached the upper slope of the mountain, but being received with a close volley, within pistol-shot, by the British 27th regiment, fled headlong down the slope, with considerable loss. Repulsed in like manner at the other points, they fled towards the pass of Biar, pursued by Donkin, at the head of Mackenzie's division. Though they had plunged in the greatest disorder into the defile, Murray, satisfied with the success he had already achieved, drew off Donkin's force, and allowed the enemy to pass the defile unmolested. Suchet retired to his former position on the Xucar, covered by the strongly-entrenched camp of San Felipe; and Murray withdrew to Alicante. In these operations, the allied loss was 700; that of the enemy about 1,200.

As Wellington was now preparing to advance into Spain from the frontiers of Portugal, he instructed Murray to embark his forces at Alicante, and convey them to the coast of Catalonia, and there possess himself of Tarragona, or some other maritime fortress, and then to co-operate with the Catalonian armies or the insurgents; but in case Suchet should come upon him before he had captured a stronghold in Catalonia, then to re-embark his forces, and returning to Valencia, attack the French line on the Xucar, before Suchet could approach to its relief. In obedience to his orders, Murray sailed from Alicante on the 31st of May, and came to anchor off Tarragona on the 2nd of June. The troops were landed next morning, and on the 3rd Tarragona was invested. On the 8th a practicable breach was effected; but Murray, frightened by reports that Suchet was advancing to the relief of the place, on the 13th abandoned the siege, and embarked his forces with "so unsoldierly haste," that he left his artillery—"the time-honoured battering train of Badajos"—behind him. On the 17th Lord William Bentinck arrived from Sicily, and taking the command of the army, led it back to Alicante. In consequence of the battle of Vittoria, Suchet, having early in July withdrawn his troops from Valencia into Catalonia, Bentinck crossed the Ebro, and on the 30th of July invested Tarragona; but hearing, before ground was broken, that Suchet was advancing to its relief with a powerful army, he fell back upon Cambrils.

In the middle of August, Suchet, having destroyed the works and part of the town, withdrew from Tarragona, and retreated behind the Llobregat. Bentinck having, early in September, pushed forward a strong advanced guard towards Ordal, Suchet, on the 13th, surprised and defeated that force with the loss of 1,000 men. Clinton having superseded Bentinck in the command, repaired the defences of Tarragona. At the close of the year, the French and Anglo-Sicilian forces remained in Catalonia, each unable to operate effectually against the other.

During the long interval in which the allied army had remained in cantonments, every effort was made to repair the losses which it had suffered during the late active campaign. During the winter large reinforcements and supplies of every description had arrived from England; and every corps and department of the army was brought into a state of complete efficiency for active service.

At this period the allied forces were distributed in a very extensive line. The main army, consisting of the British and Portuguese, occupied cantonments extending along the northern frontier of Portugal to Lamego. Hill, with the second division and a corps of Spaniards under Murillo, was in Estremadura. The army under the Duke del Parque was stationed in La Mancha; and the Murcian army, under Elio, was posted on the frontiers of Murcia and Valencia: the army of Galicia, commanded by Castanos, occupied the frontier of that province; and the recent levies were placed under the command of O'Donnell, as an army of reserve. These native armies, forming the Spanish contingent of 50,000 men, were, by arrangement with the Spanish regency, placed under the command of Lord Wellington. At the same period, of the 230,000 French troops which still remained in Spain, about 70,000 were in the eastern provinces, under Suchet. The armies of Portugal, the centre, and the south, under the command of Joseph, amounting collectively to about 70,000 men, were spread through Castile and Leon, the general head-quarters being at Madrid. The army of Portugal had its head-quarters at Valladolid; while those of the western army were in Toledo; and those of the centre round the capital. Biscay and Navarre, to the frontiers of Aragon, were occupied by independent divisions under Clausel and Foy.



FIELD MARSHAL HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—*from the painting by SIR T. LAWRENCE.*



All things being in readiness for the commencement of operations, Wellington began to put his plan into operation for the expulsion of the French from the Peninsula. Aware that the line of defensive posts on the Douro had been strengthened, he determined to take them in the reverse, and thus avoid the danger and delay which would be required in forcing them. For that purpose he decided on moving the left wing of his army across the Douro, within the Portuguese frontier; while the centre and the right, advancing from the Agueda by Salamanca, should force the passage of the Tormes, and drive the enemy from the line of the Douro towards the Carrion: thus, by constantly threatening them in flank, he hoped to establish a new basis for his operations, resting on the seaports of Biscay and the north-western coast of Spain.

Accordingly, on the 16th of May,\* the allied army, in three bodies, began that memorable march, the forerunner of the extrication of the Peninsula and the whole continent of Europe from the thralldom and fascination of Buonaparte's rule. Five divisions, with a large force of cavalry, amounting to 40,000 men, under Graham, crossed the Douro, with orders to move through the province of Tras-os-Montes, on Braganza and Zamora, and effect a junction with the other two portions of the army near Valladolid. On the right, Hill, with the troops from Estremadura, advanced on the same point by Alba de Tormes; while the centre, consisting of the light division, a brigade of cavalry, and a Spanish corps, under the command of Wellington in person, moved forward on Salamanca by the direct route. As the British commander-in-chief crossed the stream which separates Spain and Portugal, he rose in his stirrups, and waving his hand, exclaimed, "Farewell Portugal;" convinced that the result of his masterly designs, and the brilliant series of movements he was about to put into execution, would have a successful issue. The march of the Duke del Parque's army, and that of the reserve on Andalusia, which were to threaten Madrid and the central pro-

vinces of Spain, commenced on the 12th, so as to enable them to reach their destination at the same time as the allied army. By this grand and comprehensive movement, the enemy's position on the Douro was turned, as well as that of their whole forces on the south of the river.

The movements of the right wing and centre of the grand army were executed so rapidly, that Villatte, who commanded at Salamanca, escaped with great difficulty. On the 31st, Wellington having placed the right and centre in cantonments between the Tormes and the Douro, passed the latter river, and joined the corps of Graham, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of Zamora. On the 3rd of June the whole army was in communication on the northern bank of the Douro, between Toro and the river Esla.

The enemy, utterly unprepared for this movement, having destroyed the bridges at Toro and Zamora, abandoned Valladolid, and commenced a hasty retreat to the Upper Ebro. Between Toro and Zamora a brilliant cavalry affair occurred. The hussar brigades, under Colonel Grant, being in the advanced guard, fell in with a considerable body of the enemy's dragoons, who were immediately charged by the 10th hussars—the 15th and 18th following in support—and sustained a severe loss. On the 4th the allies entered Valladolid, and on the 7th and 8th crossed the Carrion at Palencia and several other points, and occupied both banks of the Pisuerga, the enemy retreating on Burgos. On the elevated plateau surrounding that stronghold the French army assembled, amounting to 55,000 men, including 9,000 horse; but finding their opponents too strong to be resisted, they destroyed, as far as possible, the defences of the castle, and crossing the Urbel and Arlanzan, retreated towards the Ebro by Briviesca.

Thus far the campaign had been completely triumphant. The secret of the signal success of the British commander-in-chief had been in his keeping his left wing continually pressing round the right flank of the enemy. Thus, in conjunction with his constant pres-

\* On the evening preceding the march, the commander-in-chief entertained the field-officers of the army at dinner. So secretly had all the preparations for the march of the army been made, that even to the practised eyes of his guests, no appearance of the operations on the eve of execution was observable. After the company had had a fair allowance of wine, Wellington, looking at his watch, said to one of his staff, "Campbell, it is about time to be

moving—order coffee." Coffee was brought, of which the guests partook, and they retired; but were surprised, on leaving their host, to observe his baggage packed, and the mules ready at the door to receive it; and their surprise was further increased when, arriving at their respective quarters, they found their regiments under arms, assembled on their alarm-posts, and their baggage in the act of moving off.

sure on their front, he compelled them to evacuate every successive position, however strong, which they took up between Burgos and the Ebro.

The great object now of Wellington was to effect the passage of the Ebro, which the enemy had made every preparation to defend. As they had garrisoned the strong fortress of Pancorbo, instead of attempting its reduction, and continuing the pursuit along the main road, the English general had recourse to the manœuvre which had been so successful on the Douro. The army was therefore moved to the left by the road to Santander, and then traversing a country of so difficult a nature as to have been deemed hitherto impracticable for carriages, crossed the Ebro at San Martino and Puente de Arenas; the left wing, under Graham, passing on the 13th of June; the centre, under Wellington in person; and the right wing, under Hill, following on the next day. Having passed the river, the march of the army often lay through passes and defiles of the most difficult nature. At times the strength of one hundred men was required to drag up a piece of artillery; at others, the guns were lowered down precipices by ropes, or swayed up the rugged goat-paths by the united efforts of men and horses. But all difficulties were surmounted; and the different corps arrived on the 19th at the stations assigned them in the neighbourhood of Vittoria, just at the moment when the French army was taking up its station in front of that city, with the immense pillage of which it had robbed Spain during the last six years.

On the 20th, the whole of the allied army was in position in the Bayas. The second division, with the Spanish and Portuguese corps, and some cavalry, formed the right, and bivouacked in front of Puebla de Arlanzan, in advance of the river. The right centre, comprising the light and fourth divisions, the hussars and heavy cavalry, were also on the left of the river, but separated from the right wing by a mountain range, which extended from the Bayas to the Zadorra. The left centre, including the third and seventh divisions, was on the right bank of the river, at the distance of a league; and the left wing, composed of the first and fifth divisions, Pack's and Bradford's Portuguese infantry, and Longa's Spanish corps, with Bock and Anson's cavalry brigades, were assembled at Murguia, on the left bank of the Zagas, about six miles further up the stream, for the purpose of

cutting off the enemy's retreat by the road to Bayonne. The sixth division had been left at Medina del Pomar, for the purpose of protecting the magazines.

The position of the French was:—the left, under Gazan, rested on the heights which terminate at La Puebla de Arlanzan. The centre, under Drouet, extended along the left bank of the Zadorra; and the right, under Reille, was stationed near Vittoria, to the north of that city, and rested on some heights, covered by formidable field-works, above the villages of Abechuco and Gamarra Mayor, to defend the passage of the Zadorra. The mass of cavalry and the royal guards formed a reserve behind the centre about the village of Gomecha. The pseudo king nominally commanded, under the direction and guidance of Marshal Jourdan.

Wellington having made a careful *reconnaissance* of the enemy's position, issued his orders for attack; the design of which was, while pressing the enemy hard in front, to cut off his retreat by the only line practicable for his numerous carriages, and thus expose him to utter ruin. Accordingly, at daybreak of the 21st of June, amidst rain and mist, the British chief put the allied army in motion in three great divisions: the right, under Hill; the left, under Graham; and the centre, under his own immediate command.

Hill, with the right wing, assailed the enemy's position on the heights of Puebla, and having obtained possession of it, crossing the Zadorra, he attacked and gained the village of Subijana de Alava, in front of the left centre of the enemy. In the meantime, Wellington, with the centre, had surmounted the heights in his front, and had established the light infantry brigade within a few hundred yards of the enemy's line of battle. It was now one o'clock, when, on the extreme left, the fire of Graham's artillery told that there the conflict had begun. His attack on the villages of Abechuco and Gamarra Mayor had been equally successful and pushing forward across the Zadorra, he took possession of the road to Bayonne. The enemy now finding both his flanks in danger, retired in successive masses towards Vittoria. Wellington, Hill, and Graham vehemently pressed forward. For six miles the battle resolved itself into a running fight and cannonade, until the enemy, about six o'clock, reached his last defensible height in front of Gomecha, about

a mile in front of Vittoria, and where his reserves were posted. There a desperate stand was once more made. For a while the stern advance of the allies was checked by an incessant hurricane of bullets and cannon-balls, but the third division rushing forward, carried the hill on the enemy's left; immediately a headlong rout ensued. The fugitives took to the most precipitate flight, making a clean breach through the wretched multitude who had accompanied the army, and closely pursued by the allied cavalry.\* Five leagues from Vittoria the pursuit was abandoned on account of the exhausted state of the allied army. Never was victory more complete; never was a beaten army more utterly ruined. The spoil was immense, and consisted of the plunder of the French for the last six years. The roads leading from the field of battle were choked up with broken-down waggons stocked with claret, champagne, and other costly wines; others were laden with eatables, dressed and undressed; casks of brandy, barrels, and boxes of money, paintings, books, papers, &c. Among the spoils were flocks of sheep, droves of oxen, horses, mules, parrots, poodles, monkeys, and the wives and mistresses of the French officers. The trophies of the victors were the whole *matériel* of the army; 150 brass guns, 415 caissons, a million and a-half of cartridges, 14,000 rounds of ammunition, above 40,000 lbs. of gunpowder, fifty-six forage waggons, forty-four forge waggons, the whole baggage of the army, 1,000 prisoners, the sword of the fugitive pseudo king, and the bâton of his lieutenant, with five-and-a-half million of dollars which had been forced from the Spaniards, besides two-and-a-half million, the arrears of the pay of the French troops. The loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and missing, was 5,176; of whom 1,049 were Portuguese, and 553 Spanish. That of the enemy, according to their own accounts, must have been at least 8,000; but was unquestionably greater. Precipitate as their flight was, they took great pains to bear off their wounded, and dismounted a regiment of cavalry to carry them on; they as carefully endeavoured to conceal their dead, stopping occasionally to collect them and throw them into ditches, where they covered them with bushes. Many such receptacles were found containing from ten to twenty bodies. The

\* The country was too much intersected with canals and ditches for the allied cavalry to act with effect in the pursuit.

allied army consisted of 35,000 British, 25,000 Portuguese, and 20,000 Spanish troops, with ninety pieces of artillery; that of the enemy, of 65,000 veteran troops.

This decisive battle was fought in the vicinity of the spot on which the battle of Najara had been fought 500 years before, between Edward the Black Prince and Bertram du Guesclin, the commander of the French in the war of succession between Peter the Cruel and the usurper of the Spanish throne.

The pseudo king and his fugitive troops, who had scarcely looked back until they had reached the walls of Pamplona (a strong fortress in Navarre, and situated among lofty mountains, the offshoots of the Pyrenean chain), had hoped to find there a refuge. Joseph was admitted, but the garrison refusing to open the gates to his disorganised troops, the fugitives attempted to force an entrance over the walls, but were repulsed by a fire of musketry. Joseph now withdrew his wings from the Spanish territory, except three divisions, which he left in the valley of Bastan, under the command of Gazan. To prevent their fortifying themselves in that defensible country, Hill was ordered, with brigades of the second division, and a brigade of Portuguese, to advance against the enemy by the pass of Lanz, while Dalhousie, with the seventh division, menaced his right by a movement on San Estevan. By a series of brilliant attacks, the enemy was driven from every post which he successively took up, and forced to seek safety by a rapid flight across the Pyrenees; and thus, with the exception of the garrisons of Pamplona and St. Sebastian, the whole army of Joseph had now retreated into France.

Whilst this operation proceeded, Wellington, with the first, fourth, and light divisions, and two brigades of cavalry, marched in pursuit of Clausel, who, on learning the result of the battle of the 21st, had retreated on Logrono. Clausel, however, on receiving intelligence of the approach of the British chief, and discovering that the direct road to France was barred against him, fell back on Saragossa. Having reached that city, he continued his retreat on the pass of Jaca, where he entered France, having been obliged, in his rapid flight, to destroy all his artillery and baggage.

After the battle of Vittoria, Graham was ordered to advance, with the left wing, to where Foy was posted, and intercept his

retreat; but the French general, on hearing the result of that battle, having reinforced the garrison of Sebastian, fell back on Bayonne, and endeavoured to impede the pursuit by barricading the gates of Toloso, and fortifying the convents and buildings in its vicinity. But Graham quickly drove him from his position, and forced him to flee

across the Bidassoa, then the boundary line between France and Spain. St. Sebastian was immediately invested by the first and seventh divisions; and Pamplona was placed under blockade by a corps of Spaniards, and encircled by a strong line of intrenchments, to prevent the escape of the garrison.

SIEGE OF ST. SEBASTIAN—BATTLES OF THE PYRENEES—REDUCTION OF ST. SEBASTIAN—BATTLE OF SAN MARCIAL.

WELLINGTON having approved of the plan of attack proposed for the reduction of St. Sebastian, and appointed Graham to prosecute the siege, operations were commenced on the 11th of July, and on the 17th, the fortified convent of St. Bartholomew being nearly laid in ruins, on the evening of that day, Colonel Cameron, with three companies of the 9th regiment of foot, advanced to its assault, and, after a desperate resistance by the garrison, carried the place, with the loss of 250 men to the enemy.

The way being thus cleared by the capture of this advanced post, batteries were erected on the Chofre sand-hills, on the right bank of the Urumea, for the purpose of breaching the river face of the fortress, and enflading its front defences. On the 20th the breaching batteries commenced their fire; and on the evening of the 23rd, two breaches being reported practicable, orders were issued for the assault on the morning of the 24th; but at daybreak of that morning, the conflagration of the burning houses in the vicinity of the breaches was so fearful, that the assault was deferred till night. No sooner was it dark, than the storming columns, consisting of 2,000 men of the fifth division, rushed forward from the trenches. At first the assault promised complete success. The enemy, thunderstruck at the rapidity of the advance, abandoned the flanking outworks, and retreated behind the ruins of the burning houses. But the troops who had mounted the breach, not being supported with sufficient rapidity by those behind them, the besieged, from every quarter, poured death on the assailants—shells from the citadel, grape from the flank defences, grenades and musketry from the houses. Confusion became irremediable, and the chances were so desperate, that Graham sent orders for the troops to desist from the enterprise, as their perse-

verance would be only an unprofitable sacrifice of brave men. In this untoward affair, the killed, wounded, and missing amounted to forty-nine officers and 520 men. The total loss since the commencement of the siege, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 1,278 men.

The intelligence of this bloody repulse being communicated to Wellington, he, on the following day, came from his headquarters to Lesaca, distant about four leagues from St. Sebastian. Being convinced that the place could not be carried without a considerable addition to the means of attack, he ordered the siege to be converted into a blockade, the batteries to be disarmed, and the guns removed to Passages, till the arrival of the expected battering train and warlike stores from Portsmouth and Plymouth; the trenches, in the meantime, being held by a guard of 800 men and four pieces of artillery. Another reason for converting the siege into a blockade was, that Soult was concentrating the French forces in front of the passes of the Pyrenees; and the allied force was unequal to the task of blockading Pamplona, besiege St. Sebastian, and afford an army of sufficient strength to cover the double operation.

As soon as Napoleon received intelligence of the battle of Vittoria, he dispatched Soult in haste from Dresden, to reorganise and take the command of the French forces assembled in the neighbourhood of Bayonne, with the rank of "Lieutenant of the Emperor." The French marshal arrived at Bayonne on the 13th of July, and immediately proceeded to reorganise the wreck of the different armies assembled around its walls, and to relieve the fortresses of Pamplona and St. Sebastian. Without including the twelve foreign battalions of Germans, Italians, Spaniards, and garrisons—many of which bore a part in the subse-

quent operations—he had about 120,000 men under his immediate command, 75,000 of whom he organised into three corps;—the right under Reille, the centre under d'Erlon, the left commanded by Clausel, and a body of reserve under Villatte. The cavalry, amounting to 6,000 men, were distributed into two divisions of dragoons and one of light cavalry. Before taking the field, he addressed a spirited bulletin to the army, in which he proclaimed his determination to lead them to fresh victories and the humiliation of their opponents.

To oppose this force, the British commander-in-chief had 70,000 Anglo-Portuguese, of whom 12,000 were cavalry and infantry (which latter were not of much use in mountain warfare), and nearly 25,000 Spaniards; but the last-named force was more than fully compensated by the numerous national guards whom the French marshal had power to summon to his standard, and who were well acquainted with the intricacies of the Pyrenean passes in which the contest was about to take place.

The French forces occupied the whole northern issues of the Pyrenean passes, from that of Roncesvalles on the east, to the mouth of the Bidassoa on the west. The principal passes of the Western Pyrenees were occupied by the allied army, on a mountain line of about eleven leagues in length, corresponding in extent to that of the French, and immediately opposite to it; the advanced posts being, in some cases, only one hundred yards apart, and the masses at half-cannon shot. Soult's head-quarters were at Ascain; those of Wellington at Lesaca, nearly opposite.\* But there was this difference between the two positions. The allied columns, being separated from one another by inaccessible ridges, could only communicate with, or receive support from each other by a circuitous march of some days in the rear; whereas the enemy, who were grouped in the plain, could at pleasure throw the weight of their forces against the weakest

part of the allied line, before succour could be obtained from the other parts of the position.

The situation of the allied army was:—the right wing covered the direct approaches to Pamplona from St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. Byng's brigade of the second division, and Murillo's division of Spanish infantry, occupied the Roncesvalles passes, supported by the fourth division, under Cole, at Biscaret; whilst the third division, under Picton, was in reserve at Olague. The right of the centre, under Hill, consisting of the other two brigades of the second division, and Amarante's Portuguese, occupied the valley of the Bastan, and guarded the passes near Maya, distant about twenty miles from the Roncesvalles pass; Campbell's Portuguese brigade being detached to Aldudes, within the French territory. On Hill's left were the seventh and light divisions, under Dalhousie and Alten; the first posted at the pass of Echellar, the second on the heights of Santa Barbara and in the town of Vera. The sixth division, under Pack, was in reserve at St. Estevan, to support the troops at Maya or Echellar, as occasion might require. Longas' Spanish division was posted in the interval between the light division and Giron's Spaniards, who occupied the heights and high road about Irun; whilst in the rear of Giron, the left wing of the army, composed of the first and fifth divisions, under Graham, and who had been engaged in the siege of St. Sebastian, were posted on the heights of San Marcial. At the southernmost point included in the allied position, 8,000 Spaniards, under O'Donnell, were employed in the blockade of Pamplona.

Soult's first object was to relieve Pamplona, which had now provisions remaining for only ten days. For this purpose he determined to make simultaneous attacks on the passes of Roncesvalles and Maya. Accordingly, at daybreak of the 25th of July, Soult, with 10,000 men, attacked Byng's brigade and Murillo's Spaniards, amounting to 5,000 men, and of whom more than two-

\* The life of the British chief while in these quarters, as well as elsewhere, was a scene of unwearied exertion and toil. "I have seen him," says the writer of the *Military Sketch Book*, "working with an energy which often threatened his life. He rode so much one week, that he was confined for several succeeding days to his bed; and I have seen his fifteen valuable English chargers led out by the groom to exercise, with scarcely any flesh upon their bones—so active and vigilant was their noble rider, and so much were his horses used. Every day

during the siege of St. Sebastian, I saw him, unattended by his staff, riding by my window, in a narrow street of Renterca, on his way to the besieged fortress, accompanied by Sir R. Fletcher, and dressed in a plain gray coat, white cravat, and cocked hat, evidently intent on the matters of the siege; this was upwards of thirty miles a-day for a ride between breakfast and dinner; but he has often ridden double that distance, over the worst roads and in the worst of weather."

thirds were Spanish, posted on the heights of Altobiscar, 5,000 feet above the level of the sea, who undauntedly maintained their position till Cole moved up to their support with Ross's brigade of the fourth division. The allies resolutely held their ground till their right was turned by the retreat of the Spaniards, when Cole deemed it prudent to withdraw in the night to the general rendezvous of the troops in that quarter, in the valley of Zubiri.

While the pass of Roncesvalles, on the allied right, was forced, a sanguinary conflict was raging at that of Maya. Soon after Soult's attack had commenced, d'Erlon advanced against the British centre at the Maya pass. The French general had so skilfully marked his approach, that his troops were nearly at the summit of the defile before they were perceived. The pickets and light companies made a desperate defence, till the regiments were successively brought up. The contest was long and severe, and the slaughter terrible, the ascent being literally blocked up with piles of the slain. But all was in vain. Sullenly, and foot by foot, the allies gave way to the last ridge of the pass, and were about to abandon the crest of the heights, when Barnes came up with a brigade of the seventh division, and by a brilliant charge drove the enemy back to the first ridge. But though that part of the heights regained by Barnes was the key of the position, and would have enabled the allies to recover it, Hill, learning that the pass of Roncesvalles had been abandoned, withdrew in the night to the heights of Irurita, in rear of Elizondo.

On the following day, Cole continued his retrograde movement down the valley of Roncesvalles, and early in the afternoon was joined by Picton, who brought up the third division, and assumed the command. Soult—whose march had been delayed by a thick fog—coming up, Picton retired to some strong ground in front of Zubiri, and offered battle, which the French marshal declining, the retreat was continued, on the 27th, to a position on the heights of Sorauren, in front of the villages of Huarte and Villaba, thus covering the blockade of Pamplona.

When Wellington, who was with the left of the army, superintending the operations before St. Sebastian, heard of these disasters, giving orders to Graham to convert the siege of that fortress into a blockade, he hurried off to the scene of action, and

on his way sent orders to the sixth and seventh divisions to form on the left of Picton and Cole's divisions, who were in position in front of Pamplona. The light division was directed to guard the communication between Graham and the main body of the army; and Hill was directed to station himself in the passes between Almandoz and Lanz, in front of Lizasso, for the purpose of preventing the enemy gaining possession of the road between Pamplona and St. Sebastian.

Wellington first reached Hill's quarters at Bastan; thence starting at racing speed for Sorauren, he joined the Picton post on the 27th, as the troops were taking up their ground. A Portuguese battalion (Campbell's Portuguese brigade had just joined) first recognising him, raised a cry of joy, and the shrill clamour caught up by the next regiments, swelled as it ran along the line into that stern and appalling shout which the British soldier is wont to give on the eve of battle, and which no enemy ever heard unmoved. The only hostile movement that day was a sharp skirmishing fire of musketry along the front of the line.

On the morning of the 28th, the French army was formed on a mountain ridge fronting the allied position. Before any hostile movement had taken place, the sixth division under Pack came up, and was formed across the valley in front of the fourth division. This disposition had scarcely been completed, when Soult pushed forward a large force from the village of Sorauren, with the intention of penetrating the valley and turning the left of the allied position, when his troops found themselves in a circle of fire. In front they were met by the sixth division; on their left and rear they were assailed by the fourth division and Campbell's Portuguese; while the detached brigade of the sixth division, suddenly crowning the heights, opened a destructive fire on their right and rear. To extricate them, a division of their comrades assailed the heights on which the left of the fourth division was posted, and coming in contact with the seventh Portuguese caçadores, drove them from their station; but the caçadores, being supported by Ross's brigade, rallied, and drove the enemy with great loss down the heights.

The French now made a powerful attempt to gain possession of the hill above the village of Zubaldica, defended by the 40th and the two Spanish regiments of

Pravia and El Principe. One of the Spanish regiments giving way, they succeeded in gaining the summit of the height; but the 40th, with a charge of bayonets, quickly drove them back. A general attack was then made on the whole of the front of the heights occupied by the fourth division, and a contest of the most desperate character ensued. Four times the assault was renewed and repelled. "The vehement shout and shock of British soldiers always prevailed; and, at last, with their ranks thinned, tired limbs, and hearts hopeless from repeated failures, the assailants were so abashed, that three British companies sufficed to bear down a whole brigade." In Wellington's phrase, it was "fair bludgeon-work." The French advanced with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" to penetrate the position with the bayonet. The fourth division sternly waited their approach, receiving their fire till the enemy was only a few paces distant, when, pouring in a volley, and charging at the same instant, they drove them down the heights in the greatest confusion and with prodigious loss. In every part of the line the battle was in favour of the allies, except where a Portuguese regiment was stationed, which being overpowered, the enemy established themselves on its station; but they were quickly compelled to withdraw from the vantage ground they had gained by the advance of Ross's brigade. During the 29th of July, both armies remained in position without firing a shot.

Hopeless of penetrating the allied line and thus relieving Pamplona, Soult now manœuvred on his right with the view of falling on Hill and turning the left of the allies, and thus raise the siege of St. Sebastian. But Wellington perceiving his danger, resolved on an immediate attack. While the enemy's central position at Sorauren, opposite to the heights which had been the theatre of the bloody conflict on the 28th, was attacked by Wellington, Picton was ordered, with his division, to move by the valley of Zubiri, and turn the enemy's left, while Dalhousie, with the seventh division, should possess himself of the ridge in front of his position, and thus turn Soult's right. These manœuvres were completely successful. Sorauren was carried by storm, and the enemy pursued up the valley of Lanz, as far as Olague.

While Wellington a second time was gathering laurels in the neighbourhood of

Sorauren, Hill's corps, not exceeding 10,000 men, was attacked by d'Erlon, who had 20,000 troops under his command, on the heights in rear of Lizasso. The English general being outflanked by the superior numbers of the enemy, withdrew to a strong and rugged ridge about a mile in his rear, where he resolutely maintained his ground.

Soult's situation had now become most hazardous. The allies were hurrying up from all sides to encompass him, and only one line of retreat was open—that by the pass of Dona Maria. He and his army were now nearly surrounded, and must have surrendered, had not the appearance of three marauding soldiers of the British army apprised him of his danger. Hurrying rapidly to the defiles of Yanzi and Echellar, leading to the Lower Bidassoa, he passed just at the moment that the light division and Longa's Spaniards were coming up to close them.

In the course of the eight days' operations which the battles of the Pyrenees had occupied, the loss of the allies in killed, wounded, and missing, was 7,096; that of the enemy, according to their own admission, 15,000; but considering their propensity to cloak their misfortunes, it no doubt much exceeded that number. The prisoners alone amounted to 7,000.

On the 2nd of August, the French, at all points, evacuated the Spanish territory, and both armies resumed nearly the positions which they held prior to Soult's irruption. To provide against future attacks, Wellington ordered the passes of the Lower Pyrenees to be strengthened by the construction of redoubts and intrenchments.

The battering train and *matériel* having arrived from England, the siege of St. Sebastian was resumed. The heavy guns which, at its suspension, had been shipped at Passages, were on August 6th relanded, and the whole placed in battery. On the 27th the batteries opened fire; and by sunset of the 30th, the old breach was reopened, and a new one effected about a stone's-throw from the former. The storming was ordered for the 30th, at noon-day, the time of low-water.

The column of attack was composed of Robinson's brigade of the fifth division, the stormers consisting of 758 men of the 52nd regiment, the brigade of guards, the German legion, and the fourth division, which had been expressly deputed by Wellington for the purpose; but General Leith, not willing to

endure the slight shown to his division, put Robinson's men in front. The assaulting column had no sooner reached the middle of the Urumea than they were assailed by so dreadful a tempest of grape, musketry, canister, shells, and grenades, that the bed of the stream was nearly choked up with the bodies of the killed and wounded. Undaunted, however, they reached the foot of the breach, and clambering up the face of the ruins, they gained its summit; but beyond it they could not pass—the retrenchments were insurmountable; and an immovable barrier of steel was presented by the garrison. Recede, however, the brave assailants would not, but remained in close and desperate strife with their opponents. The slaughter was tremendous. The attack on the lesser breach by the Portuguese under Major Snodgrass, had been equally unsuccessful. After two hours' mortal strife, the summits of both breaches had been swept clear by the fire of the garrison; not a living man was to be seen on either. Failure now seemed inevitable; but as a last resource, at the suggestion of Colonel Dickson, who commanded the artillery, the fire of fifty heavy guns was directed against the high curtain which impeded the entrance of the assailants, the balls and shells passing over the stormers within a couple of feet. In a few minutes the obstruction was shattered to atoms, and the ramparts strewed with the mangled limbs of the defenders. At the same moment, a mine, charged with barrels of gunpowder and other combustibles (placed behind the summit of the breach, and intended for the destruction of the assailants), being fired by a shell from the British mortars, exploded, and blew into the air 300 grenadiers who stood over it. Before the suffocating smoke had cleared off, the stormers sprang over the ruined parapet, and, with an appalling shout, made themselves masters of the rampart. The besieged rallied, and a fierce encounter ensued; but the increasing numbers and vehemence of the assailants prevailed. Right and left the works were cleared, and the besiegers poured impetuously down into the town. There the furious strife, which had raged during three hours at the walls, was renewed; the besieged fighting with desperate courage, from house to house and street to street; and it was not till a late

hour in the evening, that the gallant band retired into the castle, which, after sustaining a siege, capitulated on the 9th of September, when the garrison, amounting to 1,200 effective men, and upwards of 500 sick and wounded, surrendered prisoners of war. The loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, from the commencement of the blockade, had been 2,500 men.

The capture of St. Sebastian was followed by scenes of atrocity and outrage fearful to record. The inhabitants were treated with the greatest barbarity by the drunken and infuriated soldiery, and the profligate camp-followers.

On the day on which St. Sebastian was reduced, the battle of San Marcial was fought on the heights from which the battle takes its name, between the Spanish army, under Freyre, covering that fortress, and the French army, under Marshal Soult. The object of Soult was the relief of St. Sebastian. The Spanish army consisted of 1,800 men, supported on the left by the British first division and Lord Aylmer's brigade of the fourth division; and on the right by the light division, Inglis's brigade, and the Portuguese brigade of the fourth division. At daybreak of the morning of the 31st of August, two divisions of the enemy crossed the fords in front of the Spanish position, and resolutely ascended the heights, but were met with great firmness by the Spaniards. While the enemy was ascending the face of the heights, Wellington appeared in front of the line. The Spanish troops expressed their joy and confidence by loud and repeated acclamations, and charging the enemy with the bayonet, dashed down the hill so vehemently, that, panic-struck, the French plunged headlong into the river. There the pontoon bridge, which at the same moment gave way under the extraordinary pressure of the fugitives, occasioned a terrible loss of life.

During this attempt to force the high or direct road to St. Sebastian, Clausel's columns, which had, at Vera, endeavoured to force the road leading through Oyarzun to the left, were resisted by the brigades of Barnes and Inglis, and driven across the Bidassoa with great slaughter.

The loss of the enemy, in these engagements, was 3,600 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; while that of the allies was 2,500

PREPARATIONS FOR THE INVASION OF FRANCE—SURRENDER OF PAMPLONA—  
BATTLE AND PASSAGE OF THE NIVELLE—PASSAGE OF THE NIVE, AND BATTLES  
OF BAYONNE AND ST. PIERRE.

AFTER the fall of St. Sebastian, the two hostile armies remained inactive on the opposite banks of the Bidassoa, which forms the boundary line between France and Spain, towards the shores of the Bay of Biscay. On both sides of the river the mountains (except at the passes of Irun, Roncesvalles, &c.) rise so abruptly, as to form an almost impassable barrier between the two countries. On the faces of these mountains, the pickets of both armies were posted; whilst the advanced sentries were separated only by the river, which, in many places, was only thirty yards across. During this interval the belligerents were sedulously employed in preparing for the further prosecution of the campaign. Soult occupied himself in constructing chains of intrenched camps and redoubts; Wellington in making preparations for the invasion of France.

Early in October, the troops having been called down from the bleak mountain-tops of the Pyrenees, and from their gloomy narrow passes, where they had been huddled and encamped for more than two months, at three o'clock on the dark and stormy morning of the 8th of that month, the left wing of the allies crossed the Bidassoa. The fifth division enjoyed the honour of planting the British ensign on the French soil. From three successive positions the enemy was driven with perfect success. Though the allied centre met with a more sturdy opposition, being equally successful, the enemy was dispossessed of the strong mountain of La Rhune, in front of the pass of Vera, and which was the key of his position. The loss of the allies, in thus establishing themselves on the French territory, was about 1,500 men; that of the enemy, about one hundred less.

Thus, with one foot firmly planted on the soil of France, Wellington waited until the reduction of Pamplona would disengage the remainder of his force from the service of covering the blockade. The surrender of that fortress, which took place on the 31st of October, having at length removed the obstacles which had trammelled the operations of the British chief, on the 10th of November the allied troops prepared to march in full force into France. But before transferring his operations to the French ter-

ritory, the commander-in-chief issued a proclamation to the allied army, prescribing the conduct to be observed in passing the frontier. He told the officers and soldiers to remember, "that their nations were at war with France solely because the ruler of the French would not allow them to be at peace, but wanted to submit them to his yoke." He also told them "not to forget that the worst of the evils suffered by the enemy, in his profligate invasion of Spain and Portugal, had been occasioned by the irregularities of his soldiers, and their cruelties towards the unfortunate and peaceful inhabitants of those countries;" and that "to avenge that conduct on the peaceful inhabitants of France would be unmanly, and unworthy of the allied nations." These orders he enforced most strictly; and whenever he found any portion of the British troops attempting to plunder the French peasantry, he not only punished the offenders, but he placed the whole regiment or brigade to which they belonged under arms, to prevent further offences. Several British and Spanish soldiers were hanged; and some officers were sent to England, for neglecting to suppress the offences of their men. It was more difficult to restrain the Spaniards and Portuguese, who were too strongly impressed with a remembrance of French atrocities in their respective countries, not to cherish a fierce desire of retaliation. But vindictive demonstrations could not be tolerated. Not being able to restrain Freyre's troops, he ordered them to retreat within the Spanish frontier. On the other hand, he took care to nip in the bud all disposition on the part of the French peasantry to establish a system of guerilla warfare. Fourteen rustics, who had been taken at the pass of Echellar in the act of firing on the allied troops, were marched to Passages and shipped to England—a proceeding which struck so great terror into the Pyrenean peasantry, that thenceforward they preserved the most peaceful demeanour, and, under all hostile feeling, willingly supplied the allied army with stores of subsistence, which all the rigour of the French forced regulations had not been able to obtain.

During the prolonged resistance of the gar-

ri-son of Pamplona, Soult had strengthened the strong position which he had taken on the Nivelle, by the formation of three lines of defence, one behind the other, on the line of hills which stretched from the sea and St. Jean-de-Luz, on the right, to St. Jean-Pied-de-Port on the left, about twelve miles in extent. Besides the three camps of Epilette, Suraide, and Serres, the position was protected by numerous field-works, constructed on every eminence where the line was not secured by the obstacles of nature. This position was defended by 70,000 combatants.

To assail this position, which in strength and solidity equalled that of Torres Vedras, Wellington, on the 10th of November, prepared for a general attack. Soon after midnight, the troops having silently fallen under arms, began to descend the Pyrenean mountains. By the dawn of day, having reached the verge of the line of outposts, they were ordered to lie on the ground, the intervening space concealing them from the enemy.

At daybreak the signal gun was fired, and the attack began with a brisk cannonade, and a skirmish along the whole line. The fortified outworks on the lesser Rhine and in front of the village of Sarre having been carried, the heights on both sides of the Nivelle were attacked and won, after a desperate resistance on the part of the enemy. It was now nightfall, and the allies having succeeded in gaining the enemy's rear, Soult took advantage of the darkness, and abandoned the whole of his fortified line to the victorious army. The result of these splendid operations was the capture of fifty-one pieces of cannon, 1,400 prisoners, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The loss of the victors, in killed and wounded, was 2,694; that of the enemy, near 3,000. Next morning Soult retired into his intrenched camp, which he had constructed in front of Bayonne. The allied army went into cantonments between the Nivelle and the sea,

in which they continued during the remainder of November and the early part of December,\* on account of the inclemency of the weather.

Since the battle and passage of the Nivelle, the allies occupied only the confined space between the sea and the Nive, and were thus cut off from the country beyond that river, which afforded large supplies to the enemy. As soon, therefore, as the weather cleared, and the state of the roads permitted, Wellington determined to cross the Nive, and drive back the enemy's advanced posts from the ground they occupied between that river and the Adour.

Accordingly, on the 9th of December, Sir John Hope advanced in the direction of Bayonne, and drove the French left wing under the cannon of Bayonne; Hill and Beresford at the same time attacking the enemy's centre, and effecting the passage of the Nive at the two points of Cambo and Ustaritz. The allies being now established on the Adour, by which they could intercept its navigation, and thus cut off the supplies of the enemy, Soult, on the 10th, advanced from Bayonne with the main body of his army, amounting to 60,000 men, to attack the left wing of the allies under Sir John Hope, which mustered only 30,000 combatants. The contest lasted during the day. The Portuguese corps soon broke, and some of the English regiments began to waver. At that moment Wellington came on the field of battle, and riding up to the troops spent by incessant fighting, said, "You must keep your ground, my lads,—there is nothing behind you—charge." Instantly a loud hurrah was raised, and, as if the indomitable soul of their leader had passed into their hearts, they sprang forward with renewed vigour and drove the enemy before them.

Soult now resigning all hope of penetrating the left of the allied army, determined to attack its right under Hill, posted on the right bank of the Nive. Accordingly, at daylight on the morning of the

\* Though the bad weather put a stop to military operations, it did not restrain the officers of the army from enjoying the sports of the field. "Lord Wellington's fox-hounds," says the author of the *Subaltern*, "were unkennelled, and he himself took the field regularly twice a-week, as if he had been a denizen of Leicestershire, or any other sporting county in England. I need not add, that few packs in any county could be better attended. Not that the horses of all the huntsmen were of the best breed, or of the gayest appearance; but what was

wanting in individual splendour, was made up by the number of Nimrods; nor would it be easy to discover a field more fruitful in laughable occurrences, which no man more heartily enjoyed than the gallant marquis himself. When the hounds were out, he was no longer commander of the forces, the general-in-chief of three nations, and the representative of three sovereigns; but the gay, merry, country gentleman, who rode at everything, and laughed as loud when he fell himself as when he witnessed the fall of a brother sportsman."

13th, issuing from his intrenched camp with 35,000 men, he marched against Hill's force, mustering 13,500 infantry. The French marshal's position favoured his design. By means of his internal line of communication, he had but three-quarters of a league to march; whilst the allies, proceeding by the outer circle, would have to travel three leagues before they could succour their comrades. But Wellington having divined Soult's design, had, early on that morning, advanced with the sixth and fourth divisions, and part of the third, towards the threatened point. But before these succours arrived, Hill had, with the unaided valour of his corps, defeated the utmost efforts of the French marshal. In this splendid but unequal contest (universally admitted one of the most desperate which occurred during the war), the loss of the British, in killed and wounded, was 2,500; while that of the enemy exceeded 3,000. The total loss of

the allies in the passage of the Nive, was 650 killed and 3,907 wounded. According to the French reports, the English loss was 6,000: but this return was about as correct as Soult's report to the minister of war, that the loss of the allies, on the 10th and 11th of December, amounted to 12,000 men, and that on the 11th alone he had taken 1,200 prisoners; whereas the total loss of prisoners by the allies, from the 9th to the 13th, both inclusive, was but 504. On the morning of the 11th, two German regiments left the French and joined the allies.

After this fierce and stormy contest, the allied army went into cantonments for about five weeks, during the inclemency of the weather and the impracticable condition of the roads. Soult withdrew the main body of his army from Bayonne, and marched up the right bank of the Adour towards Dax, which he made his principal depôt.

#### NAVAL OPERATIONS.

IN this year, as in the preceding, few opportunities occurred to enable the British navy to continue its course of decisive combat. The French navy was reduced to inaction. The Scheldt fleet and the Brest squadron were effectually blockaded; and the Toulon fleet made no serious attempt to put to sea, divisions merely weighing from the road, and exercising in manœuvres between the capes Brun and Carquaraune. The blockade of the American coast curbed the adventurous spirit which the unexpected successes of the last year had excited in the infant navy of the United States.

The first naval occurrence of importance during the year, was between the British 20-gun ship *Bonne Citoyenne* (late French corvette), of eighteen 32-pounder carronades, and two long 9-pounders, manned by 141 men and nine boys, and the United States' ship-sloop, of eighteen 32-pounder carronades, and two long 12-pounders, manned by 171 men and two boys. Captain Green commanded the English ship, and Captain Lawrence that of the United States. The English vessel, while on her voyage from the Plate River, with half a million sterling on board, damaging herself by running on shore, entered the port of St. Salvadore, to land her cargo and to be hove down. At this time, the *Hornet* and the United States'

frigate *Constitution*, Commodore Bainbridge, were in that port. The two American captains and the American consul clubbed their wits together, to obtain possession of the English vessel and her cargo. Lawrence challenged Captain Green to try the fortune of a contest between their ships, but the English captain declining his invitation, apprehensive that the *Constitution* would aid its companion, remained in port till relieved by the presence of the British 74-gun ship *Montague*. The *Hornet*, disappointed of her anticipated prey, set sail to cruise off Surinam. On the 24th of February, while off Demerara, the American ship fell in with the British brig-sloop *Peacock*, of sixteen 32-pounder carronades and two long sixes, manned by 110 men and twelve boys. After an animated contest of fifteen minutes, the *Peacock* having six feet water in her hold, and her hull and masts cut to pieces, hoisted a signal of distress, and in a few minutes after went down in five-and-a-half fathoms water, taking with her thirteen of her own crew and three of the Americans who had boarded her. Of the *Peacock's* crew, her captain and five seamen were killed, and thirty-one wounded. The loss of the *Hornet*, according to her own statement, was one seaman killed and two wounded.

The humiliation which England had sus-

tained in the defeats of its frigates and sloops of war by those of the United States, was now to be removed, and the British flag to recover its accustomed honours from the foe by whom they had suffered a temporary eclipse. This eclipse was removed by the gallant action fought on the 1st of June, 1813, between the *Shannon* of 38 guns (18-pounders), Captain Broke, and the American frigate *Chesapeake*, of the same force in guns, but superior in the number of her crew, commanded by Lawrence, late captain of the *Hornet*. Broke was one of those captains of English 38-gun frigates who had long and ardently longed for a meeting with one of the American 44's.

The *Shannon* had in August, 1811, sailed for the coast of North America, and on the 21st of March, 1813, accompanied by the *Tenedos*, of the same force, sailed from Halifax on a cruise in Boston Bay. On the 2nd of April the two frigates reconnoitred the harbour of Boston, and observing the *President* and *Congress*, took a station to intercept them. In this interval the *Chesapeake* re-entered Boston harbour by the eastern channel, and on the 1st of May, the weather being foggy, the *President* and *Congress* eluded the vigilance of the British frigates and put to sea. The *Constitution* and *Chesapeake* were now in Boston harbour.

That the enemy might not be discouraged from coming out by the apprehension of having more than one antagonist to deal with, Captain Broke detached the *Tenedos* to cruise off Cape Sable, with instructions not to return for three weeks, while he continued lying near Boston. On the 1st of June he sent in a challenge to Captain Lawrence to come out and fight him, promising that no other ship should interfere, whatever might be the event of the battle, and requiring the same pledge from the American captain.

The letter of challenge ran thus:—"As the *Chesapeake* now appears 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 flags. The *Shannon* mounts twenty-four guns on her broadside, and one light boat-gun, 18-pounders on her main deck, and 32-pounder carronades on her quarter-deck and fore-

castle, and is manned with a complement of 300 men and boys\* (a large portion of the latter), besides thirty seamen, boys, and passengers, who were lately taken out of recaptured vessels." After fixing the place of *rencontre*, and providing against all interruption, the gallant Englishman thus concludes:—"I entreat you, sir, not to imagine that I am urged by mere personal vanity to the wish of meeting the *Chesapeake*, or that I depend only on your personal ambition for your acceding to this invitation. We have both nobler motives. You will feel it as a compliment if I say, that the result of our meeting may be the most grateful service I can render to my country; and I doubt not, that you, equally confident of success, will feel convinced that it is only by repeated triumphs, in *even combats*, that your little navy can now hope to console your country for the loss of that trade you can no longer protect. Favour me with a speedy reply. We are short of provisions and water, and cannot stay here long."

Shortly after dispatching this challenge, the *Shannon*, with flying colours, stood in close to Boston lighthouse, and lay-to. The *Chesapeake* was now seen at anchor in President Roads, and at half-past twelve o'clock was under weigh, accompanied by a number of pleasure-boats, and a privateer schooner with several American naval officers on board, who had come out to witness how soon an American could "whip" a British frigate. At one o'clock the *Shannon* stood out to gain a little more offing. At forty minutes past three the *Chesapeake* fired a gun and hauled up, intimating that she was not to be led farther from the land, on which the *Shannon's* foretop-sail was laid aback, that the *Chesapeake* might overtake her; when the latter again steered for her, having at the fore a large white flag, inscribed with the words, "Sailors' rights and free trade." At ten minutes past five the *Shannon* beat to quarters. At forty-five minutes past five, the *Chesapeake* hauled up within 200 yards of the *Shannon's* weather-beam, and gave three cheers. Captain Broke now addressed his ship's crew; told them that that day would decide the superiority of British seamen, when well trained, over other nations; and that the

† Captain Broke, aware of the state of incapacity to which some of the British frigates had reduced themselves by manning and sending their prizes, destroyed all his captures (amounting to twenty-

five sail), in order to keep the *Shannon* in a state fit to meet either of the American frigates for which he was waiting. Had other captains acted similarly, the Americans would have been less successful.

*Shannon* would show, in that day's action, how short a time the Americans had to boast when opposed to equal force. Loud cheers followed this gallant appeal.

The two ships being now not more than a stone's-throw asunder, at fifty minutes past five the action commenced by the *Shannon* giving her broadside, beginning with the aftermost guns on the starboard side. The enemy passing too fast ahead to receive more than a second discharge from the aftermost guns, the boarders were ordered to prepare, when the *Chesapeake*, attempting to haul her foresail up, fell on board the *Shannon*, whose starboard bow-anchor hooked the larboard mizen-chains of her opponent. Captain Broke now ordered the two ships to be lashed together. After a sharp fire of musketry for a few minutes between the marines of both ships, Captain Broke, at the head of the boarders, mounted the fore-castle carronade and leaped on the quarter-deck of the *Chesapeake*, followed by his first lieutenant Watt and the marines; the main deck boarders, under the third lieutenant, Falconer, following. With three cheers the boarders rushed forward, and uniting on the fore-castle, drove the enemy below, several of them plunging into the sea.\* In fifteen minutes from the commencement of the action, the British flag supplanted that of America, and the *Chesapeake* was a prize to the *Shannon*. At seven in the evening, the pleasure-boats and privateer returned disconsolate to their afflicted townsmen in Boston, where balls and suppers had been prepared to welcome the return of the anticipated victors with their prisoners to the harbour. In this desperate and well-fought action, the loss of the *Shannon*, in killed, was three officers and twenty-three privates; in wounded, Captain Broke, two officers, and fifty-eight privates. The killed of the *Chesapeake* were five officers and ninety privates; the wounded, 110 privates, several midshipmen, and Captain Lawrence, and his first lieutenant mortally. Captain Broke's wound was given by an American seaman to whom he had given quarter. The *Shannon* and her prize arrived at Halifax on the 6th of June, where Captain Lawrence, who had died on the 4th, was

\* These were, no doubt, British deserters. One of them (John Waters) was recognised as having deserted from the *Shannon* when at anchor in Halifax, on the 3rd of the preceding October. Among the 325 prisoners of the *Chesapeake*, thirty-two, including the gunner, were recognised as British seamen. When the *President*. Commodore Rodgers, while

buried with the honours of war; but about a month after, the body was, at the request of the American government, exhumed and conveyed to Boston, where it was interred with great solemnity.

Among the *Chesapeake's* extraordinary means of defence, were a cask of unslacked lime, placed on its fore-castle, and a bag of the same material in the fore-top, for the purpose of throwing by handfuls into the eyes of their assailants; but, as if in retribution, one of the *Shannon's* early shots struck the cask, and scattered its contents into the eyes of such of the projectors of the unmanly design who surrounded it.

The capture of the *Argus*, an American sloop of war, in St. George's Channel, off St. David's Head, on the 14th of August, by the *Pelican*, gave another timely proof of the superiority of British seamanship. The English brig carried eighteen guns, and was manned with 126 men; the American carried twenty guns, and her crew amounted to 127 men. After a warm contest of forty-three minutes, the American struck her colours, having sustained a loss of forty in killed and wounded; while that of the British was only seven. On the other hand, the naval successes of the United States were:—

On the 5th of August, off the southern coast of America, the British schooner *Dominica* fell in with the Franco-American privateer schooner *Decator*, and after a sanguinary conflict during three-quarters of an hour, her crew (fifty-seven men and nine boys), including every officer—except about a dozen men and boys, and the surgeon and one midshipman—having been either killed or wounded, struck her colours. In number of guns and weight of metal, the hostile vessels were nearly equal, but the crew of the *Decator* was more than twice that of the *Dominica*.

On the 5th of September, the *Boxer* gun-brig, after a severe contest, was captured by the American brig *Enterprise*. The American vessel, in men, was nearly double the force of the *Boxer*, and greatly superior in guns and size.†

Among the naval contests between single English and French vessels during this year, off North Cape in the following July, was pursued by the *Alexandria*, among other British seamen on board the American ship, were the master and mate of the *Daphne* of Whitby.

† For the naval operations on the Canadian lakes and in Chesapeake Bay, see "War with the United States," *post*, p. 40.

the most memorable was the drawn battle which, on February 6th, took place on the coast of Guinea, between the *Amelia*, of 44 guns, and the French frigate *Arehuse*. After a desperate contest during four hours, in which three of the lieutenants and forty-seven of her men lay dead on her deck, and ninety-five (including her captain) wounded, the *Amelia*, in her ungovernable condition, was unable to follow her opponent as she sheered off, and on board of which the carnage had been equally great: the number of her killed and wounded was stated to be 150.

In February of this year, captains Napier and Mounsey, in the *Thames* and *Furieuse* frigates, in conjunction with Lieutenant-colonel Coffin and the 2nd battalion of the 10th regiment of foot, took possession of the island of Ponza, on the coast of Naples; and in the following September, Rear-admiral Freemantle, in conjunction with the Austrian general, Count Nugent, reduced Trieste, on the coast of Istria, and Dalmatia. In the month of October, Captain Farquhar, in the *Desirée*, and the squadron under his command, reduced Cuxhaven.

#### WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

NOTWITHSTANDING Hull's repulse from Upper Canada, and his capitulation, with the whole of his force and artillery, in July of the preceding year,—Wadsworth's defeat at Queenstown in October, and the discomfiture of Dearborn and Smyth, in November, in Lower Canada, in the attempt to force the Niagara frontier between Chipewewa and Fort Erie,—the success of the Americans at sea (namely, the capture of the *Guerriere*, *Frolic*, *Macedonian*, and *Java*), encouraged the government and war party of the United States to continue the contest with Great Britain, hoping that their pigmy naval power of four frigates and eight sloops, with the eight frigates and twelve sloops building for the ocean and the Canadian lakes, would enable them to contend with the British navy, though consisting of a hundred ships of the line, and 500 other vessels of war, and eventually wrest from the English the sceptre of the ocean. The result of the recent contest between the *Peacock* and the *Hornet*, contributed to strengthen that hope. In prosecution of this design, the army was augmented; five additional ships of the line and four sloops were ordered to be built, and several schooners adapted for service on the Canadian lakes and Chesapeake Bay.\*

Though the attempts of the Americans against Canada, during the last year, had pro-

duced only disappointment and defeat, they determined again to try their fortune. In January of this year, General Winchester advanced into Upper Canada, and obtained possession of Frenchtown, about twenty-six miles from Fort Detroit, before any force could be assembled to resist him. But General Procter, who commanded the British forces in that quarter, having assembled 500 of the 41st regiment, the Glengarry fencibles, and 600 Indians, on the following day attacked the invaders so vigorously, that 500 of them, with thirty-two officers, capitulated; the remainder being either slain in the action, or cut off in their retreat by the Indians. On the 21st of the following month, the Americans posted at Fort Ogdenburg, near the river St. Lawrence, having made frequent predatory incursions on the inhabitants of the Canadian frontier, Sir G. Prevost, governor of the province, ordered Colonel M'Donnell, with two companies of the 8th regiment, and two of the Glengarry fencibles, to reduce that fort. After a resolute resistance, the fort was carried. Besides the stores and guns, two armed schooners in the harbour were the trophies of the victors.

But these successes of the British were, in the month of April, more than counterbalanced by the capture of York, the capital of Upper Canada, by the Americans. On the 27th of that month, General Dearborn

\* At this period of the war, the regular force scattered over the Canadas consisted of between four and five thousand men, chiefly fencible and regular, or invalided troops. The commander-in-chief was Lieutenant-general Sir George Prevost. Ontario was the only lake which contained any British vessels, and these were two brigs of twenty and fourteen guns, and two or three smaller vessels. On Lake

Erie, the colonial authorities had six armed merchant vessels. The naval force on Lake Ontario was, in the course of this year, under the command of Sir James Lucas Yeo, with the temporary rank of commander; and that on Lake Erie, under Captain Barclay. That in Chesapeake and Delaware bays, was under Sir John Warren, with Rear-admiral Cockburn as second in command.

and Commodore Chauncey, at the head of an expedition, consisting of 1,700 land troops and fourteen armed vessels, sailed from Sacketts Harbour, in the lake of Ontario, and effected a landing at the fort of Toronto, three miles from York. General Sheaffe, the British commander in that quarter, with 700 regulars and militia, and one hundred Indians, made a spirited resistance in the roads near the place of landing; but finding himself unequal to his opponents, retired into York. As the assailants advanced to the attack, a large magazine of powder exploded, which threw down the walls, and Chauncey at the same time worked his flotilla into the harbour. Sheaffe, now finding the defences no longer maintainable, set fire to a large ship on the stocks and extensive naval stores, and then retreated with the regulars towards Kingston, leaving the militia to capitulate.

The lakes were now the most active scene of American warfare, and various spirited conflicts occurred on their coasts and waters. A division of the American army, under General Harrison, having taken the rapids of the Miami, strongly protected by block-houses and batteries, Colonel Procter, on the 25th of April, with 900 regulars and militia, and 1,200 Indians, sailed to attack them. In consequence of heavy rains, the English commander could not open his batteries till the 1st of May, on which day General Clay, with 1,300 men, approached to Harrison's aid, and attacked the British. After a severe but short contest, the Americans were defeated, with the loss of 500 prisoners and 200 killed and wounded.

An attempt on the powerful naval establishment of the Americans at Sacketts Harbour, in the Lake Ontario, was planned by Sir George Prevost about the close of May. The expedition consisted of 700 land troops and the squadron under Sir James Yeo, and sailed from Kingston. Having effected a landing, in the first moment of alarm the enemy set fire to their naval storehouses, arsenal, and barracks; but the squadron not being able, on account of adverse winds, to approach the shore, the assailants, reduced by the terrible discharges of grape and musketry poured upon them to 350 men, were compelled to re-embark,

\* The bulk of the American army and fleet being assembled at Sacketts Harbour, Sir James Yeo, who was an officer of great enterprise, determined to make an effort to take them by surprise. Having collected a number of small vessels, which were slightly constructed, he retired out of sight of land,

and return to the British shore of the lake.

On the 27th of May, Dearborn and Chauncey, with 6,000 men, landing at the head of Lake Ontario, attacked Fort St. George on the Niagara, garrisoned by 900 men under General Vincent. After a gallant resistance, in which he had lost 350 men, the British commander blew up the fort, and retired to a strong position on Burlington heights, near the head. In three subsequent attacks at Stony Creek, Beaver Dam, and Black Rock, Dearborn was defeated by Vincent's force, with the loss of above 800 in prisoners, two standards, and two guns.

On the 3rd of June, Sir James Yeo sailed from Kingston with a squadron consisting of six vessels, mounting ninety-two guns, and manned with a force of 717, officers and men. On the 8th of August, the British squadron hove in sight of the American fleet, consisting of fourteen vessels, mounting 114 guns, and manned by 1,100 men and ninety-three officers, under the command of Commodore Chauncey, and lying at anchor off Fort Niagara. The American fleet immediately got under weigh, and formed in line of battle, but after discharging its broadsides, wore and stood under the batteries of the fort. Light winds and calms prevented the British from closing. On the 10th, a fine breeze springing up, the British fleet bore up to attack its powerful opponent, but just as it got within gun-shot, the American fleet having fired their stern-chase guns, made sail for the protection of the fort, from under whose guns they had but just removed. Two of the enemy's schooners fell into the hands of the British. The superiority of the British squadron under Sir James Yeo, was again manifested on the 11th of September, while it lay off Genesee river. On that day Chauncey's fleet, then consisting of eleven sail, by a partial wind, succeeded in getting within range of their long 24 and 32-pounders, while the English squadron had only six guns which could reach the enemy. Notwithstanding the disparity of the force of the two squadrons, the English admiral steered for his opponent, but the American commodore avoided a close meeting.\*

and cut them down to row-galleys. Having prepared his officers and men by every possible mode of instruction, he armed each of them with a cutlass in his right hand, and a bayonet in his left; and thus prepared, he pulled in shore in the night, and contrived to conceal his force under the bushes in

The loss sustained by the British flotilla under Captain Barclay, on Lake Erie, compensated, however, for the advantages obtained on the Ontario lake. That flotilla was blockading the Americans under Commodore Perry. On the 10th of September, Barclay, discovering the American squadron at anchor in Put-In Bay, bore up to bring the enemy to action. The hostile flotillas were soon closely engaged. After a furious engagement during three hours, the whole British flotilla, consisting of nine vessels, surrendered. During the contest the American commodore's ship struck her colours; but her opponent (the English commodore's vessel) was so cut to pieces, that she could not take possession of

her. The loss, on the side of the British, was forty-one killed and ninety-four wounded; on that of the Americans, twenty-seven killed and ninety-six wounded.

On Lake Champlain, on the 3rd of June, two American armed sloops, mounting eleven guns, and having a complement of fifty men each, surrendered, after a contest of three hours and a-half, to a portion of the garrison of Isle-aux-Nois, under the command of Major Taylor, who attacked the enemy with three gun-boats.

On the 28th of December, the American general, Hull, was defeated by General Drummond at Buffalo, with the loss of 400 in killed and wounded. With this action the campaign in Canada terminated.

THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLES OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1813.

THOUGH the twenty-ninth bulletin had revealed the fatal events of the Russian campaign, no sooner was the return of Napoleon Buonaparte announced, than numerous addresses of congratulation were sent, not only from Paris and the large cities and towns of France, but from Rome, Milan, Florence, Turin, Hamburg, Amsterdam, and the most populous places throughout the empire, all of which agreed in offering whatever sacrifices might be deemed necessary, and in expressing confidence in his power and genius. Such was the influence which still clung to his name. The emperor was safe. However great the public calamity, hope remained. The address from Milan was fervidly enthusiastic. "Our kingdom, sire, is your handiwork: it owes to you its laws, its monuments, its roads, its prosperity, its agriculture, the honour of its arts, and the national peace which it enjoys. The people of Italy declare, in the face of the universe, that there is no sacrifice which they are not prepared to make to enable your majesty to complete the great work entrusted to you by Providence. In extraordinary circumstances, extraordinary sacrifices are required; and our efforts shall be unbounded. You require arms, armies, gold, fidelity, constancy. All we possess, sire, we lay at your feet. This is not the suggestion of the neighbourhood of the harbour, intending on the ensuing night, which he knew was to be one of rejoicing among the Americans, to make an attack on Chauncey's squadron, when it was probable that most of the men would be carousing on shore. Everything hitherto had succeeded to

authority,—it is conviction, gratitude—the universal cry produced by the passion for our political existence." The French senate and the *corps législatif* recruited the army with fresh conscriptions, and restored the finances by fresh taxes. The first *ban* of the national guards, consisting of 100,000 men, were converted into troops of the line; the sailors of the French fleets, whose services had been for some time entirely nominal, were formed into corps of artillery, and trained to military evolutions; and with the troops and skeleton regiments withdrawn from Spain, 350,000 men were again placed at the disposal of the emperor. Among other resources, the operation of the conscription was extended to the sons of the nobility and the great landed proprietors, who had been spared from previous drafts, or had paid for substitutes; and formed into four regiments of guards. To the resources of expenditure, Napoleon contributed 300,000,000 francs from the treasure which, as a means of avoiding the imposition of new taxes on any extraordinary occasion, he had hoarded in the cellars of the Tuileries.

While these exertions were making to repel the tide of war from the "sacred territories of France," the shattered remnant of the grand army, which had been left under the command of Murat, reached his wishes. From his concealment he beheld the Americans lulled into security; but one of his crew, a Canadian, having deserted to the enemy and disclosed the design, the Americans hurriedly ran to their ships, and thus prevented the execution of the plan.

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania; but they had not been long there, before the approach of Wittgenstein and Platoff compelled them to abandon quarters in which they had hoped to recover from their famished condition, and hurry towards Königsberg and Dantzic; while the Austrian commander, Schwartzenberg, pursuing the policy of the Prussian general d'Yorck's convention, retired towards the Austrian frontiers. Thus terminated the fatal campaign of Russia. On the 6th of March, the Russian general, Kutusoff, expired at Bunzlau, and was succeeded by Wittgenstein. On the 2nd of March, the French, under Eugene, evacuated Berlin; and two days after, that capital was taken possession of by the Cossacks under Platoff.

Prussia, with the exception of a few blockaded fortresses, having been thus liberated from the power of France, its king, Frederick William, on the 1st of March, concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Russian autocrat, and on the 16th declared war against France. By the terms of the treaty, Prussia was to bring 80,000 men into the field, and Russia 150,000. Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, believing that the moment had arrived when the hopes with which the Russian emperor had aroused him in the preceding year—of being declared successor to the imperial throne of France—agreed to unite 30,000 Swedes, as an auxiliary corps, to the forces of Russia in the north of Germany; the whole to be placed under his command. A secret negotiation was entered into between England and Austria, by which it was stipulated that the latter should put her armies on a war-footing, on the receipt of a subsidy of £10,000,000 sterling. Saxony refused to join the coalition, and preserved its alliance with France; a line of conduct which Denmark also adopted. Negotiations had taken place between Murat and the cabinet of Vienna, for his junction in the general coalition against France; but the King of Naples, desirous of seeing the issue of the approaching campaign, declared for the present to take no decided part.

On the 15th of April, Napoleon Buonaparte quitted Paris, and on the 16th was at Mayence, where he had an interview with several of the German princes of the confederation of the Rhine. On the 25th he reached Erfurt, where the troops forming the grand army had been directed to concentrate.

In the meantime hostilities had been

commenced by Ney, who had driven back the advanced guard of the allies to the right bank of the Saale, thus re-establishing his communication with the viceroy Eugene, who, with 40,000 men, was on that river, in order to form a junction with the grand army when it reached its point of concentration. Again, on the 1st of May, the French marshal defeated the corps of Winzingerode, consisting of 15,000 cavalry; in which action, the rash example was given of a body of infantry routing and chasing from the field an equal number of cavalry.

On the same day, the imperial headquarters were established at Lutzen. The young and old guard, under Marmont, formed the right of the army; Ney's corps occupied the centre; while Eugene's troops formed the left wing: in all, 88,000 men, including 4,000 cavalry. The allies (amounting to 130,000 infantry and 20,000 cavalry, under the czar and the King of Prussia, who had advanced rapidly from the north, to prevent Leipsic falling into the hands of the enemy), finding that Napoleon's reinforcements had not yet joined, resolved to attack him in the plain of Lutzen. Accordingly, early on the morning of the 2nd, Blücher, with the choicest of the allied troops, crossed the Elster, and made a desperate attack on Ney's position in the village of Kaïa. The shock was irresistible; and Ney was on the point of giving way, when Napoleon, although assailed in flank in the act of advancing, pushed forward the old and young guard to sustain the centre, while the right and left wings of the French army simultaneously wheeled round so as to outflank the main body of the enemy. The contest was of the most sanguinary character. The village of Kaïa was taken and retaken several times; but at length remaining in the hands of the French, the centre advanced, supported by the imperial guard and eighty pieces of artillery. Both wings of the French army at the same time closing on the enemy, they beat a hasty retreat, supported by their numerous cavalry. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was 12,000 men; that of the allies, about 20,000. In the despatches which were transmitted to every court in alliance with France, announcing this victory, the emperor stated—"In my young soldiers I have found all the valour of my old companions in arms. During the twenty years that I have commanded the French troops, I have never witnessed more

bravery and devotion. If all the allied sovereigns, and the ministers who direct their cabinets, had been present on the field of battle, they would have renounced the vain hope of causing the star of France to decline."

Beaten and dispirited, the allies, withdrawing from all the positions which they had taken on the left bank of the Elbe, recrossed that river, and established themselves in a strong position at Bautzen, which they fortified with strong intrenchments, until the numerous forces on their march to join them should arrive, and enable them to resume the offensive. Bernadotte, in the meantime, remained stationary at Stralsund, waiting to see how the war was likely to proceed, before he committed himself by taking an active part in it.

On the 11th of May, Napoleon entered Dresden, and restored the Saxon king to his throne. From that capital he made pacific overtures to the allies, proposing that a general congress should assemble at Prague, to treat for a general peace. On the rejection of his proposals, he dispatched Eugene for the purpose of organising an army against the period when, he foresaw, from the tenor of the proceedings of the court of Vienna, that power would endeavour to recover its former possessions in Lombardy.

Finding his pacific proposals hopeless, the French emperor, on the 18th, commenced his march for Bautzen; and early on the morning of the 21st, came in sight of the formidable position of the allies, situated a short distance in the rear of Bautzen, with the river Spree in front. On the right, a chain of wooded hills were occupied by the Russians; and on the left, a group of well-fortified eminences were held by the Prussians. Immediately a column of Italians was pushed forward to turn the Russian flank; but this body was dispersed before any relief could advance to its support. The rest of the day was spent in the passage of the Spree, which was effected without any molestation from the allies. Napoleon's head-quarters were fixed for the night in Bautzen, and the hostile armies bivouacked in presence of each other.

Satisfied that it was not feasible to storm the strong position of the enemy, Ney was ordered, for the purpose of turning it, to make a circuit round the extreme right of the Russians, while Oudinot engaged their left, and Soult and Napoleon attacked the

centre. During four hours the Prussians, under Blucher, several times lost and regained the heights which formed the key of the allied position; but after a dreadful carnage on each side, Soult remained in undisputed possession of the ground. In the meanwhile the corps of Ney, Lauriston, and Regnier had gained the rear of the allies, and were pouring deadly volleys on their exhausted masses. Both flanks being driven in, and the centre panic-struck, the Russians and Prussians took to flight towards the frontier of Silesia. The loss of the French, in killed and wounded, was 15,000; that of the allies, about 20,000. Few prisoners were taken on either side. On the 25th, Napoleon entered Bunzlau, and on the 28th, fixed his head-quarters at Breslau.

The allies, now desirous to save Berlin, which was threatened by Lauriston, on the morning of the 28th dispatched an envoy to the French head-quarters, to solicit an armistice. This Napoleon acceded to on the 4th of June, and a general congress was appointed to meet at Prague, which took place on the 29th of July, when Metternich, on the part of Austria, demanded the cession of the Illyrian provinces and Venetian Lombardy; and, on the part of the allies, the evacuation of Holland, Poland, all the fortresses on the Oder and Elbe, and Spain and Portugal; together with the resignation, by Napoleon, of the titles of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine and Mediator of the Helvetic Republic. The conditions—which had been proposed merely for the purpose of gaining time—being rejected, and the allies finding themselves in a condition to resume a hostile attitude with a prospect of success (having received strong reinforcements, and the Swedish army having arrived at the scene of action), the negotiation was broken off, and both sides prepared for the renewal of the contest. In the meantime, the old republican general (Moreau) had, on the invitation of the czar, come from America to assist the allies with his advice. Austria now joined the coalition. About this time General Jomini, chief staff-officer of one of the *corps d'armée*, deserted the French service, carrying to the enemy all the information which he had been able to collect respecting the approaching campaign.

During the truce, the allies had increased their forces to above 500,000 men, of whom 100,000 were cavalry, which were thus distributed:—The grand army of 120,000

Austrians, and 80,000 Russians and Prussians, under the czar, the King of Prussia, Moreau, and Schwartzberg, lay behind the Erz-gebirge mountains, south of Dresden; the army of Silesia, of 80,000 Russians and Prussians, under Blucher, was posted in advance of Breslau; the third, of 30,000 Swedes and 60,000 Russians and Prussians, under Bernadotte, was stationed near Berlin; the fourth, of 60,000 Austrians, under Hiller, watched the passes of the Alps, ready to attack Eugene, should he make any demonstration in favour of Napoleon. Two other corps, of 40,000 and 30,000 each, lay on the frontier of Bavaria and in the duchy of Mecklenberg. To this immense force Napoleon could only oppose 260,000 soldiers, of whom 40,000 were cavalry. Of these, 100,000, under Macdonald, occupied Bunzlau; 50,000 were stationed in Lasatia; 60,000 were at Leipsic; 20,000 lay at Pirna; and 25,000 were posted at Dresden. Murat had again assumed the command of the French cavalry.

The plan of the allied campaign was arranged by Moreau and Bernadotte. According to their arrangements, no general was to give or accept battle, but every one was to do his utmost to mislead the enemy by false demonstrations; and, in case of success on any point, in withdrawing Napoleon from his central position, the other armies were to advance and attack his marshals during his absence, and retreat to their reserves before his return. By these manœuvres they hoped to baffle and elude the emperor till his army should be wasted and his reserves exhausted, when they would close round him, and either destroy or take him prisoner.

Divining this design, Napoleon, instead of waiting to be attacked (as he had originally intended), pushed forward against the grand army of the enemy which had begun to march on Dresden, and on its falling back on his approach, he hastened to join Ney and Macdonald, who were driving Blucher before them on the mountains of Kutzbach. While pursuing "the debauched old dragoon," as Napoleon denominated Blucher, information was brought of the renewed advance of the allied grand army on Dresden. As it was of the utmost importance to retain possession of that city, it being the pivot of his operations, and the key to his line of communication with Paris, Napoleon, leaving the pursuit of Blucher to Macdonald, hastily marched, with the

imperial guard and Ney's corps, towards the Elbe, for the relief of Dresden, surrounded by the armies of the allies, amounting to 200,000 men.

On the afternoon of the 25th of August, the allies had surrounded that city, but deeming themselves not sufficiently strong to insure success, they bivouacked on the neighbouring heights, to afford time for the arrival of Klenau with an additional force. Their delay afforded St. Cyr, the commandant of the place, time to make arrangements for its defence, to prevent its immediate capture. The allies, next morning, perceiving the impolicy of their delay, determined not to wait for Klenau, but to commence the attack forthwith. Accordingly they advanced, under a tremendous fire of artillery, in six columns, against the wall. Having carried the great redoubt near the city gate of Dippoldswalde, they began to close on the garrison at every point. About ten o'clock, the shells and balls began to fall thick in the streets and on the houses of the terrified city; and at the same moment, two regiments of Westphalian hussars, quitting their posts in the garrison, went over, with all their equipments, to the allies. St. Cyr felt that his garrison was insufficient to man the walls and defences of the city. It was at this crisis, when a surrender appeared inevitable, that Napoleon's columns, rushing forward with the rapidity of a torrent, were seen advancing on Dresden from the right side of the Elbe, sweeping over its bridges, and pressing through the streets, to engage in the defence of the almost overpowered city. The emperor was beheld amidst his soldiers, who, though almost worn out by their severe forced march from the frontiers of Silesia, demanded with loud cries to be led to immediate battle. Two sallies were instantly made by Ney and Mortier. The one column, issuing from the gate of Plauen, attacked the allies on the left flank; while the second, issuing from that of Pirna, assailed their right. The Prussians were dislodged from an open space called the Great Garden, which covered their advance on the ramparts. The allies now finding these points, which they had so fiercely attacked, as fiercely defended, withdrew, and the combatants remained in front of each other—the sentinels on each side being in close vicinity—till the next morning. In the meantime the emperor sent pressing orders for all his marshals and generals in the neighbourhood of Dresden to hasten to

take part in the battle of the morrow. Before dawn, above 100,000 French soldiers were assembled to renew the battle.

At six in the morning of the 27th, Napoleon reconnoitred the position of the enemy and the ground on which the battle was to be fought. Observing the unoccupied space which had been left for the corps of Klenau, he ordered Murat and Victor to advance and take the position. At the head of the carbiniers and cuirassiers, these generals rushed forward, and having possessed themselves of the position, charged the left wing of the enemy, which was speedily broken and thrown into confusion. On the right, the young guard, led by the emperor in person, was equally successful. By three o'clock in the afternoon, the allies were in precipitate retreat, with both their flanks heavily pressed, the two chief roads into Bohemia having been taken possession of by Murat and Vandamme; and consequently they were compelled to retreat by the comparatively difficult intervening country paths. The trophies of the victors were about 15,000 prisoners, forty standards, and sixty pieces of cannon. The loss on either side, in killed and wounded, was about 8,000. In an early part of the day, a cannon-shot, aimed it is said by Napoleon (who, observing a group of officers reconnoitring on an eminence, at a short distance in front of the allied line, ordered some cannon to be turned in that direction), carried away both the legs of Moreau, who died shortly after amputation had been performed on the shattered limbs.

Next morning, the victorious troops proceeded in pursuit. Murat, Marmont, and St. Cyr pressed hard on the fleeing columns; while Vandamme, with a corps of about 30,000 men, awaited to intercept them at Peterswalde, in the mountains of Bohemia. Seduced by the enormous prize which lay before him at Toplitz, where the chief magazines of the allies had been established, and in which all their broken columns were now reassembling, the French general descended from the heights of Peterswalde into the valley of Culm, to complete, as he thought, the disorganisation of the allies, and seize Toplitz. But a Russian corps suddenly turned on him and formed in line of battle in his front. Its general, Ostermann, having received intelligence of the near approach and precarious situation of the czar, resolved to make a stand to gain time. His resistance was of the most de-

termined character; no effort could shake it. Night closed on the combatants, and the battle was undecided. But next morning, the Prussian corps of Kleist appeared behind the French on the heights of Peterswalde. The French rushed up the hill in despair, thinking they were intercepted by design; while the Prussians doubting not but that some other French division was close upon them, rushed down with the same fear and impetuosity. The two armies were thus hurled against each other like two conflicting mobs, enclosed in a deep and narrow road, forming the descent along the side of the mountain. The onset of the French cavalry, under Corbineau, broke through the opposing masses, although the acclivity would not, in other circumstances, have permitted them to ascend at a trot. All for a time was a mass of confusion; the Prussian generals were in the middle of the French, and the French in the centre of the Prussians. But the Russians, under Ostermann, in pursuit of Vandamme, soon put an end to this singular conflict; and Vandamme, with 7,000 of his men and two eagles, were the trophies of the victors.

The spell which had encompassed French valour was also dissipated in the north of Germany. Oudinot, who had been directed to give battle to Bernadotte, to prevent him from effecting a junction with Blucher, or overwhelming the French garrisons lower down the Elbe, had advanced from Leipsic towards Berlin for the purpose. On the 23rd of August he was met at Gross-Beren, on the Berlin road, by the combined forces, amounting to 80,000 men, under the Crown Prince and Bulow, and, after a severe contest, was defeated, with the loss of 1,500 men and eight pieces of cannon; and a few days afterwards, Girard, who had advanced from Magdeburg to effect a diversion in favour of Oudinot, was defeated by Chernicheff and his Cossacks, with a like loss. On the 26th, Macdonald was equally unsuccessful against Blucher: he had advanced on the plains between Whalstadt and the river Kutzbach, to give battle to the old partisan chief; but encountering his opponent while the French troops were entangled in a narrow defile, he was defeated with considerable loss. Neither was this the end of the reverses of the French army of Silesia. Oudinot had concentrated his troops under the walls of Wittenberg for the defence of that city; and Napoleon, aware of the importance of this point as the theatre of

his operations, sent Ney, with fresh troops, to supersede Oudinot, and a strict charge to force his way, at all risks, to Berlin. In prosecution of his orders, Ney moved on Dennewitz, where a general action was forced on him by the allies (under Bernadotte and Bulow) on the 7th of September; when he was defeated, with the loss of 10,000 prisoners and forty-six guns.

Unable to endure the torture which the repeated defeats of his generals occasioned him, the French emperor, though suffering from indisposition, hastened from Dresden to Silesia. Early in September, he was in quest of Blucher, who had advanced to the Elbe, but from which, on the approach of his antagonist, he retired. On his return to Dresden, receiving intelligence of the battle of Dennewitz, he a second time hurried towards Pirna, and followed Bernadotte—who was preparing to cross the Elbe, in order to cut off the French communications with Paris—to Peterswalde; where having viewed the scene of Vandamme's catastrophe, he returned once more to Dresden, the centre point of his operations.

Before the end of September, the difficulties of the French emperor had fearfully accumulated. The kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg had renounced their alliance with him; and Saxony and Westphalia had revolted. The allies were also, with half a million of men, converging on the Saxon capital. In this dilemma, Napoleon decided on quitting Dresden, and concentrating the whole of his forces on Leipzig, where he determined to give battle to the allies. On the 15th of October he reached that city, around the walls of which the allies had gathered their formidable host; the sentinels of the hostile armies being posted during the night within musket-shot of each other.

Calamitous as recent events had been, Napoleon did not hesitate to accept the battle which the allies seemed desirous to force on him. Having, on the evening of the 15th, reconnoitred the position of the enemy, he distributed the eagles to such regiments as had not received those ensigns, and caused the troops to swear that they would not shrink from their duty in the hour of danger. "Yonder lies the enemy," he exclaimed; "swear that you will die rather than see France dishonoured!" "We swear!" responded the soldiers. The numbers of the armies opposed to each other at the battle of Leipzig, or that of the battles

of Wachau and Möckern (as the engagements on the 16th are more properly termed), was, on the part of the French, 170,000 men, supported by 600 pieces of artillery; that of the allies, numbered 300,000 men, with 1,000 cannon. The night of the 15th passed in watchful silence.

At break of day of the 16th, the battle began on the southern side of Leipzig. The allies at first obtained some advantages; but on attempting to penetrate the French lines, they were driven back with great slaughter by the infantry of Poniatowski and Augereau, and Milhaud's cavalry. Six successive attacks were made on the villages of Wachau and Liebertnolkwitz, and each time they were repulsed. Napoleon now assumed the offensive. Watching for a moment of lassitude, when his enemy, fatigued by exertion and discouraged by failure, sought a breathing space, he determined to seize the opportunity. About noon, he ordered a general advance of the French centre. The village of Gossa, and the redoubt called the Swedish camp, in the very centre of the enemy's line, was carried with the bayonet. Through the gap thus produced, the whole French cavalry thundered forward as far as Magdeburg, a village in the rear of the allies, bearing down the Russian grenadiers of the guard, who threw themselves forward to oppose their passage.

But at this imminent moment of peril, while the French cavalry were disordered by their own success, the czar ordered the Cossacks of the guard to charge, for the purpose of stemming the pursuit, and affording time for the discomfited troops to rally. With their long lances they bore back the dense mass of cavalry, who had so nearly turned the fortune of the day.

The fugitive allies having re-formed in the rear of the Cossacks, the battle was renewed at all points, victory from time to time inclining to either side. At sunset, no decisive result having been obtained by either side, three cannon-shots, discharged at the extremities of the hostile lines as a signal to the more distant points, intimated that the bloody work of the day, as if by mutual consent, had ceased; and each party bivouacked in the presence of the other, on nearly the same ground which they had occupied the night before.

While the contest had been raging on the southern side of Leipzig, a furious engagement was going on at its northern aspect. There Blucher, with treble numbers, had

attacked Marmont at the village of Möckern, which he captured with 2,000 prisoners and twenty pieces of artillery.

The 17th was spent by both sides in preparations for the renewal of the contest. But on the morning of the 18th, the battle was renewed with tenfold fury. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against Probstsheyda and the neighbouring villages, which were four times carried and recovered. During this contest, Bernadotte, with 76,000 men, had reached the field on the northern side of the city, and while advancing to the attack of Ney, was joined by the whole of the Saxon army, and the cavalry of Würtemberg, who deserted to the enemy, with the whole of their artillery and ammunition. Thus weakened and pressed on all sides, Ney was compelled to take up a position close under the walls of Leipsic. The battle once more ceased on all points; and after the repetition of the solemn signal of the three cannon-shots of the preceding evening had been heard, the conflict terminated, and the field was left to the slain and the wounded.

Fortune and the superiority of numbers being now evidently on the side of the allies, Napoleon saw that retreat was inevitable. Instant orders were accordingly issued for breaking up the camp and falling back on Erfurt, where extensive magazines had been established. From Erfurt, the shattered and disorganised remnant of the French army resumed its march, closely followed by the Cossacks. An army of 60,000 Austrians and Bavarians had outstripped the French army, and taken post in the woods near Hanau, to intercept their march. On the morning of the 30th of October the French came up with them, and charging with the fury of desperation, cut their way through, and prosecuted their march to the Rhine, which they passed on the 5th of November; Napoleon having quitted them on the 4th at Mentz, on his return to Paris. The pursuing allies halted at that river. The loss of the French army, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, since the 15th of November, 1812, had been 80,000 men.

Of the events which crowded on each other in the space of a few weeks after Napoleon's overthrow at Leipsic, any one of them would, in times less extraordinary, have been sufficient to form an epoch in history. The fabric of Napoleon's German empire crumbled into nothing. Hanover returned to the dominion of its sovereign. Bruns-

wick, Hesse, and other states, which had formed Jerome's kingdom of Westphalia, followed the same example. The confederation of the Rhine was dissolved, and the princes of that league were obliged to contribute a year's revenue and a double conscription to the banner of the allies. In Italy, Eugene, threatened by the Austrians and Bavarians in flank, and Murat—who had joined the allies in hopes of having the kingdom of Naples secured to him—in the rear, had fallen back on the Mincio. Holland renounced its allegiance, and recalled the stadtholder, the Prince of Orange. The numerous garrisons of Dresden, Dantzic, Stettin, Torgau, Modlin, Zamosc, &c., capitulated; and at the end of 1813, only Hamburg, Wittenberg, Magdeburg, Custrin, and Glogau, of all the conquests in Germany and Bergen-op-Zoom, with a few other places of less importance in Holland, remained in the power of France. Finally, Denmark declared against France, recruiting Bernadotte's army with 10,000 men; and, to fill up the measure of misfortune, disaffection was rapidly spreading throughout France itself.

To meet the difficulties by which he was surrounded, Napoleon demanded of the senate 300,000 additional conscripts, and sent special agents through the departments, calling on Frenchmen of all classes to rise in arms for the protection of their country. Coldness, languor, and distrust, met them almost everywhere. The numerical results, even of the conscription levy, were far below the demand; multitudes deserted daily. The legislative senate testified their sympathy with the feelings of the people, and even ventured to hint, in their address to Napoleon, the necessity of peace. "Shame on you!" cried Napoleon; "no peace till we have driven back the enemies who have invaded France! I demand a levy of 300,000 men. Senators! an impulse must be given—all must march: you are fathers of families, the heads of the nation; you must set the example." The senate, nevertheless, persisting, and presenting a report of the state of the country, and its inability to maintain war against the powerful combination of the allies, he reproached them with the desire of purchasing an inglorious peace at the expense of his honour. "I am the state!" said he; "what is the throne?—a bit of wood gilded, and covered with velvet. I am the state! and alone the representative of the people. Even if I had

done wrong, you should not have reproached me in public: people wash their dirty linen at home. France has more need of me, than I of France." Having uttered these words, he repaired to his council of state, and after denouncing the legislative senate as composed of one part of traitors, and eleven of dupes, he dissolved them.

The greatest confusion already began to prevail in almost every department of the public service. In many instances, the conscripts who had been enrolled and armed,

deserted in whole bands, and roamed over the country as freebooters. Those who were detected were tried by military commissions, and decimated. Even close to the barriers of Paris their execution was frequent. In the midst of these difficulties, Napoleon released the pope and Ferdinand VII. of Spain, who had been detained prisoners at Fontainebleau and Valençay, in hopes of producing dissensions among the partisans of the allies in Italy and Spain.

#### BATTLES OF ORTHES AND TOULOUSE.

AT the commencement of the year 1814, in which the last act of the drama of French aggression was executed with remarkable rapidity and effect, the allied army occupied a line extending on the left from Bidart to Arcangues and Ville Franque, with the right thrown back to Ucuray, on the road to St. Jean-Pied-de-Port; and the French army occupied a defensive position, with its right on the intrenched camp before Bayonne, its centre extending along the right of the Adour to Port-de-Laune, and its left along the right of the Bidouse, from its confluence with the Adour to St. Palais. It was while the hostile armies were so posted, that a proposal was made by the British ministry to Wellington, to transport his army by sea to the Netherlands, to cooperate with the allies. The British hero pointed out the impolicy of the measure, as, by its adoption, 100,000 veteran troops, besides an equal force of reserves then forming in the south of France, would reinforce Napoleon's arms on the Seine and the Rhone; while the British army would, during its shipment and march to the scene of action, be placed *hors de combat* for the next four months, which were big with the fate of the world. As these arguments were unanswerable, the scheme was abandoned.

The impossibility of advancing through a country full of strong posts, and intersected by rapid streams, at a season when by reason of the heavy rains the rivers had overflowed their banks, and the cross-roads were impassable, prevented the movement of the allied army; but the weather at length improving, Wellington prepared to take the field. The effective strength of his army was 70,000 British and Portuguese, and 30,000 Spaniards, including

10,000 cavalry. Soult's army did not much exceed 40,000 men; but then the disparity in force was counterbalanced by his strong position at the fortified town of Bayonne; and the inequality was again removed, when Wellington invested that place, as well as St. Jean-Pied-de-Port and Navarreins, which subtracted 30,000 men from his force.

Wellington's first object was to drive the enemy from his line on the Bidouse, by forcing the passage of the Adour below Bayonne, and thus compel him to abandon the whole country on the left of the Adour. For that purpose, he collected, at the mouth of the river, forty large boats, or *chasse-marées*, and the requisite materials for building a pontoon bridge between that point and Bayonne; and, to conceal his design, he ordered Hill, with the right wing, to threaten the enemy's left; while Beresford, with the main body, menaced their centre, and the left, under Hope, effected the passage of the river. By the execution of these manœuvres, Soult would be entirely cut off from Bordeaux, and driven towards the Upper Garonne.

In prosecution of this design, Hill, with the right, consisting of 20,000 men, broke up, on the 14th of February, from his cantonments, and moved on Hellette, to turn the enemy's left, and cut off his communication with St. Jean-Pied-de-Port. By this movement, Harispe, who was posted there, was forced to retire, leaving a garrison of 1,500 men in that fortress, and retreat on Garris, where he took post in the strong position of the heights of La Montagne. Strong as the position was, Wellington, who had joined Hill late in the evening, determined to attack Harispe before he

could be reinforced by Soult. The day was waning when the attack commenced. The British chief, riding up to the 28th and 80th regiments, who headed the assaulting columns, said — "You must take the hill before dark." British soldiers are peculiarly sensitive to brief and pithy sentences of this kind. It is the sort of eloquence they best understand and most readily heed. With loud shouts the gallant fellows rushed forward into the gloomy and wooded ravine, and clambering up the ascent, carried the hill; but the enemy seeing they were unsupported, twice returned to endeavour to recover their lost ground. The action lasted till dark, when Harispe retreated, with the loss of 300 in killed and wounded, and 210 in prisoners; while the victors were weakened by only 160. The next day Hill crossed the Bidouse, and on the 17th, drove the enemy across the Gave de Mauléon, who, in the course of the ensuing night, passed the Gave d'Oleron, and took up a strong position at Sauveterre, effecting a junction with the main body of the army.

The object of this movement had been to divert the enemy's attention from the preparations making at St. Jean-de-Luz and Passages, for the crossing of the Adour below Bayonne; but the weather being unfavourable for the purpose, Wellington, on his return to the first-mentioned place, on the 19th, left instructions with Hope to effect the passage when the weather permitted: he then returned to the right and centre, and drove the enemy from his strong position at Sauveterre, across the Gaves of Oleron and Pau, and the river Adour, though defended by 35,000 men.

The pontoons having arrived on the evening of the 23rd, early on the following day Hill passed the Gave d'Oleron at Ville-neuve, with the light, second, and a Portuguese division; while Clinton took over the sixth division near Montfort; and Picton, with the third, manœuvred as if with the intention of attacking the bridge of Sauveterre. Beresford, who with the fourth and seventh divisions and Vivian's cavalry, had been left, during Hill's movement on the 14th, on the Lower Bidouse, in observation, on the 23rd had attacked the enemy in their fortified posts of Hastings and Oyergave, and obliged them to retire into their *tête-du-pont* at Peyrehorade. On the same day, Hope, with the left wing, had moved forward from St. Jean-de-Luz; and

although the stormy, contrary winds and violent surf on the coast, had prevented the arrival of the gun-boats and the *chasse-marées*, he determined to effect a passage by means of pontoon rafts and a hawser stretched across the river. The French immediately opened a heavy fire, but being replied to by a quick and well-sustained cannonade from the British heavy guns and rocket brigade, 600 of the guards and two companies of the 60th rifles effected a passage; in the course of the night the whole of the first division crossed, and by noon next day the whole of the troops were established on the right bank of the river, so as to render any attack hopeless. On the 26th, the British flotilla appearing, a bridge was established for the passage of the artillery. Thus supported, Hope commenced the investment of Bayonne, which he effected with the loss of 500 men in killed and wounded. In consequence of these movements, Soult deemed his position of Sauveterre untenable. He therefore burned the bridge, and left Bayonne, garrisoned by 6,000 men, to its own resources, and, concentrating his forces, took post at Orthes, in a strong defensible position behind the Gave de Pau.

The position in which the French marshal had determined to await the issue of a contest, consisted of a range of tabular heights, about a mile in extent, stretching in the direction of Dax, and covered in front by the village of St. Boës. The French army mustered 40,000 men; but the Anglo-Portuguese did not exceed 37,000.

On approaching the enemy's formidable position, Wellington, having carefully reconnoitred it, on the 26th gave orders for an attack on the following morning. Accordingly, early on the 27th, Beresford, with the left wing, consisting of the fourth and seventh divisions, and Vivian's brigade of cavalry, proceeded to attack the enemy's right at St. Boës; the third and sixth divisions, under Picton, supported by Somerset's brigade of cavalry, moved against the centre and left; whilst the light division moved up a ravine, and stationed itself behind a high conical hill, exactly opposite Soult's centre, for the purpose of connecting Beresford's and Picton's columns, and ready to support either of them as occasion might require. Hill, with the second British division and Le Cor's Portuguese brigade, was to force the passage of the river at a ford about two miles above Orthes, for the purpose of

taking the enemy in flank or rear, and cut off his retreat in the direction of Pau.

The action began about nine o'clock. While the third and sixth divisions carried the lower grounds against which they had been directed, the fourth division, after a strenuous resistance, had won the village of St. Boës; but Vasconcellos' Portuguese brigade, which accompanied it, being torn in pieces by a destructive fire of artillery poured upon it, gave way, and the enemy recovered the village. Five times breaking through the scattered houses, had Ross's brigade and Vasconcellos' Portuguese carried the battle into the wider space beyond; yet, ever as the troops issued forth, the enemy's guns smote them in front from the hill, and the reserved battery on the Dax road swept through them with grape from flank to flank. It was in vain, with desperate valour, the allies repeatedly broke through and struggled to present a front beyond the narrow tongue of ground flanked on each side by the ravine. At the moment of this occurrence, a detachment of Picton's corps was repulsed with loss. Soult seeing that both on his right and centre the battle was in his favour, in exultation exclaimed—"At last I have him!"

The crisis was urgent, but Wellington was equal to it. With the utmost promptitude he made a partial change of attack. For the purpose of turning the enemy's right flank on the heights above St. Boës, he extended his own line, ordering Walker of the seventh division, and Barnard with a light brigade, to attack the left of the height occupied by the right of the enemy, at its point of junction with the centre, while the third and sixth divisions advanced to attack the right of the centre. This powerful and desperate attack was successful. The 52nd regiment led the way through a deep marsh. They pressed forward in mud to their knees, sometimes to their waists, but in the best order, and unmoved by the storm of bullets poured upon them. At the moment the enemy was violently pushing the fourth division through the village of St. Boës, they were met by this gallant corps, supported by the third and sixth divisions. After a severe struggle, the French centre gave way. Hill having at the same time forced the bridge at Orthes, Soult gave the order for a general retreat, which was at first conducted with regularity; but on perceiving that Hill, who was marching on a line nearly parallel,

would cut off the retreat, it became precipitate and confused. The loss of the enemy in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was, at the lowest computation, 5,000; that of the allies, 2,300. The trophies of the victors were six pieces of artillery and 2,000 prisoners. Soult, aware of the importance of Toulouse, which was his principal dépôt, the focus of all his future combinations, and the position where he could hope to make the best stand, was desirous to reach that city as soon as possible. Having, therefore, refreshed his army with a few hours' sleep at Sault de Navailles, he continued his retreat towards Tarbes; but having by this selection of his line of retreat, left the advance to Bordeaux open to the allies, Beresford was detached with 12,000 men to occupy it; which, as the Bordelais were favourable to the Bourbon cause, he did on the 12th of March. On the approach of the allied force, the garrison had retired from the city.

On the morning of the 20th, the enemy was found in position near Tarbes. An instant attack was made, and a sharp combat ensued; but before the arrangements could be completed for his dislodgment, night closed, and under cover of the darkness, Soult made a rapid retreat. On the 24th he reached Toulouse, having destroyed all the bridges in his rear.

On the 27th, the hostile armies were again in presence of each other on opposite banks of the Garonne, in front of Toulouse. Soult's position was of great strength. Toulouse and its principal faubourg, or suburb of St. Cyprien, which are connected by a massy stone bridge, were strongly protected. The city, which stands on the right bank of the river, is surrounded by a thick wall capable of bearing 24-pounders, and is encircled—except a small opening extending between the canal and the river, to the south-east—by the Garonne and the canal of Languedoc. The suburb of St. Cyprien, which is situated on the left bank, is defended by a good brick wall, flanked by massy towers. This, as well as the suburbs of St. Etienne and Guillemerin, were defended by strong intrenchments and field-works; and beyond them rose the steep ridge of Mont Rave, the outer face of which is exceedingly rugged and difficult of access.

On the 28th, Wellington attempted to throw a bridge across the Garonne, at the village of Poitet, six miles below Toulouse;

but the water-surface, on the sheer-line being stretched over, was found too extensive, on account of the recent rains, to be covered by pontoons; but on the 4th of April, a favourable point being discovered about seven miles lower down, the pontoon bridge was thrown across, and Beresford effected the passage with the third, fourth, and sixth divisions, and the cavalry brigades of Somerset, Ponsonby, and Vivian; but a sudden and violent swell of the river so damaged the bridge, that it was necessary to take it up, and thus Beresford's corps was left isolated on the enemy's side of the river. At length, on the morning of the 8th, the waters having subsided, the bridge was again laid down, and the Spanish corps of Freyre, and the Portuguese artillery, passed to Beresford's support; as did also Wellington, who took the command in person, and moved forward to the neighbourhood of the town.

The pontoon bridge was then taken up, and laid down higher up the river, for the purpose of shortening the communication of Hill's corps, which was in front of St. Cyprien. Early in the morning of the 10th, the light and the third divisions crossed, and then all was in readiness to commence offensive operations. The plan of attack was:—The suburb of St. Cyprien to be menaced by Hill, so as to prevent any succour being sent from that quarter to the right bank of the river. The third and light divisions, and the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy in the suburbs of St. Etienne and Guillemerin, near the canal, and to attract his attention by threatening the fortified bridge-heads across it. Beresford, with the fourth and sixth divisions and Ponsonby's dragoons, was to attack the enemy's right flank; while the Spaniards, under Freyre, supported by Ponsonby's cavalry and Bock's German dragoons, were to make a simultaneous attack on the left of his position. Soult, under cover of his numerous intrenchments on the summit of Mont Rave, and in the suburb of St. Cyprien, calmly awaited the attack. The French army amounted to 40,000 men; that of the allies to 52,000, of whom 12,000 were Spaniards.

The signal for the commencement of the battle was given at seven o'clock, when the French advanced posts having been driven in, Beresford, with his column, speedily carried the village of Montblanc, and advanced against the heights of Mont Rave.

Whilst these movements were in operation, Freyre moved forward to the point of his attack; but when the Spaniards came within range of the grapeshot of the enemy, they fell into confusion; and at the same moment, being vigorously charged by the French, they took to their heels, and a terrible carnage ensued. Such was the panic, that had not Ponsonby's cavalry and a brigade of the light division advanced to their relief, and checked the pursuit, Beresford's column would have been isolated from the rest of the army.

And this was not the only disaster which occurred in the early part of the battle. Picton observing the Spaniards in flight, forgetting his duty of observation and menace, thought it incumbent on him to check the French pursuit. With this intention he assailed the fortified bridge of Jumeau; but the works were too strong to be scaled without ladders, and he was repulsed with the loss of 400 men. Thus, owing to the unsteadiness of the Spaniards, and the rashness of Picton, the attacks as hitherto were sanguinary failures; and though Hill, in the meantime, had by a vigorous attack made himself master of the exterior line of fortifications of St. Cyprien, yet the battle seemed to incline in favour of the enemy.

All now seemed to depend on Beresford; but his position was perilous. The fourth and the sixth divisions, though separated by the distance of two miles from the rest of the columns, and without artillery, resolutely ascended the hill of Calvint, crowned with guns, and defended by 15,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry. The enemy as resolutely received them; and it seemed as if, for the moment, the opposing forces were locked in the bayonet's bloody embrace. But the hearts of the French failed them; and when the smoke cleared away, they were seen fleeing over the summit of the ridge. The position and redoubts of St. Cyprien were won, and the two British divisions solidly established on the right of the enemy's position.

A pause in the battle now ensued. Soult employed the interval in reinforcing his broken right wing from his reserves, and Beresford was joined by his artillery from Montblanc. About two o'clock the action was renewed. The central redoubts on the Calvint were assaulted; and a terrible contest ensued. The Spaniards under Freyre being now re-formed, advanced again to the

assault, whilst Picton made another demonstration against the bridge of Jumeau. In the meantime Beresford's force had carried the whole range of the French defences, including the redoubts of Columbette and Calvinet.

The battle was now gained, although the Spaniards had in their attack been repulsed, and that Picton had failed in his renewed assault on the bridge of Jumeau. It was about four o'clock, when Soult prepared to withdraw behind the canal. The allied forces, crossing the ridge of Mont Rave, pursued the retreating enemy, but were arrested by the fire of the *têtes-du-pont*; and by seven o'clock the whole French forces were ranged within the second line of defence, formed by the canal of Languedoc. During these operations, Hill had driven the enemy from their second line of intrenchments in St. Cyprien. In this sanguinary and decisive battle, the loss of the allies, in killed and wounded, was 4,528; that of the enemy, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, 3,200.

Soult, shut up in the city, was summoned to surrender: his reply was, he would rather bury himself in its ruins. The 11th was employed in making preparations, and the attack was fixed for daylight of the following morning; but in the course of the night of the 12th, the French marshal retreated; and, before daybreak, was at Villefranche, two-and-twenty miles distant, on his road to Carcassonne. He was pursued by Hill's division and the light cavalry, and some prisoners were taken.

At noon of the following day, Lord Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph; and in the course of the day, Colonel Cooke and Colonel St. Simon, arrived at Lord Wellington's head-quarters with intelligence of the abdication of Napoleon and the restoration of the Bourbons. The French marshal refusing to give in his adhesion to the provisional government, Wellington immediately prepared to commence operations; and on the 17th the outposts of each army had assumed a threatening attitude; when an official communication being received from the chief of Napoleon's staff, Soult sent Count Gazan to Lord Wellington's head-quarters to acknowledge his adhesion; and, on the 18th, signed the convention.

\* On the 14th of April, Louis XVIII. landed at Calais from Dover, to resume the dormant Bourbon throne; and on the 27th of the following month, its

During these events, the tragical episode of Bayonne terminated the drama of the war. At three o'clock in the morning of the 14th of April, a sortie was made in great force from the intrenched camp in front of Bayonne, which, breaking through the pickets, carried the village of St. Etienne. At the same time the blockading force was assailed by a tremendous fire from the guns of the citadel and gun-boats which had dropped down the stream. In this experiment of the French commandant of the fortress, he sustained a loss of above 900 men; the allies, 843. Thouvenot, finding himself closely hemmed in, capitulated.

The war having been now terminated, Wellington addressed a general order to the army, bearing honourable testimony to their services, and proceeded to meet the congress of sovereigns at Paris, where he arrived on the 4th of May. While in that capital, he received official information that he had been raised to an English dukedom, and that peerages had been conferred on his lieutenants, Hill, Hope, Cotton, Graham, and Beresford. His stay in the French capital was brief. He had been invited to meet Ferdinand at Madrid, where he arrived on the 24th of May. On the 10th of June he rejoined the army at Bordeaux, where, making the necessary arrangements for its quitting France, he addressed to it his farewell order of thanks, in which he stated the obligation England was under to it. On the 14th, he quitted Bordeaux; on the 23rd, reached Dover; and on the 28th, appeared for the first time in the House of Lords since his well-merited elevation to the peerage. The sum of £500,000 was soon afterwards voted to him for the purchase of an estate, as a lasting token of national gratitude.\*

By the definitive treaty between England and France, the latter was to return to her limits of 1792, with some modifications; and all the colonies except Tobago, St. Lucia, the Isle of France, Roderigue, and the Sechelles, were to be restored to France. Such was the termination of the war between England and France, which had sprang out of the French revolution, and, with the exception of the truce of Amiens, had lasted twenty-one years.

usurper, Napoleon, embarked at Frejus in Provence, to take possession of his newly-erected empire of Elba.

## NAVAL OPERATIONS IN 1814—WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES.

THIS year, like several of the preceding, was destitute of occasion for any of those distinguished actions which, in the former part of the war, had conferred so much celebrity on the British navy. The few frigates which France had been enabled to equip, were captured in the early months of the year, without much stern resistance. Among the 44-gun frigate prizes—the *Alcmene*, the *Iphigenie*, the *Ceres*, the *Terpsichore*, the *Sultane*, *l'Etoile*, and *Clorinde*—the three last were the best contested, in each of which the killed and wounded were above one hundred men. In the early part of the year, the French squadron of three sail of the line and three frigates, which had attempted to escape from Toulon, for the purpose of escorting a newly-built 74 from Genoa, was encountered off Cape Carquaranne, by nine ships of Sir Edward Pellew's fleet, in observation of that port, and sustained a loss of about one hundred men in killed and wounded, before it was able to regain the port of its exit. The ship from Genoa succeeded in entering Toulon on the following day.

The end of the last year had witnessed the failure of the Americans in their invasion of both of the Canadian provinces, and their retreat to winter quarters within their own territory.

After the surprise and capture of Fort Niagara, at the close (December 18th) of that year, the American general, Hull, had taken post at Black Rock, for the purpose of checking the further advance of the British; but on the last day of the year, Major-general Rial, crossing the Niagara, drove him from his batteries to Buffalo, which town the Americans hurriedly evacuating, was taken possession of and burned, together with two schooners and a sloop and the whole of the public stores—a measure resorted to in retaliation of the acts of plunder and conflagration committed by the Americans in their invasion of Upper Canada. A force was then directed to move down the river to Fort Niagara, to destroy all the remaining outposts of the enemy on this frontier.

The only movements which had taken place, were the attack of the American general Wilkinson on the British outposts of La Cole Mill, in the end of March, and

his repulse; and the capture of Fort Oswego, on Lake Ontario, in the beginning of May, by General Drummond and Commodore Yeo. But in the beginning of June, the enemy, detaching 5,000 men from the forces concentrated on the Niagara frontier for the invasion of Upper Canada, and crossing the river without opposition, captured Fort Erie and its garrison. They then advanced to the British lines of Chippewa; but their attack was anticipated by Rial, who, at the head of about 2,500 regular troops, militia, and Indians, advanced in confusion, and was received by the enemy in line. The repeated discharges to which the British were exposed before they could deploy into line, made so frightful a havoc among them, that they were obliged to retreat to Twenty-mile Creek, near Fort Niagara, with the loss of nearly 500 men in killed and wounded.

The Americans, elated with their success, advanced against the British position; but the force of the latter having been augmented by the arrival of some of Wellington's veteran troops under General Drummond, from Bordeaux, the American army fell back on Chippewa. On the 25th of June, Drummond, with a force of 3,000 men, of whom 1,800 were regulars, advanced against the enemy's position. The battle commenced about six o'clock in the evening, and the hostile lines were soon warmly and closely engaged. So obstinate was the encounter, that the muzzles of the opposing guns were worked within a few yards of each other. The artillery on both sides was repeatedly taken and retaken. At length, after three hours' vehement struggle, the contest ceased, and the combatants rested on their arms within a few yards of each other; but about midnight, the enemy, aware of their inability to continue the conflict, withdrew into their intrenched camp, and in the course of the following day, precipitately retreated to Fort Erie, having thrown their baggage, provisions, and camp equipage into the rapids. Their loss, including prisoners, amounted to about 1,500 men; while that of their opponents was about 900. The trophies of the victors were 300 prisoners and one gun. On the 15th of August, an assault was made on Fort Erie and the intrenched camp resting on it. One of the columns

of assault, after a desperate resistance, effected a lodgment; but the explosion of a quantity of powder taking place at the critical moment, the troops thinking that a mine had been sprung, rushed in disorder out of the fort. In their abortive attempt, the assailants sustained a loss of 600 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.

The war in Europe having been brought to a close, the British government was enabled to transmit additional military and naval reinforcements to America. A force of 3,500 men, consisting of the 4th, 44th, and 85th regiments of infantry, were embarked, in the month of June, at Bordeaux; and the 21st, 27th, and 62nd, from the Mediterranean, for Canada. Their place of rendezvous was Tangier Island, in Chesapeake Bay; where, when they arrived, they invited the negro population in the adjoining provinces to join their standard. A naval force, consisting of one 74, two 64's, eleven frigates, and some smaller vessels, under Rear-admiral Cockburn, were dispatched to the same destination.

When the British admiral and general arrived in Chesapeake Bay, the American commodore, Barney, with the Baltimore squadron, amounting to seventeen vessels, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent. Cockburn dispatched three English frigates, under the command of Captain Barrie, to attack and capture, or destroy the enemy's flotilla. On the approach of the British force, Barney set fire to his flotilla. At the same time a naval force was sent to bombard Fort Washington, situated on the Potomac, about twelve miles below the city of Washington. No sooner had the enemy's flotilla been destroyed, than the troops, amounting to 3,500, with two 3-pounders, were disembarked at Benedict; and marching directly for Washington, reached the village of Bladensburg, about five miles from Washington, on the 24th of August, where they discovered the enemy, drawn up in two lines upon a ridge of heights commanding the only bridge by which the city of Washington could be approached. The disposition for attack being made, the assailants rushed forward, and with an irresistible charge drove the first line on the second, which also becoming disordered took to precipitate flight, leaving ten pieces of artillery in the hands of the conquerors. The American army amounted to 6,500 troops, and 600 sailors to work their twenty-six guns.

After two hours' rest, the little British army advanced on Washington the same evening, where their arrival was so unexpected, that the dinner-table was laid at the president's house for the entertainment of a large party. A slight fire of musketry from one of the houses, which killed General Ross's horse, was all the resistance offered. A proposition was made to the American authorities to ransom the public buildings, which being refused, all the national edifices, warlike works and stores, were on the nights of the 24th and 25th of August, consigned to the flames or rendered useless. The navy yard and arsenal, with immense magazines of powder and 20,000 stand of arms, had been destroyed by the Americans themselves. The fort of Washington having been abandoned by the garrison, was taken possession of on the 28th. The object of the expedition having been thus effected, a retreat from Washington was began on the night of the 25th; and the army reaching Benedict on the 29th, re-embarked on the following day, for the purpose of proceeding against Baltimore.

The approach of the equinox rendering it unsafe for the fleet to proceed immediately to sea, it had been concerted between the British admiral and general to employ the intermediate time in an attempt on Baltimore. The fleet accordingly sailed up the bay, and on the 7th of September, anchored off the mouth of the Patapsco river; and on the following day the troops were disembarked at the distance of about thirteen miles from the town, and marched towards it. No opposition was experienced until the troops reached a thick wood through which the road passed. Here the enemy's light troops were posted, and opened a brisk fire on the advanced party. General Ross, impelled by his usual undaunted courage, proceeded with the skirmishers to the front. Receiving a mortal wound in the breast, he sent for Colonel Brooke, and resigning the command to him, soon expired. The enemy's skirmishing parties then fell back on the main body, amounting to 6,000 infantry and 400 horse, with six guns, which were drawn up in line across the road, with a strong wooden palisade, breast high, covering their front, and their flanks protected by a thick wood. On approaching this formidable position, Brooke ordered an instant attack. No sooner had the British reached the palisade, and began to break through it, than the enemy abandoned their

position, and took to precipitate flight, leaving the field covered with 600 slain and wounded, and 300 prisoners and two guns in the possession of the victors. This was called the battle of the Meeting-house, a place of that kind being in the vicinity.

Early on the following morning, the British army pressed forward, until they were within a mile and a-half of Baltimore. Here 15,000 men, with a large train of artillery, were strongly posted upon the heights which encircle the town. Brooke, nowise daunted by the inequality of his enemy, in comparison with his little force of 3,000 men, determined on a night attack, and made his dispositions for the purpose; but receiving information from Admiral Cockburn, that the enemy had, by sinking twenty vessels in the river, arrested the further progress of the ships, and rendered naval co-operation impracticable, he retired three miles from the position which he occupied, to induce the enemy to quit his intrenchments and follow him; but no demonstration of the kind being made, on the 15th he re-embarked his troops.

In the commencement of September, an expedition, under Rear-admiral Griffith and Lieutenant-general Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, sailed from Halifax to the enemy's settlements on the Penobscot. On reaching their destination, the fort of Custine, which commands the entrance of that river, having been evacuated by the enemy, was taken possession of. The American frigate, *John Adams*, having escaped to Hampden, a detachment of sailors and marines, under Captain Barrie, proceeded up the river for its capture or destruction. After a short contest, the enemy's position, on which the guns of the frigate were mounted, being forced, the frigate was burnt by themselves. The expedition then pushed forward to Bangor, which being surrendered, the only remaining fort, Machias, between Penobscot and Passamaquady Bay—on which all the islands had been previously captured—capitulated on the 11th of September. Formal possession was then taken of the whole country between the Penobscot and the boundary line of New Brunswick, and a provisional government established.

For the purpose of co-operating with Sherbrooke and Griffith, Sir George Pre-

vost, governor-general of the Canadas, had with a force of 9,000 men, in co-operation with the flotilla on Lake Champlain, invaded the state of New York, and possessed himself of the village of Champlain, near that lake; at the same time Sherbrooke and Griffith proceeded down the Penobscot. Their first operations were directed against Plattsburg, a fortified place on the lake, at the time garrisoned by 1,500 men. The British naval force, consisting of a frigate, a brig, two sloops of war, and twelve gun-boats, under the command of Captain Downie, were to co-operate in the attack. On the morning of the 11th, the flotilla appeared in sight of Plattsburg, and was met by the American flotilla under Commodore M'Donough. After a fierce and bloody conflict of two hours' duration, the English frigate, brig, and two sloops, struck their colours; having, in the action, sustained a loss of 149 killed and wounded; while that of their opponents was 111. Of the British loss, that on board the frigate (Downie's ship) had been forty-one killed (including the captain) and sixty wounded.\* On M'Donough's receiving the sword of Robertson, Downie's lieutenant, with the magnanimity which is ever the accompaniment of true valour, he said—“You owe it, sir, to the shameful conduct of your gun-boats and cutters that you are not performing this office to me; for, had they done their duty, you must have perceived from the situation of the *Saratoga* (M'Donough's ship), that I could hold out no longer; and, indeed, nothing induced me to keep up her colours, but my seeing, from the united fire of all the rest of my squadron on the *Confiance*, and her unsupported situation, that she must ultimately surrender.”

On the fall of the little squadron, Prevost issued orders to his army to retreat from before Plattsburg to the Canadian frontiers. “Such was the indignation which this order excited among those officers inured to a long course of victory in Spain, that several of them broke their swords, declaring they would never serve again.” The troops, participating in the same humiliation, deserted in large numbers.

While this disgraceful affair was occurring at Plattsburg, the American garrison of Fort Erie, on September 17th, made a sortie on

\* “The relative strength of the two flotillas was:—English vessels, 8; broadside guns, 38; weight of metal, 765 lbs.; aggregate number of crews, 537; tons, 1,426.—American vessels, 14; broadside guns,

52; weight of metal, 1,194 lbs.; aggregate number of crews, 950; tons, 2,540.”—James's *Naval History* vol. vi., p. 346.

the intrenched camp of Drummond, who was prosecuting the siege of that place, but were repulsed. Each side sustained a loss of 600 men, one-half of whom were prisoners. The British soon after acquiring the entire command of Lake Ontario by an increase of their shipping, the American commodore withdrew to Sacketts Harbour, where he was blockaded by the British squadron. This occurrence induced the Americans to withdraw from the British territory. Having blown up Fort Erie, they recrossed the Niagara, and withdrew into the American territory.

For the purpose of creating a diversion in the south, to relieve the Canadas in the north, the British ministers determined to send an expedition to New Orleans; and for the purpose of withdrawing the American forces from the Mississippi to the sea-coast on the Atlantic, Sir Alexander Cochrane, with the Baltimore expedition, was to attack St. Mary's, on the eastern shore of the Floridas. On the 18th of September, Cochrane sailed from Chesapeake Bay, and the troops being landed near Point Peter, after a smart action, took St. Mary's. The latter place being no longer deemed an object of importance, after all its merchandise and military stores had been shipped on board the vessels taken in the port, it was blown up. The fleet then proceeded on its destination, and assembled at Negril Bay, in the island of Jamaica. While rendezvousing there, the object of the expedition becoming known to an American merchant resident at Kingston, he instantly sailed in a schooner for Pensacola, and communicated the information to General Jackson, who was marching with the southern army of the United States to the relief of St. Mary's. That general, on hearing that New Orleans was threatened, marched for the banks of the Mississippi, and assembling about 12,000 men in and about New Orleans, threw up strong intrenchments on both sides of the river, below the town.

The British squadron, with the troops, arrived on the 8th of December off the Chandeleur Islands, lying off the mouth of the Mississippi. As the mouth of the river was unassailable owing to fortifications and sand-banks, it was determined to disembark the troops in the arm of the sea called Lake Borgne. But the lake was no sooner entered, than six large schooner-rigged vessels were discovered moored in

a line abreast, to dispute the passage. On the 14th, Captain Lockyer was dispatched, with a flotilla of the boats of the fleet, to effect their capture. Amidst a tremendous shower of balls, the British flotilla closed with the Americans, and succeeded in destroying them all. This service having been effected, the disembarkation of the troops began on the 16th; but on account of the deficiency of small craft, the last division was not able to take up its ground till the 21st. On the 25th, Major-general Sir Edward Pakenham arrived, having, as soon as General Ross's death was known in London, been dispatched to take the command of the army, which had hitherto been under that of Major-general Keane. The British army mustered about 5,700 men. The American army, amounting to 12,000 men of all arms, under the command of General Jackson, was posted behind an intrenchment about 1,000 yards in length, stretching from the Mississippi on the right, to an impassable swamp on the left, and protected by sugar-hogsheads and cotton bags, strong palisades, and three deep ditches which ran along its front, with a formidable array of heavy cannon, and flanked also by bastions, which enfiladed the whole front. The position was further defended by a battery on the opposite side of the river.

Attempts were made to commence approaches against this formidable line of intrenchments, for the purpose of carrying them by a *coup-de-main*; but the position being found too strong for such an attempt, it was determined to cut a canal across the entire neck of land in the rear of the British position, by which troops might be ferried across the river to carry the battery on its right bank.

On the completion of the canal, preparations were made for the attack of the American position. Colonel Thornton, with 1,400 men, was appointed to cross the river, storm the battery, and advance up the Mississippi till he was abreast of New Orleans; while the main attack on the intrenchments was made by Gibbs, with the 4th, 21st, 44th, and 93rd regiments, Keane, with the light troops, effecting a demonstration; and Lambert, with the 7th and 43rd, remaining in reserve, ready to act as circumstances might require.

It had been arranged, that on Thornton's carrying the battery, a rocket should be thrown up as a signal of his success; but

the operations of that officer having been delayed by the want of sufficient boats to convey his men, Pakenham, impatient of delay, ordered the troops to proceed to the attack of the enemy's intrenchments; but when within reach of fire, it was found that the fascines and ladders had been left behind by the 44th, who had been appointed to carry them. Indignant at the omission, Pakenham ordered the 44th to return. In the meantime, so terrible a fire was opened on the head of the column, that, riddled through and through, it fell back in disorder. In his endeavour to rally them, he fell mortally wounded. Though all was now confusion and dismay, the 93rd rushing through the throng, and some of them mounting on one another's shoulders, effected an entrance into the intrenchments; but the gallant men were all cut off. At the same time, a detachment of the 21st had penetrated into the intrenchments; but not being supported, they had been overpowered by the enemy.

During this disastrous repulse, in which a loss of 2,000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, had been sustained, Thornton had carried the battery on the right bank of the river, and captured eighteen cannon.

On the night of the 18th of January, 1815, Lambert, who had succeeded to the command on the death of Ross and the wounds of Gibbs and Keane, retreated, and on the 27th, re-embarked. On the 12th of February, part of the troops being disembarked on the island of Mobile, captured Fort Boyer, with its garrison of 360 men.

With the reduction of this trifling fort, all hostilities ceased, news arriving that preliminaries of peace between England and America had been signed on the 24th of December in the preceding year, at Ghent, by the plenipotentiaries of both nations.

Besides the disastrous conflict on Lake Champlain, the naval contests between the English and the Americans, during the year 1814, were those between the American vessels *Essex* and *Wasp*, and the English frigate *Phæbe* and *Reindeer* sloop.

The United States' 32-gun frigate *Essex*, Captain Porter, which had on her cruise in the South Seas made many captures, particularly whale-ships, was, while in the roads of Valparaiso, on the 28th of February,

encountered by the 36-gun frigate *Phæbe*, Captain Hallyar, in company with the *Cherub* sloop. The American vessel hoisted the motto, "Free trade and sailors' rights!" to which the English replying, "God and our country!—traitors offend both;" the Americans rejoined, "God, our country, and liberty!—tyrants offend them." A fierce action ensued, and, after forty minutes' duration, the *Essex* hauled down her colours, having sustained a loss of sixty-nine men in killed and wounded. When the action commenced, nearly one hundred British sailors were on board the American frigate, having been trepanned from the crews of the merchant vessels which she had captured. On the *Essex* striking her colours, these men jumped overboard; above half of them reached the shore; but the rest either perished, or were picked up by the *Phæbe's* boats.

On the 28th of June, the British sloop *Reindeer* heaving in sight of the American sloop *Wasp*, gave chase. The *Wasp* hove-to, and an action was commenced. The engagement lasted, yardarm to yardarm, for half-an-hour, when the *Reindeer* was so disabled, that she fell with her bow against the larboard quarter of the *Wasp*. Instantly the American raked the British vessel with dreadful effect; and at the same time the American riflemen in the top picked off almost all the officers and men on the deck. Though Captain Manners, early in the action, had the calves of both his legs shot away, he still remained on deck, encouraging and animating the crew. Shortly afterwards he was again wounded by a grape or canister shot passing through both his thighs; but, nowise daunted, he called out to his men—"Follow me, my boys—we must board!" at the same moment springing into the *Reindeer's* rigging, with the intent to leap into that of the *Wasp*, when two balls from the maintop of the latter pierced his skull, and he fell lifeless upon the deck. The *Wasp's* crew immediately rushed on board the sloop; and so great had been the slaughter of the officers and crew, that the captain's clerk was the only surviving officer left to transfer the surrender of the vessel. No sooner was possession of the *Reindeer* obtained, than the captors were obliged to set fire to her, on account of her shattered condition.\*

\* The comparative force of the combatants in this desperately-contested action was:—*Reindeer*, broadside guns, 9; weight of metal, 198 lbs; crew, 98;

tons, 385.—*Wasp*, broadside guns, 11 weight of metal, 338; crew, 173; tons, 539.—James's *Naval History*, vol. vi., p. 296

Early in February, 1815, a 36-gun British frigate had captured the American 18-gun sloop the *Frolic*; and on the 23rd of the same month, the American 20-gun sloop *Peacock*, captured the British 18-gun sloop the *Epervier*. On the 23rd of January, the British 18-pounder frigate the *Pique*, Captain Maitland, fell in with the American 44-gun frigate *Constitution*, while running through the Mona passage, Barbadoes. The *Pique's* men, observing that it was not their cap-

tain's intention to become the assailant, went aft, and requested him to bring the enemy to action. Captain Maitland read to them the directions given by the British admiralty, that 18-pounder frigates were not to seek an engagement with American 44-gun frigates; but failing of convincing his crew of the necessity of obedience to them, he gave chase. Owing, however, to thick, squally weather, the hostile frigates lost sight of each other.

#### THE CAMPAIGNS AND BATTLE-FIELDS OF IMPERIAL FRANCE IN 1814.

ON the 22nd of January, the first official news of the invasion of France by the allies appeared; the *Moniteur* announced that Schwartzberg had crossed the Rhine between Basle and Schaffhausen on the 20th of December, 1813, and disregarding the claim of the Swiss to preserve neutrality, had advanced into Franche-Comté and Burgundy; that on the 1st of January, the Silesian army had crossed that river at various points between Radstadt and Coblenz; and that shortly after, Winzingerode and Bulow had begun to penetrate the frontier of the Netherlands.

The next morning being Sunday, the officers of the national guard were summoned to the Tuileries. When they had assembled in the saloon of the marshals, Napoleon, taking his station in the midst of them, with the empress and the King of Rome by his side, said—"Gentlemen, France is invaded; I go to put myself at the head of my troops; and with God's help and their valour, I hope soon to drive the enemy beyond the frontier." Then taking the empress in one hand and his son in the other, he continued, "but if they should approach the capital, I confide to the national guard the empress and the King of Rome"—but correcting himself, he added, in a tone of strong emotion—"my wife and child." He then appointed his wife regent, and placed his brother Joseph at the head of the council; and on the morning of the 25th, having previously burnt all his private papers, he left Paris.

In the meantime, the torrent of invasion had rolled in nearer and nearer every day, sweeping before it, from post to post, the various corps which had been left to protect the Rhine. The corps of Marmont, Mortier, Victor, and Ney, amounting in all

to 50,000 men, had retired before the overpowering multitude.

On arriving at Chalons, the French emperor learning that Blucher and Sacken were marching by Brienne-sur-Aube on Troyes, in order to join Schwartzberg, who was advancing down the Seine towards Bar, resolved to attack the right of the Silesian army, and force it from the Aube, by which manœuvre he would be enabled to interpose himself between the two armies of the allies, and thus separate them. Accordingly, orders were sent to Mortier to retreat on Troyes, so as to be in readiness to assist the grand army under the personal command of Napoleon.

About noon of the 29th, Napoleon reached Brienne, where he found the Prussians posted upon a hill which commands the town, and ranged on the terraces of the castle, while a Russian force was stationed in the streets. The advance had been so sudden, that Blucher, who was at dinner with his staff, with difficulty escaped by a postern-door, whence they were compelled to lead their horses down a staircase to gain the road. The allies being at length driven from the place, with the loss of 4,000 men, retreated in the course of the night to Bar-sur-Aube. During the *mêlée*, some Cossacks throwing themselves upon the rear of the French, the emperor was so involved in the contest as to be compelled to draw his sword and fight for his safety. General Gourgaud shot a Cossack in the act of thrusting a spear into Napoleon's neck.

Blucher having, on the 30th of January, effected a junction with Schwartzberg, the combined force advanced with about 100,000 men into the plain between Bar-sur-Aube and Brienne, to overpower Napoleon before he could receive reinforcements.

On the 1st of February a battle ensued, and the contest raged till nightfall, when no decisive advantage appearing on either side, the French, to induce the allied armies to separate, and thus present an opportunity of attacking them in detail, abandoned their position and fell back behind the Aube. On the 3rd they entered Troyes.

While at Troyes, Napoleon having received information that Blucher had separated from Schwartzberg, and had transferred his army to the Marne, he unpacked his papers to review his plan of the campaign, when Maret, arriving with despatches, found him occupied with maps and compasses. "I am beating Blucher on paper," said he; "he has altered his route, and is advancing by the road to Montmirail. I will set out and defeat him to-morrow, and again on the next day; when we shall see what next can be done." Leaving Victor and Oudinot to keep Schwartzberg in check, on the 8th he directed his march against Blucher.

On the 10th, by a forced march, he came up with the Prussians and Russians, who, intent on their advance to Paris, were marching with large intervals between their divisions. Immediately an attack was made on the Russians under Sacken, at Champaubert, who were defeated with the loss of 2,000 prisoners and forty pieces of cannon. The French force was now interposed between the advanced guard of the allies and the main body under Blucher, in their rear. On hearing of the disaster at Champaubert, Blucher hastened forward, and Sacken and d'Yorck, with the Russians and Prussians, who had effected a junction at Château-Thierry, fell hastily back. But on the 11th, Napoleon overtaking the two last-mentioned generals at Montmirail, after an engagement of two hours, drove them in inextricable disorder towards Soissons. Blucher advancing rapidly to Vauchamps to the relief of his advanced guard, found himself in the presence of an army flushed with victory. On the 14th he was attacked, and after a brave contest, in which the village of Vauchamps was several times taken and retaken, compelled to retire across the Marne at Chalons, with the loss of 5,000 prisoners and ten pieces of cannon.

Having dispatched his prisoners and trophies to Paris, Napoleon, leaving the pursuit of Blucher to Marmont and Mortier, turned round to attack the grand army under Schwartzberg, who, during his ope-

rations against the Prussians, had passed the Seine at three different points—at Nogent, Bray, and Montereau. Fontainebleau was already in their possession. Confusion and alarm were at their height in Paris.

On receiving intelligence of this advance, Napoleon, committing the care of watching the Chalons road and the remnant of Blucher's army to Marmont and Mortier, marched, with the main body of the army, on Meaux, where he received, on the 15th of February, the reinforcement of 20,000 veterans, under Grouchy, from Spain. On the 16th, Victor and Oudinot, who had bravely opposed the passage of the Seine by the allied grand army, were engaged with the vanguard of the allies, under Wittgenstein and Paylen, on the plains of Guignes, when Napoleon arrived to their assistance. After a furious and bloody engagement, the allies were routed at all points, with considerable loss.

The enemy retreated on Montereau. On the morning of the 18th, an attack was made on the heights which command the town; and these being taken, batteries were mounted to play on the streets and houses, Napoleon himself pointing several guns. The artillerymen, delighted with this resumption of his ancient trade, but alarmed at the exposure of his person, entreated him to withdraw. He persisted in his work, answering gaily—"My children, the bullet is not yet cast which is to kill me." The enemy were at length driven out of the town.

Napoleon was determined to hold Schwartzberg in check, and return and restrain Blucher on the Marne. For this purpose he ordered Oudinot and Macdonald to manoeuvre in the direction of Schwartzberg's army, while he marched to Sezanne. On his arrival there, he received intelligence that Mortier and Marmont, having been driven from Ferte-sous-Jouarre by Blucher, were in full retreat to Meaux; that Oudinot and Macdonald, having been defeated by Schwartzberg at Bar, had been driven to Troyes. Nowise discouraged by the intelligence, he resumed his march, with the intention of throwing himself on Blucher's flank, as he had done at Champaubert; but the Prussian general, apprised of his approach, retreated to Soissons.

Napoleon immediately advanced in that direction; but finding the town in possession of the enemy, and being informed that Blucher was concentrating his forces between Craonne and Laon, he marched

thither with the intention of bringing on a decisive engagement.

On the evening of the 6th of March, the French advanced guard posted itself at Craonne, in front of the two Russian corps of Sacken and Wittzenrode, who were established on the heights in front of that place. In hopes of destroying them before they could unite with Blucher, Napoleon determined to attack them without delay. Accordingly, on the following morning, a furious engagement commenced, which lasted till four in the afternoon; but now the Russian forces retreated in good order on the plateau of Laon, for the purpose of forming on the same line as Blucher, who was already in position. The Russians had withstood the utmost exertions of Ney on their right, Victor on their left, and of Napoleon in their centre. The loss in slain and wounded had been nearly equal on both sides; no cannon, and scarcely a prisoner had been taken.

Blucher having been joined by Bernadotte's army, was now eager for a conflict, which took place on the morning of the 10th. The battle was fierce and furious till nightfall, when the armies bivouacked in presence of each other; but intelligence coming that Marmont's corps was fleeing in confusion towards Corberry, the French army, early on the morning of the 11th, retreated with the loss of 10,000 men and thirty cannon, on Soissons, which had been abandoned by the allies after the battle of Craonne.

Into this town Napoleon threw himself on the 12th, and was making his best efforts to strengthen it, when once more a messenger of evil tidings reached him. A detached Russian corps, commanded by St. Preist, a French refugee in the service of Russia, had seized Rheims by a *coup-de-main*. As, by the possession of this city, the communications of Schwartzberg and Blucher were established, Napoleon, leaving Marmont to defend Soissons, instantly marched to recover the place. On the night of the 13th he assaulted the town, and, after a struggle of two hours' duration, became master of it.

Misfortune now thickened on Napoleon. The south-western frontier of France was invaded by the English under Wellington, who had, in a series of brilliant actions, driven Soult before him, and was pursuing him in the direction of Toulouse. The Bourbon flag was floating on the towers of Bordeaux,

and the Duke d'Angoulême administering all the offices of government in the midst of a population who had welcomed him with enthusiasm. Augereau had been defeated in the south of France, and in his hasty retreat, had left Lyons open to the allies. The last news received was, that Blucher had repassed the Marne, and that Schwartzberg, having attacked Oudinot and Macdonald at Bar-sur-Aube, had compelled them to fall back on Troyes, and subsequently still nearer Paris. The only consolatory news was, that Davoust still held Hamburg, that Carnot resisted all efforts to take Antwerp, and that General Bizaunet had captured the whole of the besieging force of the English at Bergen-op-Zoom.

Undiscouraged by the difficulties which surrounded him, Napoleon formed the daring resolution of throwing himself in the rear of the allies. Having arranged his plan, Marmont and Mortier were left to defend the road to the capital, and on the 29th of March, the army, amounting to 25,000 men, was put in motion, and in the course of a few hours reached the heights of Arcis-sur-Aube, from which they observed the grand army of the allies, nearly 100,000 strong, on its march to Chalons, to join Blucher and Bernadotte. A fight, or rather a series of fights, continued throughout the day; but by nightfall, the shells of the allies having set the town on fire, a retreat was necessary to save the French army. Early, therefore, on the following morning, a retrograde march was begun by cross-roads towards St. Dizier, with the intention of effecting a diversion in favour of the capital, and cutting off the communications of the allies, by instigating a general rising in their rear. In the meantime, Marmont and Mortier, who had been left at Soissons to watch Blucher, after a severe contest and heavy losses, were compelled to retreat from post to post before their hot pursuers. On the 28th, the allies were at Meaux, and on the evening of the following day, they bivouacked on the banks of the Seine, within view of Paris, which now presented a scene of utter confusion and dismay. To defend the imperial city, measures were instantly adopted.

During the night of the 29th, Marmont and Mortier, with the remnant of their corps, 10,000 national guards under Moncey, and the pupils of the Polytechnic school (in all, not above 25,000 men), bivouacked round the city, and defended its approaches.

Between the hours of three and four on the following morning, the drums beat to arms. The troops of the line were on every point stationed in front; the battalions of the national guard formed a second line; and the Polytechnic and other students served the artillery. They occupied the range of heights from the forest of Vincennes and the village of Charenton on the Marne, to the village of Neuilly beyond St. Denis on the Seine.

The battle commenced between seven and eight o'clock, by an attack of the Russians on the wood of Romainville; but the assailants were repulsed, and at the same time Marmont drove the enemy from the village of Pantin in advance of their line. About eleven o'clock Blucher advanced against the heights of Montmartre; and other corps almost simultaneously attacked Aubervilliers, Père La Chaise, and other positions. Though the contest was gallantly maintained by the defenders, the odds were too fearful to be of any avail. Therefore, about two o'clock, Marmont sent a flag of truce to the allies, and at five, articles of capitulation were signed at the barrier of St. Denis. Agreeably to the terms of surrender, Marmont and Mortier, on the morning of the 31st, marched with the troops of the line, then quartered in Paris and its vicinity, towards the Loire; and about noon the allies entered the city.

In the meantime, Napoleon had pushed forward to Vitry, where learning that the allies were in full march for Paris, he immediately prepared to descend the Seine, and, if possible, to reach the capital before the fatal blow should be struck. Early on the following morning the troops began their march, and so anxious were they to prevent the anticipated misfortune, that they passed over an extent of ground covering fifteen leagues in the course of that day. So impatient was Napoleon to reach the scene of contest, and observe with his own eyes the events going on, that he set forward with a small escort. By the time he reached Fontainebleau, he was informed that the capitulation had been signed five hours ago.

The commissioners of the allies soon arrived with the conditions of Napoleon's abdication:—1st. The imperial title to be preserved by Napoleon, with the free sovereignty of the isle of Elba; guards, and a navy suitable to the extent of that island; and a pension from France of 6,000,000

francs annually. 2nd. The duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guartella, to be granted in sovereignty to Maria Louisa and her heirs. 3rd. Two million and a-half of francs annually to be paid by the French government in pensions to Josephine and the other members of the Buonaparte family.

Napoleon at first was unwilling to accept the terms, and appeared desirous of again appealing to arms. He sometimes meditated a march southwards, collecting on his way the armies of Augereau and Soult, and reopening the campaign behind either the Loire or the Alps, according as circumstances might recommend. At other times, the chance of rousing the population of Paris recurred to his imagination. But after having long pondered and hesitated, he at length, on the 11th of April, drew up the following act of abdication:—

"The allied powers having proclaimed that the emperor is the sole obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the emperor, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his children the thrones of France and Italy; and that there is no sacrifice, even that of life, which he is not ready to make for that of France.

NAPOLEON."

Hitherto his demeanour had been composed and dignified; but he had no sooner delivered the document of his abdication to the commissioners (Ney and other marshals) appointed to receive it, than he threw himself upon a sofa, hid his countenance for some minutes, and then starting up with that smile which had so often kindled every heart around him into the flame of onset, exclaimed—"Let us march, my comrades! let us take the field once more!" But no response being made, he dismissed the messengers and the assemblage in silence.

From that period till the 20th he was occupied in preparations for his departure. On that day he called those who still remained about him, and signified that they were now to receive his last adieus. "Louis," said he, "has talents and means: he is old and infirm; and will not, I think, choose to give a bad name to his reign. If he is wise he will occupy my bed, and only change the sheets. But he must treat the army well, and take care not to look on the past, or his time will be brief. For you, gentlemen, I am no longer to be with you; you have another government; and it will become you to attach yourselves to it.

frankly, and serve it as faithfully as you have served me."

He now desired that the relics of his imperial guard might be drawn up in the courtyard of the castle. He advanced on horseback, and dismounting in the midst of them—"Generals, officers, sub-officers, and soldiers of my old guard," he said, "I bid you farewell. During twenty years I have been content with you, having always found you in the path to glory. All Europe," he continued, "has armed against me. France herself has deserted me, and chosen another dynasty. I might, with my soldiers, have maintained a civil war for years; but it would have rendered France unhappy. Be faithful to the new sovereign whom your country has chosen. Do not lament my fate: I shall be happy while I know that you are so. I could have died—nothing was easier; but I will always follow the path of honour. I will record with my pen the deeds which we have done together. I cannot embrace you all, but" (taking the commanding officer,

General Petit, in his arms) "I embrace your general. Bring hither the eagle. Beloved eagle, may the kisses I bestow on you long resound in the hearts of the bravest! Farewell, my children—farewell, my brave companions! Surround me once more—farewell! My prayers shall accompany you always. Preserve my remembrance."

Amid the silent and profound grief of his brave companions-in-arms, he placed himself in his carriage, and was rapidly driven from Fontainebleau. On the 27th he reached Frejus, and in the evening of the following day embarked for Elba. He came in sight of his Lilliputian dominions on the 4th of May, and on the following day made his entrance into the capital, Porto Ferrajo.

Thus the sun of Napoleon's glory was set; but it was destined once more to ascend the horizon, and, after a short and effulgent brilliancy, finally to disappear in darkness and gloom.

#### DIVISION OF THE TERRITORY OF THE VARIOUS STATES—CONGRESS OF VIENNA— NAPOLEON LEAVES ELBA.

THE war having been brought to a close, and the common danger having been removed, the representatives of the principal states which had been engaged in it, assembled at the opening of the present year at Vienna, to proceed to the "rounding of their territories,"\* as they termed the appropriation of those countries which had fallen a prey to one or other of the great powers during the war, and consisted of states inhabited by nearly 32,000,000 of souls. The Russian autocrat demanded as his share the whole of Poland; Prussia the whole of Saxony, besides various provinces on the left bank of the Rhine; and both those powers immediately put their armies on a footing to enforce their demands. To resist their designs, a treaty of alliance was, on the 3rd of February, 1815,

\* The division of those states ultimately agreed on, was:—Lombardy and the Illyrian provinces were re-annexed to Austria; the duchies of Cleves and Berg, part of the duchy of Warsaw, together with some Westphalian provinces, were awarded to Prussia; and Russia was aggrandised by the addition of Finland, Bessarabia, part of Moldavia, several Persian provinces, and the viceroyship of Warsaw. A junction of Belgium in the Netherlands with the seven United Provinces of Holland, formed the kingdom of the Netherlands. Hanover was erected into a kingdom. Norway was united to

concluded between Austria, France, and England, to maintain each 150,000 men, of whom 30,000 were to be cavalry. This treaty had the effect of inducing the Russian and Prussian plotters to lower their pretensions. Prussia was content to have a portion of Saxony, containing 80,000 souls; and Russia willingly renounced her designs on several districts of Poland. By the time this arrangement had been made, "the Holy Alliance," as they termed themselves (which had been convened, as they professed, for the pacification of the world), had assembled 1,000,000 of armed men round their banners, for mutual slaughter in the enforcement of their iniquitous aggressions

Something like harmony being at length restored, the following arrangements were Sweden, on condition of the last-mentioned power ceding Swedish Pomerania to Denmark. The ancient republic of Genoa was united to the kingdom of Savoy or Sardinia. Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva were incorporated with the other Swiss cantons. Holland ceded to Great Britain, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice, receiving back from that power, Batavia, Surinam, Curaçoa, and St. Eustace. France received back all her colonies, factories, &c., except the islands of Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Mauritius. Malta and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands were secured also to Great Britain.

made. The Low Countries and Holland were united, and took the title of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, under a prince of the house of Nassau; Lombardy and the Milanese were ceded to Austria; Hanover was to have a portion of Saxony, containing 250,000 souls; and the Genoese republic was to be added to Piedmont. Norway was to be annexed to Sweden; and the Valais, Geneva with its territory, and the principality of Neufchatel, were united, as additional cantons, to the nineteen already existing in Switzerland. Murat, finding the congress not agreed in the support of his claims to the kingdom of Naples, in conformity with the conditions entered into when he joined the grand confederacy against Napoleon, was preparing to maintain his right, and even hoped to acquire the sceptre of the whole of Italy south of the Po.

In the midst of all this political juggle, and on the very eve of a grand ball, which was to be given in celebration of the successful issue of the congress, the astounding news that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and had landed in the Gulf of St. Juan, near Frejus, was, on the 7th of March, announced to "the holy alliance" diplomatists assembled at Vienna. A meeting was immediately held to deliberate on the course the congress should pursue; and a proclamation was published declaring Napoleon "without the pale of civil and social relations; and, as an enemy to mankind, and the disturber of the tranquillity of the world, he had rendered himself liable to public vengeance;" and this declaration was afterwards signed by the ministers of every European power, except Turkey and Naples. A formal treaty was forthwith entered into by the four great powers, by which they bound themselves to maintain each of them a body of troops in arms, until Napoleon should either be dethroned, or so reduced as to be no longer capable of endangering the peace of Europe. Austria agreed

to furnish 300,000 men; Russia, 225,000; Prussia, 236,000; the minor states of Germany, 150,000; and England, 125,000. The Duke of Wellington, at the request of the allies, drew up a plan of military operations for the ensuing campaign; and, four days after the signing of the treaty of Vienna, he proceeded to examine the state of the fortresses in Belgium, which was expected to be the first battle-field. As early as the 5th of April, he announced, that after having placed 13,400 men in the fortresses of Belgium, he could assemble 23,000 English and Hanoverian troops, and 20,000 Dutch and Belgians, with sixty pieces of cannon.

In the meantime, the military preparations of Napoleon Buonaparte to meet his opponents, were of the most rapid and extraordinary nature. New levies were instituted, under the various names of "free corps," "*fédérés*," and "volunteers;" the old corps were recruited from the retired veterans, prisoners returned from their captivity in England, Spain, &c., and the conscripts of 1814; and corps of national guards were moved forward to relieve in garrison the troops of the line now called into immediate service in the field. Composed of these, large armies were assembled in Alsace, in Lorraine, in Franche-Comté, at the foot of the Alps, and on the verge of the Pyrenees. To oppose the English and Prussian armies in Belgium, a preponderating force was assembled on the Sambre, entitled the *Grand Army*, and to be commanded by Napoleon in person. The first corps of this powerful and highly organised force occupied Valenciennes and the second Maubeuge, communicating by their right wing with the armies assembled in the Ardennes and on the Moselle, under Vandamme and Gerard, and resting their left on the strong fortifications of Lisle. Here they awaited the numerous reinforcements which were on their march to join them.





GRENOBLE.

## NAPOLEON'S RETURN TO PARIS.

WE must now relate the particulars of Napoleon's escape from Elba, and return to France.

The restoration of the Bourbon government had not reconciled the army and people of France to the new order of things. The whole of the army and part of the population, had beheld the departure of their idol as a humiliation of national glory, and resolved to bring him back. His return, towards the end of the year 1814, was openly talked of in France as an event which would certainly take place when the violets were in bloom. Drawings of that flower were sold in Paris as the symbol of revolt; the profile of Napoleon was ingeniously contrived, and easily discerned in the vivid colours of its petals. "Corporal Violet" was the watchword among the initiated to designate him in their conversation.

Not long after he had taken possession of Elba, he began to prepare measures for his return to France. His sister Pauline, and other persons in his confidence, made re-

peated voyages to Italy; and he soon granted furloughs to 200 of the body-guard (700 infantry, and 150 cavalry of the imperial guard) assigned him by the allies, to return to France for the purpose of promoting his plans, and whose places were supplied by volunteers from France and Italy. Among the crowd of visitants to Elba, to view "the conqueror and captive of the earth," were mysterious personages whose business was unknown, and who were continually arriving at, and quitting the island.

The British government at this time received frequent communications from Sir Neil Campbell, who stated his opinion that some plot was in progress, having for its object the escape of Buonaparte from the island of Elba. Sir Neil made frequent visits to the continent to watch the intrigues of Napoleon, and reported to his government many circumstances which he considered deserving of notice. In the month of November, 1814, a stranger waited on one of the members of the

\* The cessions of territory were—Philippeville, Marienburg, Saar-Louis, and Landau, with their adjacent territories as far as the Lauter; also that part of Savoy and Italy which had been kept by France

by virtue of the treaty of Paris in the preceding year. Vervain, with the small district around it, was ceded to the canton of Geneva; and the fortress of Huningen was to be dismantled.

French government, and offered to communicate important discoveries. It was agreed to pay him the sum of £6,000, and he then informed the minister that a plot was in existence to effect the return of Napoleon from Elba, and again erect his standard in France. The minister immediately communicated the information he had received to an agent of the secret police: but this person was in the interest of Buonaparte; and he so adroitly managed the business, that he made it appear that the information was altogether false, and that the informer was an impostor. Several communications were also made to the members of the French government, detailing the whole of the plans of the conspirators, and giving their names; but, strange to say, no decisive steps were taken in the matter, and some of the communications were afterwards found in the bureau of the ex-minister, which had never been opened.

All things being in readiness, and the preparations in France completed, on Sunday, the 26th of February (Napoleon's sister Pauline having on the preceding evening given a

\* The following narrative of Napoleon's adventures, from the time he left Elba until his arrival at the Tuileries, was given in the *Moniteur* of March 26th, 1815:—On the 26th of February, at five in the evening, he embarked on board a brig, carrying twenty-six guns, with 400 men of his guard. Three other vessels which happened to be in the port, and which were seized, received 200 infantry, 100 Polish light horse, and the battalion of flankers of 200 men. The wind was south, and appeared favourable; Captain Chaubard was in hopes that before break of day the isle of Capraia would be doubled, and that he should be out of the track of the French and English cruisers who watched the coast. This hope was disappointed. He had scarcely doubled Cape St. Andre, in the isle of Elba, when the wind fell, and the sea became calm; at break of day he had only made six leagues, and was still between the isle of Capraia and the isle of Elba, in sight of the cruisers.—The peril appeared imminent; several of the mariners were for returning to Porto Ferrajo. The emperor ordered the voyage to be continued, having for a resource, in the last resort, to seize the French cruisers. They consisted of two frigates and a brig; but all that was known of the attachment of the crews to the national glory would not admit of a doubt that they would have hoisted the tricoloured flag and ranged themselves on our side. Towards noon the wind freshened a little. At four in the afternoon we were off the heights of Leghorn; a frigate appeared five leagues to windward, another was on the coast of Corsica, and farther off a vessel of war was coming right before the wind, in the track of the brig. At six o'clock in the evening, the brig, which had on board the emperor, met with a brig which was recognised to be *Le Zephir*, commanded by Captain Andrieux, an officer distinguished as much by his talents as by his true patriot-

ball, to which all the officers of the Elbese army were invited), Buonaparte after reviewing his guards, informed them of his intended invasion of France. Instantly the air resounded with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur! Paris ou la Mort!*" By four in the afternoon, 500 of the old guard, 200 light infantry, and 100 Polish lancers, were distributed in six small vessels, and Napoleon, accompanied by Bertrand and Drouet, went on board the brig *Inconstant*. At eight in the evening, the discharge of a cannon gave the signal for weighing anchor, and on the 1st of March they entered the Gulf of Juan, when they threw the cockade of Elba into the sea, and reassumed the tricolour, amid shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive la France!*" In the course of the day the disembarkation was effected at Cannes, near Frejus; the lancers carrying their saddles on their backs. The troops for the night bivouacked in a plantation of olives, near the beach. Twenty-five grenadiers, who had been dispatched to summon Antibes, were arrested by the governor of the place.\*

As soon as the moon rose the *reveille* was sounded. It was proposed to speak the brig, and cause it to hoist the tricolour flag. The emperor, however, gave orders to the soldiers of the guard to take off their caps, and conceal themselves on the deck, preferring to pass the brig without being recognised, and reserving to himself the measure of causing the flag to be changed, if obliged to have recourse to it. The two brigs passed side by side. The Lieutenant de Vaisseau Taillade, an officer of the French marine, was well acquainted with Captain Andrieux, and from this circumstance was disposed to speak him. He asked Captain Andrieux if he had any commissions for Genoa; some pleasantries were exchanged, and the two brigs going contrary ways, were soon out of sight of each other, without Captain Andrieux having the least knowledge of who was on board this frail vessel.

During the night between the 27th and 28th, the wind continued fresh. At break of day we observed a 74-gun ship, which seemed to be making for Saint Florent or Sardinia. We did not fail to perceive that this vessel took no notice of the brig. The 28th, at seven in the morning, we discovered the coast of Noli; at noon, Antibes; at three on the 1st of March we entered the Gulf of Juan. The emperor ordered that a captain of the guard, with twenty-five men, should disembark before the troops in the brig, to secure the battery on the coast, if any one was there. This captain took into his head the idea of causing to be changed the cockade of the battalion which was at Antibes. He imprudently threw himself into the place; the officer who commanded for the king caused the drawbridges to be drawn up, and shut the gates; his troops took arms, but they respected these old soldiers, and the cockade which they cherished. The operation, however, of the captain failed, and his men remained prisoners at Antibes. At five in the afternoon the disembarkation was completed.

was sounded, and the little army began its march upon Grasse, and halted on the height beyond it. On the 5th it reached Gap,

barkation in the Gulf of Juan was effected. We established a bivouac on the sea-shore until the moon rose.

At eleven at night the emperor placed himself at the head of his handful of brave men, to whose fate was attached such high destinies. He proceeded to Cannes, from thence to Grasse, and by Saint Vallier; he arrived on the evening of the 2nd at the village of Cerenon, having advanced twenty leagues in the course of the first day. The people of Cannes received the emperor with sentiments which were the first presage of the success of the enterprise.

The 3rd the emperor slept at Bareme; the 4th he dined at Digne. From Castellane to Digne, and throughout the department of the Lower Alps, the peasants, informed of the march of the emperor, assembled from all sides on the route, and manifested their sentiments with an energy that left no longer any doubt. The 5th, General Cambronne, with an advanced guard of forty grenadiers, seized the bridge and the fortress of Sisteron. The same day, the emperor slept at Gap, with ten men on horseback and forty grenadiers. The enthusiasm which the presence of the emperor inspired amongst the inhabitants of the Lower Alps, the hatred which they evinced to the *noblesse*, sufficiently proved what was the general wish of the province of Dauphine.—At two in the afternoon of the 6th the emperor set out from Gap, accompanied by the whole population of the town. At Saint Bonnet the inhabitants, seeing the small number of his troop, had fears, and proposed to the emperor to sound the tocsin to assemble the villages, and accompany him *en masse*:—"No," said the emperor, "your sentiments convince me that I am not deceived. They are to me a sure guarantee of the sentiments of my soldiers. Those whom I shall meet will range themselves on my side; the more there is of them the more my success will be secured. Remain, therefore, tranquil at home."—At Gap were printed several thousand proclamations, addressed by the emperor to the army and to the people, and from the soldiers of the guards to their comrades. These proclamations were spread with the rapidity of lightning throughout Dauphine.

The same day the emperor came to sleep at Gorp. The forty men of the advanced guard of General Cambronne went to sleep at Mure. They fell in with the advanced guard of a division of 6,000 men, troops of the line, who had come from Grenoble to arrest their march. General Cambronne wished to speak with the advanced posts. He was answered that they were prohibited from communicating with him. This advanced guard, however, of the division of Grenoble, fell back three leagues, and took a position between the lakes at a village near the town.

The emperor, being informed of this circumstance, went to the place, and found there a battalion of the 5th of the line; a company of sappers, a company of miners; in all from seven to eight hundred men. He sent an officer of ordnance, the *chef d'escadron* Roul, to make known to these troops the intelligence of his arrival; but that officer could not obtain a hearing, the prohibition being still urged against having any communication. The emperor alighted and went to the right of the battalion, followed by the guard with their arms reversed. He made himself known, and said that the first soldier who wished

when a proclamation was issued "to the army," and another "to the French people;" both, no doubt, prepared at Elba, though

to kill his emperor might do it; an unanimous cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" was their answer. This brave regiment had been under the orders of the emperor from his first campaign in Italy. The guard and the soldiers embraced. The soldiers of the 5th immediately tore off their cockade, and requested with enthusiasm and tears in their eyes, the tricoloured cockade. When they were arranged in order of battle, the emperor said to them—"I come with a handful of brave men, because I reckon on the people and on you—the throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it has not been raised by the nation; it is contrary to the national will, because it is contrary to the interests of our country, and exists only for the interest of a few families. Ask your fathers, ask all the inhabitants who arrive here from the environs, and you will learn from their own mouths the true situation of affairs; they are menaced with the return of tithes, of privileges, of feudal rights, and of all the abuses from which your successes had delivered them. Is it not true, peasants?"—"Yes, sire," answered all of them with an unanimous cry, "they wish to chain us to the soil—you come as the angel of the Lord to save us!"

The brave soldiers of the battalion of the 5th demanded to march the foremost in the division that covered Grenoble. They commenced their march in the midst of a crowd of inhabitants, which augmented every moment. Vizille distinguished itself by its enthusiasm. "It was here that the revolution was born," said these brave people. "It was we who were the first that ventured to claim the privileges of men; it is again here that French liberty is resuscitated, and that France recovers her honour and her independence."

Fatigued as the emperor was, he wished to enter Grenoble the same evening. Between Vizille and Grenoble, the young adjutant-major of the 7th of the line, came to announce that Colonel Labédoyère, deeply disgusted with the dishonour which covered France, and actuated by the noblest sentiments, had detached himself from the division of Grenoble, and had come with the regiment, by a forced march, to meet the emperor. Half-an-hour afterwards this brave regiment doubled the force of the imperial troops. At nine o'clock in the evening the emperor made his entry into the Faubourg of the city.

The troops had re-entered Grenoble, and the gates of the city were shut. The ramparts which defended the city were covered by the 3rd regiment of engineers, consisting of 2,000 sappers, all old soldiers covered with honourable wounds; by the 4th of artillery of the line, the same regiment in which, twenty-five years before, the emperor had been a captain; by the two other battalions of the 5th of the line, by the 11th of the line, and the faithful hussars of the 4th. The national guard and the whole population of Grenoble were placed in the rear of the garrison, and made all the air ring with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" They opened the gates, and at ten at night the emperor entered Grenoble, in the midst of an army and a people animated by the most lively enthusiasm.

The next day the emperor was addressed by the municipality and all the departmental authorities. The military chiefs and the magistrates were unanimous in their sentiments. All said that princes im-

dated "March 1st, Gulf of Juan." That to the army ran thus:—"Soldiers! We have not been beaten. Two men raised from our

posed by a foreign force were not legitimate princes, and that they were not bound by any engagement to princes for whom the nation had no wish. At two the emperor reviewed the troops, in the midst of the population of the whole department, shouting "*A bas les Bourbons! A bas les ennemis du peuple. Vive l'Empereur, et un gouvernement de notre choix.*" The garrison of Grenoble immediately afterwards put itself in a forced march to advance upon Lyons. It is a remark that has not escaped observers, that every one of these 6,000 men was provided with a national cockade, and each with an old and used cockade; for, in discontinuing their tricoloured cockade, they had hidden it at the bottom of their knapsacks; not one was purchased, at least in Grenoble. It is the same, said they in passing before the emperor, it is the same that we wore at Austerlitz. This, said the others, we had at Marengo.

The 9th the emperor slept at Bourgoin. The crowd, and the enthusiasm with it, if possible increased. "We have expected you a long time," said these brave people to the emperor; you have at length arrived to deliver France from the insolence of the noblesse, the pretensions of the priests, and the shame of a foreign yoke." From Grenoble to Lyons the march of the emperor was nothing but a triumph. The emperor, fatigued, was in his carriage, going at a slow pace, surrounded by a crowd of peasants singing songs which expressed to all the noblesse the sentiments of the brave Dauphinois. "Ah," said the emperor, "I find here the sentiments which for twenty years induced me to greet France with the name of the Grand Nation; yes, you are still the Grand Nation, and you shall always be so."

The Count d'Artois, the Duc d'Orleans, and several marshals, had arrived at Lyons. Money had been distributed to the troops, and promises to the officers. They wished to break down the bridge de la Guillotiere and the bridge Morau. The emperor smiled at these ridiculous preparations. He could have no doubt of the disposition of the Lyonnais, still less of the disposition of the soldiers. He gave orders, however, to General Bertrand to assemble the boats at Misbel, with the intention of passing in the night, and intercepting the roads of Moulins and of Macon to the prince who wished to prevent him from passing the Rhone. At four a reconnaissance of the 4th hussars arrived at la Guillotiere, and were received with shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" by the immense population of a faubourg which is still distinguished by its attachment to the country. The passage of Misbel was countermanded, and the emperor advanced at a gallop upon Lyons, at the head of the troops which were to have defended it against him. The Count d'Artois had done everything to secure the troops. He was ignorant that nothing is possible in France to an agent of a foreign power, and one who is not on the side of national honour and the cause of the people. Passing in front of the 13th regiment of dragoons, he said to a brave soldier covered with scars, and decorated with three chevrons. "Let us march, comrade; shout, therefore, *Vive le Roi!*" "No, monsieur," replied this brave dragoon, "no soldier will fight against his father. I can only answer you by crying *Vive l'Empereur!*" The Count d'Artois mounted his

ranks betrayed our la irels, their country, their prince, their benefactor. In my exile I have heard your voice. I have arrived

carriage and quitted Lyons, escorted by a single *gendarme*. At nine o'clock at night the emperor traversed the Guillotiere almost alone, but surrounded by an immense population.

The following day, the 11th, he reviewed the whole division of Lyons, and the brave General Brayer, at their head, put them in march to advance upon the capital. The sentiments which the inhabitants of this great city and the peasants of the vicinity, during the space of two hours, evinced towards the emperor, so touched him, that it was impossible for him to express his feelings otherwise than by saying, "People of Lyons, I love you." This was the second time that the acclamations of this city had been the presage of new destinies reserved for France.

On the 13th, at three in the afternoon, the emperor arrived at Villefranche, a little town of 4,000 souls, which included at that moment more than 60,000. He stopped at the Hôtel de Ville. A great number of wounded soldiers were presented to him. He entered Macon at seven o'clock in the evening, always surrounded by the people of the neighbouring districts. He expressed his astonishment to the natives of Macon at the slight efforts they made in the last war to defend themselves against the enemy, and support the honour of Burgundy.—"Sire, why did you appoint a bad mayor?"

At Tournies the emperor had only praises to bestow upon the inhabitants, for their excellent behaviour and patriotism, which, under the same circumstances, have distinguished Tournies, Chalons, and St. Jean-de-Lone. At Chalons, which during forty days resisted the force of the enemy, and defended the passage of the Saone, the emperor took notice of all the instances of valour; and not being able to visit St. Jean-de-Lone, he sent the decoration of the Legion of Honour to the worthy mayor of that city. On that occasion the emperor exclaimed, "It is for you, brave people, that I have instituted the Legion of Honour, and not for emigrants pensioned by our enemies

The emperor received at Chalons the deputation of the town of Dijon, who came to drive from among them the prefect and the wicked mayor, who, during the last campaign, had dishonoured Dijon and its inhabitants. The emperor removed this mayor and appointed another, confiding the command of the division to the brave General Devaux.

On the 15th the emperor slept at Autun, and from Autun he went to Avallon, and slept there on the night of the 16th. He found upon this road the same sentiments as among the mountains of Dauphine. He re-established in their office all the functionaries who had been deprived for having united to defend their country against foreigners. The inhabitants of Chiffey had been peculiarly the object of persecution by an upstart sub-prefect at Semur, for having taken up arms against the enemies of our country. The emperor gave orders to a brigadier of *gendarmérie* to arrest this sub-prefect, and to conduct him to the prison of Avallon.

On the 17th, the emperor breakfasted at Vermenton, and went to Auxerre, where the prefect remained faithful to his post. The noble 14th had trampled under foot the white cockade. The emperor likewise heard that the 6th regiment ofancers had

once more among you, despite all obstacles and all perils. We ought not to forget that we have been the masters of the world; and we ought not to suffer foreign interference in our affairs. Who dares pretend to be master over us? Who has power to become so? Shall they who have been unable to sustain our looks, pretend to command or enchain our eagles? Resume the eagles which you followed at Ulm, at Austerlitz, at Jena, at Eylau, at Friedland, at Echemuhl, at Wagram, at Smolensk, and at Montmirail. Come and range yourselves under the banners of your old chief. Victory shall march at the charging step. The eagle, with the national colours, shall fly from steeple to steeple, on to the towers of Nôtre-Dame. In your old age, surrounded and honoured by your fellow-citizens, you shall be heard with respect when you recount your high deeds. You then shall say with pride, 'I also was one of that great army which entered twice within the walls of Vienna, which took Rome and Berlin, Madrid and Moscow; and which delivered Paris from the stain printed on it by domestic treason and the occupation of strangers.'"

That to the people was:—"Frenchmen! The defection of the Duke of Castiglione delivered up Lyons without defence to our enemies. The army entrusted to his command was, by the number of its battalions, the bravery and patriotism of the troops of which it was composed, in a condition to defeat the Austrian corps opposed to it, and to attack the rear of the flank of the army which threatened Paris. The victories of Champaubert, Montmirail, Château-Thierry, Vauchamp, Montereau, Craonne, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, and St. Dizier; the rising of the brave peasants of Lorraine, Champagne, Alsace, Franche-Comte, Burgundy, and the position which I had taken in the rear of the hostile army, by separating it from its magazines, parks of reserve, convoys, and equipages, had placed it in a desperate situation. The French were never on the point of being more powerful, and the flower of the enemy's army seemed lost without resources: also mounted the tricoloured cockade, and was gone to Montereau to protect that point against a detachment of the body-guard who wished to pass it. The young men of this body-guard, unaccustomed to the effects of lancers, took flight on the first appearance of this corps, which made two prisoners. At Auxerre, Count Bertraad, major-general, gave orders to collect all the boats to embark the army, which was already four divisions strong, and to convey them the same night to Fossard, so that they would be able to arrive at one o'clock in the morning at

it had but the prospect of a tomb in those vast plains which it had so remorselessly ravaged, when the Duke of Ragusa treasonably surrendered the capital, and disorganised the army. The unexpected misconduct of those two generals, who betrayed their country, their prince, and their benefactor, changed the fate of the war. The disastrous situation of the enemy was such that, at the close of the battle which took place before Paris, he was without ammunition, in consequence of being separated from his parks of reserve. Citizens! In these new and distressing circumstances, my heart was torn, but my mind remained unshaken. I consulted only the interest of the country: I exiled myself to a rock in the midst of the sea. My life was yours, and was preserved to be useful to you. Raised to the throne by your choice, all which has been done without your act and concurrence is illegitimate. During twenty-five years France has acquired new interests, new institutions, a new glory, which can be guaranteed only by a national government, and by a dynasty founded under the new circumstances which have arisen. The prince thrust upon you by the arms which have ravaged your country, has sought to restore the principles of feudal law; to secure the honour and the pretensions only of a small fraction, and those, too, the people's enemies; and who, during twenty-five years, have been condemned in every national assembly. Your domestic tranquillity, and your proper position among surrounding nations, are thus on the point of being lost for ever. Frenchmen! In my exile I have heard your complaints and your wishes. You reclaimed the government of your choice, which alone is legitimate: you accused my long slumber; you reproached me with sacrificing to my repose the great interests of the country. I have crossed the sea amid perils of every kind, and have arrived amongst you to demand the restoration of my rights, which are also yours. Of what has been done, written, or said by individuals since the capture of Paris, I shall always be ignorant: Fontainebleau. Before he left Auxerre the emperor was rejoined by the Prince of Moskwa. This marshal had mounted the tricoloured cockade among all the troops under his command. The emperor reached Fontainebleau on the 20th, at four o'clock in the morning. At seven o'clock he learned that the Bourbons had left Paris, and that the capital was free. He immediately set off thither, and at nine o'clock at night he entered the Tuileries, at the moment when he was least expected.

it will have no influence on the memory which I cherish of the important services which they formerly rendered; for events have been of such a nature as to have needed a superhuman direction. Frenchmen! There is no nation, however small, which has not the right to withdraw from the dishonour of obeying a prince imposed by an enemy in the moment of victory. When Charles VII. re-entered Paris, and overthrew the ephemeral throne of Henry V., he won his sceptre by the valour of his followers, and held it not by the permission of a prince-regent of England."

The effect of these documents was extraordinary. The enthusiasm of the army and of the people was rekindled, and they almost with one voice hailed Napoleon's return.

Having rested a few hours at Gap, and distributed his proclamations, he resumed his march. Between Mure and Vizille, Cambronne, who commanded his advanced guard of forty grenadiers, suddenly met a battalion of the 5th regiment, which had been detached by the governor of Grenoble to arrest the invaders. The colonel refusing to parley, a halt was made until Napoleon came up; who, as soon as he appeared, dismounted, and advanced alone, followed at some distance by one hundred grenadiers, with their arms reversed. When within a few yards of the royal troops he halted, threw open his old familiar gray coat, and exclaimed, "If there be any among you who would kill his general—his emperor—let him do it now. I am here!" The old cry of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" instantly burst from every lip. Napoleon threw himself among them, and taking a veteran private by the whisker, "Speak, honest old mustache," said he, "couldst thou have had the heart to kill the little corporal?" Instantly the old guard and the battalion of the 5th of the line interchanged caresses, and the latter mounted the tricoloured cockade.

Napoleon then formed the regiment into a hollow square, and with that ready and powerful military eloquence for which he was so famous, harangued the troops. "Soldiers!" he exclaimed, "I come with a handful of men to deliver you from the Bourbons; from treason, from foreign tyranny, and from the abuses which they have brought with them. The throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it is contrary to the will of the nation. It exists only in the interest of a few families. Is

not this true, comrades?" "Yes, sire," exclaimed a grenadier; "you are our emperor, and we will march with you to victory or to death!" Napoleon, at the head of his troops, now advanced towards Grenoble.

When within a short distance of that town, they were met by the 7th of the line, under the command of Colonel Labédoyère, with whom it had been arranged before Napoleon quitted Elba, to march out to meet him. That regiment (to which Labédoyère had distributed tricoloured cockades) and Napoleon's little column, on meeting, rushed simultaneously from their ranks, and embraced with mutual shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur! Vive la Garde! Vive le Septième!*" The united band advanced to Grenoble, and the gates being blown open by a howitzer, the whole of the garrison joined Napoleon, notwithstanding the exertions of General Marchand, their commander, who had vainly exhorted the soldiers to resist the invader. Shortly after Napoleon's entry into Grenoble, the soldiers of the garrison arrested the general and brought him before the emperor. Indignant at the insult which had been offered to this loyal officer, Napoleon ordered him to be at once released, and requested him again to assume the command of the town. "I may appeal to yourself," said this brave soldier, "that I once served you faithfully. Your abdication released me from my allegiance to you; and I have since sworn fidelity to the Bourbons. Here is my sword; I can again submit to become a prisoner, but I can never be a traitor." Napoleon was deeply affected. Musing for a moment, he said—"General, take back your sword. You have hitherto used it as a true soldier; and I respect you too much to urge you to use it in a way which your conscience would disapprove."

Intelligence of the landing of Napoleon was received in Paris by the government of Louis on the 5th of March. The king's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and Count Dumas, set out at once for Lyons, where they were joined by Marshal Macdonald. The majority of the inhabitants of that city were favourable to Napoleon, but a strong party of royalists was still to be found in Lyons; and many of the young men of the principal families formed themselves into a guard of honour for the protection of the Duke d'Artois. Marshal Macdonald made

every preparation for a vigorous defence; but at a review on the following day, it was found that none of the troops could be depended on. The soldiers, when asked if they would fight for the king, replied—"No soldier will fight against his father; and our cry will be—the emperor for ever!"

Macdonald would not yet despair. The advanced guard of the rebels had reached the suburb of La Guillotiere. Macdonald ordered two battalions of infantry to proceed against them, and placed himself at their head. As they crossed the bridge that led to the suburb, a reconnoitring party of the 4th hussars, which had joined Napoleon at Grenoble, appeared, followed by some squadrons, and by a tumultuous populace shouting "The emperor for ever!" The moment was decisive. The troops on each side rushed forward—not to imbrue their hands in each other's blood, but to give each other the fraternal embrace. The marshal precipitated himself among them. His menaces and his entreaties were alike unheard. The voice of authority was disregarded. They forgot their allegiance, and increased the army of Napoleon.

Notwithstanding the dereliction of duty shown by the troops, they exhibited an honourable feeling towards the officer whom they had deserted. The marshal was surrounded by the rebels and made prisoner. The troops which had deserted him, no sooner perceived this, than they flew to his rescue, declared that they would defend him at the hazard of their lives, conducted him safely within the gates, and returned to join the followers of Napoleon. All was evi-

\* The decrees are dated the 13th of March, and the substance of them is as follows:—All the changes effected in the court of cassation, and other tribunals, are declared null and void. All emigrants, who have entered the French service since the 14th of April, are removed, and deprived of their new honours. The white cockade, the decoration of the Lily, and the orders of St. Louis, St. Esprit, and St. Michael are abolished. The national cockade, and the tricoloured standard to be hoisted in all places. The imperial guard is re-established in all its functions, and is to be recruited by men who have been not less than twelve years in the service. The Swiss guard is suppressed, and exiled twenty leagues from Paris. All the household troops of the king are suppressed. All the property appertaining to the house of Bourbon is sequestrated. All the property of the emigrants restored since the 1st of April, and which may militate against the national interest, is sequestrated. The two chambers of the peers and deputies are dissolved, and the members are forthwith to return to their respective homes. The laws of the Legislative

Assembly are to be enforced. All feudal titles are suppressed. National rewards will be decreed to those who distinguish themselves in war, or in the arts and sciences. All the emigrants who have entered France, since the 1st of January, 1814, are commanded to leave the empire. Such emigrants as shall be found fifteen days after the publication of this decree, will immediately be tried, and adjudged by the laws established for that purpose, unless they can prove ignorance of this decree; in that case they will merely be arrested, sent out of the French territory, and have their property sequestrated. All promotions in the legion of honour, conferred by Louis, are null and of no effect, unless they be made in favour of those who deserve well of their country. The change in the decoration of the legion of honour is null and of no effect. All its privileges are re-established. The electoral colleges are to meet in May next, to re-model the constitution, according to the interests and the will of the nation; and, at the same time, to assist in the coronation of the empress and the King of Rome.

dently lost, and Monsieur hastily quitted Lyons. Even the guard of honour now forsook him, and one horseman alone had sufficient courage and fidelity to attend him. The majority of the population of Lyons was favourable to the cause of Napoleon. This city was esteemed the capital of French commerce. Napoleon, anxious to rival the manufactures of England, had granted his especial protection and favour to Lyons and its commercial inhabitants. They yet remembered the benefits which he had bestowed on them, and which Louis had imprudently neglected to continue. Buonaparte entered Lyons on the evening of the 9th of March.

On the next morning he reviewed the whole of his army, which now assumed a formidable appearance. During that review he exhibited one of those traits of greatness which it is pleasing to record. The guard of honour, which had been formed for the protection of Monsieur, presented itself before him, and entreated that they might be permitted to become his personal escort. "Your conduct towards the Comte d'Artois," replied he, "assures me what I should expect from you, if I sustained a reverse of fortune." He dismissed them with contempt; and ordered a cross of the legion of honour to be transmitted to the faithful trooper who had accompanied the count.

At Lyons Buonaparte halted four days, and issued several decrees, annulling all the official acts of the Bourbons, and at the same time formally assuming the functions of civil government.\*

As soon as these decrees reached Paris, the Bourbon government published a regal

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*ordonnance*, in which a price was set on Napoleon's head, and he was declared an outlaw, and his abettors rebels. At the same time Ney, with a large body of troops, was dispatched to Lons-le-Saulnier, there to intercept and arrest the invader. It is said that when Ney received his instructions from Louis to proceed to his command, he kissed the hand of the king, and, with a show of enthusiasm and affection, declared that if he should subdue the enemy of the king and of France, he would bring him prisoner in an iron cage. On reaching Saulnier, Ney received a letter from Napoleon, summoning him to join his standard as "the bravest of the brave." In obedience to the command of his former master, he put his corps in motion, and effected a junction with him on the 17th, at Auxerre.

No other course was now left open to Louis than that of retrograding the troops, as, in advancing towards the enemy, they furnished him almost everywhere with auxiliaries. It was agreed to form a *corps d'armée* before Paris, by collecting together as great a number as possible of the national guards and volunteers. From the 11th, the Duke of Berri had been appointed general of this army. Marshal Macdonald, on his arrival, was charged with the command of it under that prince. The orders issued for the organisation of the volunteers and the movable columns of national guards, could not, however, arrive at their destination, and could not be carried into execution for some days; while every moment brought with it fresh danger. Buonaparte marched with a rapidity of which he felt all the advantage, and several regiments, which were unavoidably near the line of his march, joined him: some even took, in his name, several towns of Burgundy, and two of them advanced to Auxerre. Still a slight hope was entertained of being able to retain in their duty the troops of the first military division, and those which formed the garrison of Paris. An imminent peril, which the conduct of the commander of La Fere had averted, and the arrest of D'Erlon and Lallemands, afforded some security as to what might be expected to take place in the departments of the north. The Duke of Reggio, though abandoned by the old guard, had succeeded in retaining in their duty the other troops which he commanded. It was resolved to form an army of reserve at Peronne, where the troops being concentrated, would be less exposed to seduc-

tion, and where they would be under the observation of the Duke of Treviso, to whom the command of this army was given. The Duke of Orleans set off soon after to repair thither. The king, fully convinced of the magnitude of the existing peril, and equally sensible of the extent of the duties which the circumstances in which he was placed imposed upon him, now appeared in the midst of the representative of the nation, with whom he had wished to surround himself on the first appearance of danger. His speech to the two chambers made a great impression in the capital, the inhabitants of which evinced attachment to their king and country. But the national guard, composed in a great measure of heads of families, could not afford a number of volunteers sufficient to afford any hope of resistance; and Count Dessoles, who commanded the guard, explained himself in this respect in a way that removed all idea of doing anything more than to intermix the citizens with the troops of the line, so as to retain the latter in their duty. Every other plan of defence was impracticable. Thus was the government reduced to regard, as the principal means of resistance, troops whose more than doubtful fidelity was to be confirmed only by a small number of brave and loyal volunteers, to whom were to be joined the cavalry of the king's household. On the 17th, the news of Ney's defection was received in Paris. This news spread terror through the departments nearest the capital. The town of Sens, which was expected to have stopped the progress of Napoleon, declared itself incapable of making any resistance. The enemy was about to arrive at Fontainebleau; and the troops in Paris, on whom every means calculated to excite their patriotism had been exhausted, remained silent, or betrayed only the desire of abandoning their colours. Scarcely had they commenced their march to proceed to the point of rendezvous assigned to them, when these dispositions degenerated into open mutiny. On the morning of the 19th, it was learned that there was not a single regiment assembled before Paris, which was not infected with this contagious disloyalty; and the only course which the king could now pursue was, to retire with the troops of his household, the only corps on which he could henceforth rely. His majesty, who had sent the Duke of Bourbon to the western departments, and had transmitted to the Duke of Angoulême the powers

necessary for arming the southern provinces, though it advisable to repair there in preference to the departments of the north, to endeavour to preserve the fortresses in that quarter, and to make these strong places serve as points of support to any assemblages of faithful subjects which might there be formed. The king left Paris on the 19th at midnight, and was followed one hour after by his military household, conducted by Monsieur, and by the Duke of Berri.

On the 20th, at five in the evening, the king arrived at Abbeville, where, expecting his household troops, he remained on the following day; but Marshal Macdonald, who rejoined his majesty on the 21st, at noon, proved to the king the necessity of removing farther; and, in consequence of his report, his majesty resolved to shut himself up in Lille, and sent an order to his household to repair to him there by the route of Amiens. On the 22nd, at one in the afternoon, the king, preceded by the Duke of Tarentum, entered Lille, where he was received by the inhabitants with the strongest demonstrations of affection and fidelity. The Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Treviso had arrived at Lille before the king; the latter, however, thought proper to recall the garrison. This circumstance, of which the king was not aware, was calculated to disconcert the plan of resistance which had been formed. Had not the troops been brought in, the national guards and the household, aided by the patriotism of the people of Lille, might have secured for the king this last asylum on the French territory. With a numerous and ill-disposed garrison, this design was impossible. His majesty, however, persisted in making the attempt. His presence had already raised the enthusiasm of the people to its highest pitch. A multitude, full of zeal, accompanied him at every step, exerting every effort to interest the soldiers, and repeating the cry of "*Vive le Roi!*" But the troops, reserved and cold, maintained a gloomy silence, an alarming presage of their approaching defection. In fine, Marshal Mortier declared to the king that he could not answer for the garrison. Being questioned as to the last expedient which might possibly be resorted to, he also declared that it was not in his power to make the troops march out of the fortress. Meanwhile, the declaration promulgated at Vienna, on the 13th of March, in the name of all the European powers assembled in congress,

reached Lille. The king caused it immediately to be distributed and placarded, hoping, but in vain, to enlighten the troops with respect to the dreadful consequences with which their treason was about to be followed, and the inevitable misfortunes it would draw upon their country. On the 23rd, his majesty learned that the Duke of Bassano, appointed minister of the interior, had sent to the prefect of Lille orders in the name of Buonaparte. On the same day, Marshal Mortier stated to the minister of the king's household, that in consequence of the report that the Duke of Berri was about to arrive with the household troops and two Swiss regiments, all the garrison was ready to mutiny; that he would conjure the king to leave the place in order to avoid the most dreadful of misfortunes; that by escorting his majesty himself to the gates of the town, he still hoped to command respect from the soldiers; but that would no longer be possible if the departure was for a moment delayed. The king then judged it necessary to order his military household to march on Dunkirk, but the order unfortunately was not received. With respect to himself, being unable to go directly to that town, he went to Ostend. His majesty left Lille at three o'clock, accompanied by Marshal Mortier, and followed by the Duke of Orleans. On arriving at the bottom of the glacis, the Duke of Treviso considered himself bound to return, to prevent the disorder which was likely to take place in the garrison during his absence. The Duke of Orleans also returned into the fortress, and did not leave it until some hours after. Marshal Macdonald did not separate from the king until they arrived at the gates of Menin, and, to the last moment, he and the Duke of Treviso afforded to his majesty consoling proofs that the sanctity of oaths and the faith of men of honour were not despised by all the brave soldiers of whom the French army was proud. A picket of the national guard of Lille, and a detachment of the royal cuirassiers and chasseurs followed his majesty to the frontiers. Some of the latter, as well as several officers, were unwilling to abandon him, and accompanied him to the boundary of Belgium. The king arrived at Ostend, intending to proceed to Dunkirk, on the occupation of that town by his household troops.

Louis, on his retreat to Lille, issued two ordinances, the first forbidding all his subjects to pay taxes of any kind to the

so-titled imperial government, and all public functionaries and receivers to pay into its chests the sums in their hands, and also suspending the sales of timber and domains in the departments invaded by Buonaparte; the second forbidding obedience to the law of conscription, or any other recruiting order emanating from him. Louis afterwards removed his residence to Ghent, where he had with him three of his ministers, the Duke of Feltre (Clarke), and the Counts Blacas and Jancourt; to these he added to his council Count Lally Tollendal and M. De Chateaubriand. The marshals Duke of Ragusa (Marmont) and Duke of Belluno (Victor), were also at Ghent.

On the 19th of March, Napoleon slept once more in the château of Fontainebleau; and on the morning of the 20th advanced towards Mélnun, where the last Bourbon force, under Marshal Macdonald, was posted to resist his progress; but Napoleon no sooner appeared in sight, than the men burst from their ranks, surrounded him with the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and trampled their white cockades in the dust. On the evening of the 20th, Napoleon again re-entered Paris, and assumed his power in the Tuileries. On the morning of the 21st, having reviewed all the troops in Paris, he forthwith proceeded to make the requisite preparations to meet the gigantic confederacy which was in operation against him. The greatest energy was exhibited in organising the army. Paris was fortified on its most accessible side, and 40,000 conscripts were added to the regular force. The retired veterans were re-embodied, as well as those who had been prisoners of war in foreign countries, and who had been sent home to France when peace was established in the previous year. A naval brigade was organised, composed of sailors obtained in the various seaport towns of the empire; while the imperial guard was raised to 40,000 men. Massena was stationed at Metz, and Suchet on the frontiers of Switzerland, in order to keep in check the Austrian army under Schwartzberg on the Upper Rhine. Independent of the fortresses on the frontier, he fortified all the principal places in the interior, such as Guise, La Fere, Vitry, Soissons, Château-Thierry, and Langres. Having decided, from various strategical reasons, that the campaign should commence on the side of Belgium, Napoleon appointed a provisional government, of which he named his brother Joseph pre-

sident, and on the 11th of June he left Paris.

On the 13th he reached Avesnes, and on the 14th, reviewed at Beaumont the whole of the forces which had been prepared to act immediately under his orders. In the evening of the 14th, he published the following proclamation:—

"Soldiers! This is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destinies of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz and Wagram, we were too generous. We confided in the oaths and protestations of princes whom we left upon their thrones. Now, however, coalesced among themselves, they aim to destroy the independence of the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust aggressions. Let us march to meet them! Are they and we no longer the same men? Soldiers! At Jena, when fighting against these Prussians, now so arrogant, you were but as one against two; and at Montmirail, as one to three. Let those among you who have been in the hands of the English, recite the story of their imprisonments, and the miseries they there endured. The Saxons, Belgians, Hanoverians, soldiers of the Rhenish confederation, groan at the thought of being compelled to fight against us in the cause of princes who are the enemies of justice and the rights of nations. They know that this coalition has arbitrarily disposed of 12,000,000 Poles, 12,000,000 Italians, 1,000,000 Saxons, and 6,000,000 Belgians; and that, if permitted, it will devour all the secondary states of Germany. The madmen! a moment of prosperity has blinded them. The oppression and humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France, they will there find their tomb. Soldiers! We have forced marches to make, battles to wage, perils to encounter; but with constancy the victory will be ours. The rights, the honour of the country will be regained. For every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment has arrived to conquer or perish!"

The army, addressed in this animating strain, was now within a league of the Belgic frontier, and amounted to 135,000 men—almost all veterans, and of whom 25,000 were cavalry, in the highest condition; together with 350 pieces of artillery, admirably served. Blucher's army extended along the line of the Sambre and the Meuse, occupying Charleroi, Namur, Givet, &c.,

ANGLO-FLEMISH CAMPAIGN IN 1815—MILITARY PREPARATIONS, AND INVASION OF BELGIUM BY THE FRENCH.

ON the morning of the 29th of March, and four days after the signing of the treaty of Vienna, by virtue of which the members of the congress of princes and statesmen, who had assembled together, under the *soubriquet* of "The Holy Alliance," to "round" one another's territories—or, in candid language, to rob neighbouring states—had mutually agreed to declare war against Napoleon Buonaparte, the Duke of Wellington left Vienna, on his way to Belgium, to take the command of the Anglo-Belgian army assembling in the fortified towns on that frontier, which, by virtue of the treaty of Paris, were still occupied by strong garrisons, consisting chiefly of British troops, or such as were in British pay. The duke, who had travelled with so great speed as to pass his own messenger, arrived at Brussels on the 4th of April. Blücher reached the Prussian army, which had been assembling under General Kleist on the Meuse about a fortnight after; when the British chief immediately put himself in communication with him, and proceeded to put into operation that plan of defence for the frontier of the Netherlands which he had, with a prophetic eye, sketched out in December, 1814, while resident at Paris as

English ambassador; and which had for its object the repulse of any attempt from France to recover, by a sudden inroad, her sovereignty over the Flemish provinces: and as, both in Flanders and among the people of the Prussian-Flemish provinces, a strong Gallican spirit existed, he was satisfied that there the ex-emperor's efforts would be first directed. For the prosecution of his design, he made the necessary dispositions for concentrating his army in the hamlet of Quatre Bras, as the extremity of his position, and immediately connecting his own left flank with the right wing of the Prussian army. In the summer of 1814, while on his way to Paris as English ambassador, he took a military survey of the ground in the vicinity of Brussels, and then observed, that if it should ever be his fortune to defend Brussels, Waterloo was the position he would endeavour to occupy.

His force was organised into two grand corps of infantry, one of cavalry, and a reserve. The first infantry corps was commanded by the Prince of Orange; the second by Lord Hill; the cavalry by the Earl of Uxbridge; and the reserve by Sir Thomas Picton.

Divisions.	Brigades.	Regiments.
THE FIRST INFANTRY CORPS CONSISTED OF		
1st. Major-general Cooke.	{ 1st British Brigade.—Major-general Maitland. 2nd Do. Major-general Sir J. Byng. 5th British Brigade.—Major-general Sir C. Halkett.	{ Guards, 1st and 3rd bat. of 1st regiment. Do. 2nd and 3rd reg. 30th, 33rd, 69th & 73rd.
3rd. Lieut.-general Baron Alten.	{ 1st British King's German Legion.—Col. Baron Ompteda. 1st Hanoverian Brigade.—Col. Kielmansegge.	{ 5th and 8th; 1st and 2nd Light.
THE SECOND CORPS.		
2nd. Lieut.-general Sir H. Clinton.	{ 3rd British Brigade.—Major-general Adams. 1st British King's German Legion.—Major-general Du Plat.	{ 52nd, 71st, and 95th. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th.
4th. Lieut.-general Sir C. Colville.	{ 3rd Hanoverian Brigade.—Colonel Halkett. 4th British Brigade.—Colonel Mitchell. 6th Do. Major-general Johnstone. 6th Hanoverian Brigade.—Major-gen. Lyon. 8th British Brigade.—Major-general Sir John Kempt.	{ 14th, 23rd, and 51st. 35th, 54th, 59th, and 91st. 28th, 32nd, 79th, and 95th.
5th. Lieut.-general Sir T. Picton.	{ 9th British Brigade.—Major-gen. Sir Denis Paek. 1st Hanoverian Brigade.—Colonel Best.	{ 1st, 42nd, 44th and 92nd.
6th. Lieut.-gen. Sir L. Cole.	{ 10th British.—Major-general Sir J. Lambert. 4th Hanoverian Brigade.—Colonel Bohn.	{ 4th, 27th, 40th, and 61st.

THE CAVALRY CORPS.

1st Brigade.—Major-general Lord Edward Somerset . . . . .	} 1st and 2nd Life-guards, Horse-guards (blue), and 1st Dragoon guards. 1st 2nd and 6th Dragoons 23rd Light Drag., and 1st and 2nd K. G. L. 11th, 12th, and 16th Light Dragoons. 7th & 15th Hussars, & 2nd Huss. K. G. L. 10th & 18th Hussars, & 1st Huss. K. G. L. 13th Light Drag., and 3rd Huss. K. G. L.
2nd Do. Major-general Sir W. Ponsonby . . . . .	
3rd Do. Major-general Sir W. Dörnberg . . . . .	
4th Do. Major-general Sir C. Vandeleur . . . . .	
5th Do. Major-general Sir C. Grant . . . . .	
6th Do. Major-general Sir R. Vivian . . . . .	
7th Do. Colonel Sir F. de Arentschildt . . . . .	
Cumberland Hussars.—Colonel Estorff.	

The effective force of each regiment was:—

		INFANTRY.	Men.
1st Division . . . . .	{	1st and 3rd battalions of the 1st regiment of Guards . . . . .	2,054
		2nd and 3rd regiments of Guards . . . . .	2,074
3rd Division . . . . .	{	5th British Brigade . . . . .	2,322
		1st British King's German Legion . . . . .	1,901
2nd Division . . . . .	{	1st Hanoverian Brigade . . . . .	2,472
		3rd British Brigade . . . . .	2,617
		1st British King's German Legion . . . . .	1,979
4th Division . . . . .	{	3rd Hanoverian Brigade . . . . .	2,235
		4th British Brigade . . . . .	1,761
		6th Do. . . . .	2,053
6th Division . . . . .	{	1st Hanoverian Brigade . . . . .	2,778
		8th British Brigade . . . . .	2,502
		9th Do. . . . .	2,275
		4th Hanoverian Brigade . . . . .	2,260

Total Infantry . . . . . 36,140

\* The 4th Division was employed as a corps of observation; and was therefore not in the battle. The 6th Division garrisoned Antwerp, Ostend, Nieuport, Ypres, Tournay, and Mons.

		CAVALRY.	Men.
1st Brigade . . . . .			1,227
2nd Do. . . . .			1,183
3rd Do. . . . .			1,413
4th Do. . . . .			1,187
5th Do. . . . .			1,262
6th Do. . . . .			1,404
7th Do. . . . .			1,030

The Cumberland Hussars (a German corps, who were posted out of harm's way, that they might have a good view of the battle of Waterloo) } 1,135

Total Cavalry . . . . . 9,841

The Field Artillery, which consisted of twenty-one brigades of six guns each, served by 6,059 men, was under the command of Colonel Smyth; and the Horse Artillery, consisting of ten troops, was commanded by Sir Augustus Fraser; the Field Artillery in action at Waterloo, was twenty brigades; one brigade was in reserve.

The 6th Division, which consisted of the 25th, 37th, and 78th British regiments, and the 1st and 13th veteran battalions, were in garrison in the various Flemish fortresses held by the allies; and therefore not in the battle.

THE RESERVE.

The 5th Division, the Nassau contingent, and the Brunswick contingent; the last-mentioned under the Duke of Brunswick.

Having organised the allied army as efficiently as the imperfectly drilled raw levies of Hanoverian, Dutch-Belgian, Nassau, and Brunswick troops,\* and their faulty organisation would admit, the duke proceeded to distribute them in cantonments, forming considerable portion of a circle, of which Brussels was the centre. The main points of interior communication were

Oudenarde, Grammont, Ath, Enghien, Soignies, Nivelles, and Quatre Bras, all converging on Brussels, which was the duke's head-quarters; and by which disposition he was enabled to advance his reserve to the point on which the expected storm might burst, while his main forces were in advance; and thus, within twenty-two hours after receiving intelligence of the

\* These levies claimed the right of being commanded and officered by their own countrymen, who were equally as unskilful as themselves, and who had never served a campaign or been under fire. The

consequence was, that the heterogeneous mass was unable efficiently to co-operate with the disciplined and experienced English troops, and King's German Legion.

enemy's movements on his line of operations, be able to concentrate his whole force. The British and German cavalry were stationed at Grammont and the villages bordering on the Dender; the Dutch-Belgians at Nivelles; and the British and German infantry at Oudenarde, &c. The reason of this dispersion of the army was to secure its being properly supplied with provisions, and to avoid inconvenience to the inhabitants.

At this time Brussels was thronged with visitors, a great number of whom were tourists and residents from France; Buona-parté's intrusion, and the remembrance of the seizure of the English, during the late war, as *détenus* at Verdun, having made them anxious to quit France. Notwithstanding all the rumours of war, and the prognostications of French violence should Napoleon succeed in an advance on Brussels, as late as the 15th of June all went on in that capital as if no enemy was within a couple of hundred miles of the city. There were the same usual rounds of morning calls and evening parties, and not the least interruption of the common business of life. Dinners, balls, theatrical amusements, and concerts, were of daily and nightly occurrence. Among the other gaieties which were to be celebrated on that evening, was a grand ball at the Duchess of Richmond's.

The bloody game was now on the eve of commencement. Napoleon had, with extraordinary exertion, collected in the brief space of two months, a disposable force amounting to 559,000 men, raised from the troops disbanded by Louis XVIII., the numerous prisoners liberated in consequence of the peace, besides men who had been discharged with pensions, and above 30,000 registered seamen. These he regimented, and formed into seven *corps d'armée*, four corps of cavalry, five of observation, and the army of the west, or La Vendée. The grand army consisted of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 6th *corps d'armée*; the imperial guard was under Napoleon's own immediate command, with Soult as major-general, and d'Erlon, Vandamme, Reille, Gerard, Lobau, and Ney, as leaders of the respective corps. The 5th corps, under Rapp, was on the frontier between Landau and Hagenau; and the 7th, under Suchet, held the passes of the Italian frontier. The 1st corps of observation, under Lecourbe, guarded the passes of the Swiss frontier; the 2nd, under Brune, watched the frontier of the Maritime Alps; the 3rd, under De-

caen, was in observation of the Eastern Pyrenees; and the 4th, under Clausel, the Western Pyrenees. All these corps were in communication with the grand army; with which was the imperial guard, comprising four regiments of chasseurs, two of voltigeurs, two of tirailleurs, and the whole of the infantry; nine regiments of cuirassiers, and five of light cavalry, with eight batteries of artillery attached to the cavalry, and seven to the infantry; the whole of the cavalry under the command of Grouchy and his subordinates, Excelmans, Pajol, Kellermann, and Milhaud.

As already stated, the various corps forming the grand army were, by the 13th of June, concentrated at Avesnes; and on the following day, a proclamation was, through the medium of the order of the day, issued from the imperial head-quarters. The morning of the 15th had scarcely dawned, when the whole of the grand army marched from its bivouac against the line of Prussian outposts, and quickly drove them from their positions at Marchiennes, Charleroi, and Châteles, over the Sambre; and by eleven o'clock were in possession of Charleroi. The Prussian general, Zieten, after a loss of 1,200 men, retreated with his corps towards Fleurus, for the purpose of effecting a junction with the main body of the Prussian army then collected under Marshal Blucher.

Between three and four o'clock, the Prince of Orange arrived at Brussels from the allied outposts at Nivelles, and apprised the Duke of Wellington of the attack by the French on the Prussian outposts. The duke immediately issued a memorandum, entitled, "Movements of the Army," and dated "Bruxelles, 15th of June, 1815," to the deputy quartermaster-general of the Anglo-allied army, for the instruction of the respective generals of division.

As the left of the allied army was the nearest to the enemy, the attack was therefore presumed likely to be made there: to meet it, the prince was instructed to assemble the second and third Dutch-Belgian divisions that night at Nivelles, and to collect the third British division at Braine-le-Comté, ready to move on the same point; but the movement of this last division on Nivelles was not to be made till the enemy's attack on the right of the Prussian and the left of the allied army had become a matter of certainty. The first and second British divisions were to collect that night at Ath, and be in readiness to move at a moment's notice.

The fourth British division, with the exception of the troops beyond the Scheldt, which were to be moved to Oudenarde, was to be collected that night at Grammont. The reserve, consisting of the fifth division, the 81st regiment, and the Hanoverian brigade of the sixth division, were to be in readiness to march from Brussels at a moment's notice, and the reserve artillery at daylight. The Brunswick corps were to collect that night on the road between Brussels and Velvorde; and the Hanoverian brigade of the fifth division was to be collected that night at Hal, and be in readiness, at daylight on the following morning, to move towards Brussels, and to halt on the road between Alost and Assche for further orders. The Nassau brigade was to be collected at daylight of the following morning on the Louvain road, in readiness to move at a moment's notice. The first Dutch-Belgian division and the Dutch-Belgian brigade, were, after occupying Oudenarde with 500 men, to be assembled at Sottegbern, in readiness to march by daylight of the following morning. The Earl of Uxbridge was instructed to collect the cavalry at Ninhove, with the exception of the 2nd hussars of the king's German legion, who were to remain on the look-out between the Scheldt and the Lys; and Dörnberg's brigade of cavalry, and the Cumberland hussars, were to march that night on Velvorde, and bivouac on the high road near that town.

More definite intelligence being brought to the duke from Blucher by an orderly dragoon, carrying despatches from the Prussian field-marshal, and which indicated the real point of the enemy's intended attack, the following "After Orders," dated ten o'clock, P.M., were issued:—That the third division of infantry should move from Braine-le-Comté on Nivelles; the third to move from Enghien on Braine-le-Comté; the second and fourth to move from Ath, Grammont, and Oudenarde, on Enghien; and the cavalry to continue its movements from Ninhove on Enghien.

That night the Duchess of Richmond's grand ball, to which the duke and his staff and many of the officers had been invited, was to be given. On the announcement of the information brought by the Prince of Orange and Baron Muffling, the Prussian agent attached to the Duke of Wellington's head-quarters, and then in the confidence of the duke, suggested, that the duchess should be advised to postpone her entertainment.

With a good-natured joke, the duke said that it would not do to disappoint a lady of her grace's merits; and thus, with an apparent regard to the punctilios of polished life, having dressed himself, and directing his staff to follow his example, he repaired at the appointed hour to the duchess's saloon. In the midst of the gay and animating scene, nothing appeared in the duke's manner and bearing, and those of the officers assembled, of the impending conflict on the morrow; but about midnight the various officers took their leave of their hostess—some on the ground of the distance of their quarters, others on the plea of military duties, or any other excuse but that of the coming contest with the foe. The duke remained, apparently as gay and unconcerned as ever, and having stayed supper, returned to his quarters.

It was past midnight, when suddenly the drums beat to arms, and bugles and trumpets were heard from every part of the city. In a moment the whole town was in an unusual bustle, and soldiers were seen assembling in the Place Royal from all parts, armed and with their knapsacks on their backs; some taking leave of their wives and children, others sitting down on the pavement waiting for their comrades, others sleeping upon packs of straw; while bāt horses, baggage-waggons, artillery, and commissariat trains were being loaded and harnessed, and officers riding in all directions. Instantly regiment after regiment formed and prepared to march out of Brussels. About four o'clock in the morning, the 42nd and 92nd highlanders marched through the Place Royal and the park; other regiments of the reserve followed; and before eight, A.M., the streets were empty and silent as the desert, and an ominous and heart-sinking silence succeeded that heavy and confused din and clatter which attend the departure of troops for the battle-field, after being stationed in a peaceful locality. Sir Thomas Picton, with his glass slung upon his shoulder, accompanied his gallant comrades, gaily accosting his friends as he rode through the streets. About eight the Duke of Wellington set off. Immediately anxiety and consternation began to prevail in the city. A heavy cannonading was soon after heard, which apparently approached nearer. As the British army was not concentrated, the principal part of the artillery and cavalry being at distant points, and but 10,000 troops had marched from Brussels and

its environs to oppose the enemy on the plains of Fleurus, which were only fifteen miles distant, the reports were various and contradictory. Some said that the enemy were in full march for the city; others that he was already at the gates. During the night, reports so alarming were brought in, that the English residents in the city took to flight on the following day towards Antwerp, their consternation having been increased by a troop of cavalry ("Braves Belges)," who had, panic-struck, scampered away neck-and-heels from Quatre Bras—covered not with glory, but with mud—galloping through the town at full speed, and calling out that the terrible French were at their heels. Immediately the heavy baggage-waggons, which had been harnessed from the moment of the first alarm, set off at full speed, and in a few minutes were all out of sight. So great was the alarm on the 17th, that all the shops were kept shut up, and a hundred Napoleons were offered in vain for a pair of horses to go to Antwerp, a distance of less than thirty miles. On Sunday, the 18th, terror reached its height. A dreadful panic had seized the men left in charge of the baggage in the rear of the army. In their flight, the road between Waterloo and Brussels, which lies through the forest of Soignies, was soon choked up with broken and overturned waggons, dead horses, and abandoned baggage. This untoward circumstance spread the consternation even to Antwerp. Many people, thinking Antwerp no longer secure, set off for Holland. During the whole of Sunday, the reports were so contradictory that the general anxiety and consternation were greatly increased. At length, about eight o'clock on the morning of Monday, an express arrived bringing a bulletin to Lady Fitzroy Somerset, dated from Waterloo the preceding night, containing a brief account of the battle. Instantly universal acclamation and rejoicing pervaded the city, and the ordinary business of life was resumed.

No sooner had Napoleon obtained possession of Charleroi, than he distributed the grand army into two divisions: the first, under Ney, consisting of the 1st and 2nd corps, amounting to 16,000 men and 1,900 cavalry, with four batteries, and one of horse artillery, advanced on Brussels by Gosselies and Frasnes; the second, consisting of the centre and right wing of the army (numbering 70,000 men, of whom about 12,000 were cavalry), and the imperial guard, under the

personal command of Napoleon, marched towards Fleurus against the Prussian army.

Ney, on reaching Frasnes (a village on the left of the Brussels road, and about two-and-a-half miles in advance of Quatre Bras), encountered a brigade of Dutch-Belgians under the Prince of Weimar, who were posted in that village, and quickly forced them back on the farmhouse of Quatre Bras; but the Prince of Orange reinforcing Weimar, regained the lost ground, so as to preserve the communication with Brussels and the Prussian army, and keep the enemy in check till the reinforcement he momentarily expected from Brussels should come up.

With the early dawn of the 16th of June, the whole of the allied army, both the reserve and the divisions in distant cantonments, were in movement towards Nivelles and Quatre Bras. The Duke of Wellington quitted Brussels about eight o'clock, and reached Quatre Bras a little past eleven. Having closely reconnoitred Ney's position in advance of Frasnes, and being of opinion that he was not in sufficient force for the immediate resumption of offensive movements, he left directions with the Prince of Orange as to the points of halt on the field for the respective corps which might arrive from cantonments, and galloped to Bry, a village about five miles distant from the left of Quatre Bras, for the purpose of conferring with Blucher, and making the requisite arrangements for the co-operation of the allied and Prussian armies. On inspection of the Prussian position, the duke, with his characteristic frankness and innate good breeding, expressed his disapproval. "Every man knows his own people best," observed the British chief, "but I can only say, that with a British army I should not occupy this ground as you do." In the course of the interview, as it was evident that Napoleon was on the point of delivering battle, it was agreed between the allied commanders that the British army, unless previously attacked, should advance to support the Prussian army by the high road of Quatre Bras, there not being time for such a movement as would enable them to operate on the enemy's flank or rear. Having made this arrangement, the duke, as he cantered back to his own army, turning round to his aide-de-camp, Sir William Gordon, said—"Now, mark my words: the Prussians will make a gallant fight, for they are capital troops and well

commanded; but they will be beaten. I defy any army not to be beaten, placed as they are, if the force which attacks them be such as I suppose the French under Buonaparte are." The duke's words were prophetic.

#### BATTLE OF QUATRE BRAS.

To his disappointment, on reaching the allied position at Quatre Bras, the duke found that the enemy was in possession of the villages of Piermont, Gemioncourt, and the wood of Bossu. About two o'clock Ney had advanced against the Dutch-Belgians, amounting to about 7,000 men, under the Prince of Orange, who quickly deserted their posts. At the critical moment the duke reached the field; and the fifth division, under Picton, was at the same time seen descending from the elevated ground which overlooked Quatre Bras. The Brunswick contingent and the guards from Enghien followed.

The fifth division, as soon as they were in sight of the battle-field, rapidly advanced to take up their position among the little dales and slips of ground near the farmhouse of Quatre Bras, and which were covered with wheat and rye, growing to an unusual height. Scarcely had the division reached the scene of contest, when the enemy opened a furious cannonade to disturb its formation; but those gallant troops were quickly formed and ready to receive the enemy, who, under cover of the fire of the artillery, pushed forward two heavy columns of infantry and a strong body of cavalry; but the fifth division met them with so stern resistance, as to compel them to fall back with rapidity. At this moment the Duke of Brunswick's corps reached the field. Again heavy masses of infantry, under cover of a furious cannonade, advanced against the fifth division. The duke perceiving their approach, ordered Picton to advance and drive them back. The command according with the fiery temperament of this able general, he put himself at the head of the gallant band—"There," said he, "is the enemy, and you must beat him;" a command responded to with the hearty and animating cheer of English soldiers which predicts success.

The Brunswick contingent was now entering into action; but no sooner had a column of French infantry, supported by cavalry, appeared on their front, than husars, lancers, and infantry, panic-struck, took to flight in the utmost confusion; in

their consternation, hurrying from Quatre Bras, or forcing their way through the allied line on the left of that point. The French cavalry rapidly pursued, uttering the most discordant cries and shrieks, to increase the consternation of their dismayed antagonists. Both the fleeing Brunswickers and the pursuing French cavalry, in close proximity to each other, wheeled so rapidly past the rear of the 42nd and the second battalion of the 44th, who were posted in the middle of a rye-field, on a reverse slope of the Charleroi road, that those regiments could not distinctly distinguish friend from foe; but they supposed the whole to be one mass of allied cavalry. Some of the Peninsular soldiers of both regiments, not being so easily satisfied, opened a partial fire obliquely on the lancers, which being ordered to cease, the lancers took courage, and wheeling round, advanced on the two British regiments. The 42nd rapidly proceeded to form square; but just as the two flank companies were running in to form the rear face, a considerable number of the enemy penetrated the square, having overthrown or cut down the ill-fated companies by the impetus of their charge; but the lancers being quickly hemmed in, were either bayoneted or taken prisoners. The 44th, not having had time to form square, were ordered to face their rear rank about; and in that position, the ranks standing back to back, as the 28th had done in Egypt, they threw in so destructive a volley on the enemy, as to induce him to sheer off with the utmost rapidity.

At this moment, Kellermann reached the field with the eleventh heavy cavalry division, consisting of 1,900 men, and a battery of horse-artillery; when Ney, aware that the raw troops of which the Dutch-Belgian and Brunswick cavalry consisted, were unable to compete with the veteran warriors of France of that arm, hurled them against the two devoted little bands of the 42nd and 44th. In a moment the two diminutive squares were enveloped by a host of cuirassiers. The duke, to prevent the remnants of those shattered regiments from being overwhelmed, as they could not

receive any support from the discomfited Brunswick and Belgian cavalry, ordered Picton to unite the 1st Royals and 28th into column, and advance against the hostile cavalry. On reaching the enemy, the little band forming itself into square, advanced into the midst of the host of cuirassiers, lancers, and *chasseurs à cheval*, and passed rapidly by the 32nd and 95th regiments in the same formation. After a prolonged and fearful contest, the desperate and repeated charges of the formidable host were repulsed with a succession of withering and destructive storms of musketry; and the discomfited cavalry was compelled to retire in confusion, though they had been supported by a furious cannonade from the French batteries, whenever they withdrew to re-form and return to the attack.\* Similar in their results were the attacks made on the other British squares, which maintained their ground with the same unshaken steadiness and gallantry. Though the lance-blades of the assailants, in some instances, met the bayonets of the kneeling ranks of the squares, not a trigger was drawn until the word "Fire!" was given by the commanding officer; when instantly a deadly volley issued from the respective faces of the squares, which overthrew the leading files of the squadrons; and the survivors, in their flight to the tall rye for shelter, were assailed with a constant stream of musketry. Meantime the battle was equally fierce and well sustained in every part of the field.

At this period of the battle (four o'clock), the second division of Belgian infantry, amounting to near 8,000 men, scared at the presence of the French lancers on their front, in a panic fled from the field.† At

\* "The heroic manner in which Kempt's and Pack's brigades, of the fifth division, marched into the midst of the enemy's cavalry, and that the remnants of these gallant corps held their ground in this sanguinary battle during the remainder of the day, and repelled the fierce and repeated cavalry attacks throughout the terrific struggle, stands pre-eminent in the records of the triumphs and prowess, the unquailing and indomitable spirit of British infantry. The attacks were often made simultaneously on all the squares of the hourly diminishing band of heroes—one mass of squadrons rushing on one square, while other squadrons assailed the next; and no sooner had one attacking squadron withdrawn to re-form itself from the destructive fire it had been exposed to, than a fresh one would rush from the cover afforded by the sinuosities of the ground, and the great height of the rye, with which the ground was covered, upon the constantly diminishing squares of their indomitable opponents. But eventually the heroic remnant of the two brigades of the fifth division stood triumphant upon the ground which they

that critical moment, when the crisis of the battle seemed to preponderate in favour of the enemy, two brigades of the fifth division, accompanied by batteries of field artillery, came up. They had scarcely taken up their position, when they were fiercely attacked by a formidable mass of cuirassiers, whose approach had been masked by the great height of the rye. In the confusion, the 69th regiment lost one of its colours. But at length the enemy was repulsed, and driven from all the advanced points on the left which he had gained in the early part of the battle. The enemy, however, was in possession of the wood of Bossu, on the right of the position, from which they were preparing to debouch on the Brussels road. "What soldiers are those?" said the duke. "Belgians," announced the Prince of Orange. "Belgians!" exclaimed the duke; "they are French, and about to debouch on the road: they must be driven out of the wood."

At this critical period of the action (half-past six), when the enemy was on the eve of intercepting the communication of the allied and Prussian armies, and the fifth division was so sadly reduced as to be hardly able to hold its ground, much more to make any offensive movement to repel the enemy, the first division, composed of two brigades of guards, under generals Maitland and Byng, reached the field from Enghien, after a toilsome fifteen hours' march of twenty-seven miles. Instantly orders were issued to Maitland to dispossess, with the first brigade, the enemy from the road. With joyous cheers the men—though they had tasted no food from the time of breaking up their cantonments at Enghien, a staff had so gallantly maintained, and the formidable cavalry of the enemy withdrew after great loss, under cover of their artillery."—*Campaigns and Battle-fields of Wellington and his Comrades.*

† In the very commencement of the action, the 3rd Belgian light cavalry brigade, amounting to 2,000 men, fled from the field in so great confusion, that coming in contact with the Duke of Wellington, in their headlong flight they carried him away with them to the rear of Quatre Bras—a complimentary attention which the duke subsequently experienced from the Brunswick hussars and lancers, in his endeavours to rally them. Those heroic troops, in their consternation to escape the hot pursuit of the enemy's cavalry, hurried the duke off with them to the very brink of the ditch on the Namur road, where Picton had posted the 92nd Highlanders as a reserve, at the time of his advance in aid of the remnants of the 42nd and 44th, against the French cavalry; the duke only preserved himself from capture by leaping his horse over the ditch and its brave defenders.

officer from the field of battle overtaking them with orders to hurry forward while they were preparing to cook their dinners at Nivelles—impetuously rushed into the wood from which the Belgians had just been driven; and, after a determined and deadly defence by the enemy from every tree, bush, coppice, ditch, or other defensible position, drove them out of their stronghold, and rapidly pursuing them to the skirts of the wood, a fresh struggle took place with the enemy's cavalry which had advanced to support the retreating infantry; and which, re-forming under the protection of the cavalry, again advanced to force an entrance into the wood, but were again driven back by the heavy and well-sustained fire of the guards and its threatened bayonet charge. Again and again an alternation of advance and retreat was made by the enemy; but after a conflict of three hours, and considerable slaughter on both sides, the enemy desisted from his attempts, and the guards retained the undisputed possession of the wood. The 2nd battalion of the 95th rifles, in like manner drove the enemy from the thicket near the village of Piermont, where the French had entrenched themselves; and thus, by the success of the guards and the rifles, the English and Prussian communication between Quatre Bras and Ligny was restored.

The battle was now near its termination. The enemy was driven from all the strongholds which he had won in the early part of the day, either through the unsteadiness or want of discipline of the Belgians. Picton's

division had retaken Gemioncourt; the rifles had regained Piermont; and the guards had obtained repossession of the wood of Bossu. About nightfall, Ney, sensible of his inferiority, and having sustained great loss, drew off his men to the heights in the front of Franes; from which Wellington was not able to dislodge him. The allied army bivouacked on the field of battle, which was drenched with the torrents of rain which had fallen in the course of the day. The duke took a brief interval of repose on the ground among his companions-in-arms, wrapped in his cloak. Both armies had thrown out lines of pickets in front of their positions. The allied bivouac remained undisturbed during the stormy night, until about an hour before daylight, when a cavalry patrol of the enemy having accidentally appeared between the pickets near Piermont, a rattling fire of musketry ran along the hostile lines; but as soon as the cause of the disturbance was ascertained, tranquillity was restored, and both armies enjoyed in quietness the remaining minutes of their uncomfortable bivouac. In the course of the night, the English and German cavalry; with other corps of the allied army, reached the battle-field.

The loss of the allied army, in killed and wounded, had been 3,549; that of the enemy, 4,140. Few prisoners had been taken, the French having commenced the battle by giving no quarter. Among the killed was the Duke of Brunswick, who was slain while endeavouring to rally his fugitive troops.

#### BATTLE OF LIGNY.

“WHILE the battle-strife was raging fiercely and desperately between Wellington and Ney at Quatre Bras, as fierce and desperate a contest ensued between Blucher and Buonaparte at Ligny.” The object of the French emperor, in his simultaneous attacks on the allied and Prussian armies, was to cut off their communication, and thus compel each to seek safety in isolated and unconnected movements, but his hopes were frustrated.

On intelligence of Napoleon Buonaparte's advance, Blucher had concentrated three corps of his army, amounting to 80,000 men (the fourth corps, under Bulow, being in distant cantonments between Liège and

Hunnut, and not having arrived at the point of assembly), on a line where the villages of St. Amand, Ligny, and Sombreuf, served as advance redoubts. His right wing occupied St. Amand, his left Sombreuf, and his centre was posted at Ligny. The ground behind these villages forms an amphitheatre of some elevation, before which runs a deep ravine, with the villages in front.

On the 16th, the French army appeared in front of the Prussian position. Napoleon having made his *reconnaissance* and dispositions for attack, about three o'clock in the afternoon the third corps of the French army, under a furious cannonade, attacked St. Amand; and, in spite of the resolute

resistance of its defenders, carried it at the point of the bayonet, and established themselves in the churchyard. Ligny was attacked and defended with resolution and fury, but was at last carried. Four times in the course of the battle were these villages taken and retaken; but in the fifth assault the French remained in possession, by which time their streets and courtyards were choked up with slain. In the meantime, Thielmann successfully defended Sombreuf against Grouchy; and though at last compelled to evacuate the village, he maintained his alignment on the amphitheatre in rear of the village, in expectation of being succoured either by Wellington or Bulow.

The battle had now raged for six hours with unremitting fury and inveteracy, each side giving no quarter, when d'Erlon's corps—which had been posted at Marchiennes as a reserve to co-operate either with Buonaparte or Ney, as occasion might require, and which had received the emperor's orders to advance—appeared in view. Uniting this opportune reinforcement with the second and third corps, the French emperor moved forward the combined force, with the grenadiers of the guard and Milhaud's cavalry, under cover of repeated salvos of artillery, against the Prussian centre. This formidable force, having traversed the village of Ligny, now in flames, threw themselves into the ravine between the villages and the heights, and steadily advanced, under a dreadful fire of grape and musketry from the Prussians. A desperate conflict ensued, animated and intermingled with the alternate war-cries of "*En avant!*" "*Vive l'Empereur!*" "*Vorwärts!*" (forward!) "*Hourra!*" But all the efforts of Prussian valour were fruitless. To prevent the communication of its centre and wings being cut off, the Prussian army retreated from the terrific conflict

towards Tilly, on the road to Wavre, in order to effect a junction with Bulow, and to preserve his communication with the allied army at Quatre Bras. In the course of the following morning, Thielmann, who had held his position on the heights in the rear of Sombreuf, as a rear-guard to the Prussian army, effected his junction; as did also the fourth corps under Bulow, in the course of the same day. Thus overcome, the Prussian army was concentrated at Wavre, ten miles in rear of the position from which it had retreated. During the battle, 8,000 of the Westphalian levies deserted from the Prussian ranks, and many of them found their former companions in the service of Napoleon, and were in the French ranks at the battle of Waterloo.

The loss of the Prussians in this sanguinary and infuriated battle, was 12,000 men in killed and wounded, with twenty-one guns and eight stand of colours; that of the French was about 7,000. The Prussians recollecting the dreadful injuries and oppression inflicted on their country by the French after the battle of Jena; the French not forgetful of the treatment by the Prussians of the wretched remnant of their army in its retreat from Moscow, and that they had participated in the hostile occupation of Paris. In this battle the vindictive passions of both armies were excited almost to frenzy. Few prisoners were taken, as the Prussian army retired in masses impenetrable to the feeble attacks of their pursuers. During this bloody and obstinate conflict, a war of the elements lent its accompaniments to the battle, as it did during the contemporary contest at Quatre Bras. On both fields of strife and slaughter a thunder-storm took place; and in both cases was most tremendous at the close of the respective contests.

#### THE ALLIED ARMY RETIRES FROM QUATRE BRAS TO WATERLOO.

AT daylight of the 17th the allied army stood to their arms, ready to advance to the attack of Ney at Frasnes, or to the support of the Prussian army, according to the nature of the report brought back by Sir Alexander Gordon, who had been dispatched with a patrol of the 10th hussars to ascertain the direction of Blucher's retreat from

Ligny. On approaching Sombreuf, Sir Alexander, finding that Blucher had retreated on Tilly, for the purpose of concentrating his forces and effecting a junction with Bulow, returned with the intelligence to the Duke of Wellington.

This information determined the duke to fall back, by a corresponding lateral retro-

grade movement, with the regressive one of the Prussian army, and to take up a position which would enable him to maintain his communication with the Prussian right wing. Orders, therefore, were issued to the allied army to fall back on Waterloo, which is about seven miles from Quatre Bras; and, at the same time, the following memorandum was issued to Lord Hill, for the movement of the troops which had not yet effected their junction with the force assembled at Quatre Bras:—

“To General Lord Hill.

“17th June, 1815.

“The second division of British infantry to march from Nivelles on Waterloo at ten o'clock.

“The brigades of the fourth division, now at Nivelles, to march from that place on Waterloo at ten o'clock. Three brigades of the fourth division at Braine-le-Comté, to Nivelles, to collect and halt at Braine-le-Comté this day.

“All the baggage on the road from Braine-le-Comté to Nivelles to return immediately to Braine-le-Comté, and to proceed immediately thence to Hal and Brussels.

“The spare musket ammunition to be immediately packed behind Genappe. The corps under the command of Prince Frederick of Orange will move from Enghien this evening, and take up a position in front of Hal, occupying Braine-le-Château with two battalions.

“Colonel Estorff will fall back with his brigade on Hal, and place himself under the orders of Prince Frederick.

“WELLINGTON.”

As it was not improbable that an advance would be made by the enemy along the Mons road, for the purpose of seizing Brussels by a *coup-de-main*, and turning the allied position at Hal, the following instructions were issued to Sir Charles Colville, commanding the fourth division, to employ a corps of observation to scour that flank:—

“17th June, 1815.

“The army retired this day from its position at Quatre Bras, to its present position in front of Waterloo.

“The brigades of the fourth division at Braine-le-Comté, are to retire at daylight to-morrow morning on Hal.

“Major-general Colville must be guided by the intelligence he receives of the enemy's movements in his march to Hal,

whether he moves by the direct road or by Enghien.

“Prince Frederick of Orange is to occupy, with his corps, the position between Hal and Enghien, and is to defend it as long as possible.

“The army will probably continue in its position in front of Waterloo to-morrow.

“Lieutenant-colonel Torrens will inform Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Colville of the position and situation of the armies.

“WELLINGTON.”

Having issued the above orders for the movement of the distant troops, an order was given for the retreat of those on the field of Quatre Bras to Waterloo. While the latter order was being put into execution, the duke laid himself down on the ground, covering his head with a newspaper which he had been reading, and which had just arrived from England. Having remained a short time in that position, he mounted his horse, and reconnoitred the field in front of Quatre Bras. At this moment, an officer arriving from Blucher with intelligence of his retreat on Wavre, the duke wrote a letter to the Prussian field-marshal, apprising him that he would accept battle in front of his intended position at Waterloo, and requesting the Prussian field-marshal to detach two corps to his assistance.

The wounded having been collected and sent to the rear, the troops prepared to retire from their bivouac on the field of Quatre Bras to Waterloo; the retrograde movement commencing about eleven o'clock, A.M. In order to prevent the retreat from being interfered with, instructions were issued to make it as masked as circumstances would permit; and these orders were put into execution with so great tact and skill, that the retirement of the army was for some time unobserved, and even unsuspected by the enemy. The troops withdrew by brigades, the light troops continuing to maintain the line of outposts until their respective supports, which had remained sufficiently long to conceal the retreat of the brigades in their rear, began also to retire. A rear-guard of cavalry and horse artillery was left, under the Earl of Uxbridge, in front of Quatre Bras, which continued in that position till the French cuirassiers approached, when they withdrew, the heavy cavalry forming the centre, and the light forming the right and left columns.

In the meantime, Napoleon Buonaparte, in expectation of worsting Wellington as he had Blucher, leaving Grouchy and Vandamme, with 32,000 men and 108 pieces of artillery, to pursue the retreating Prussians, and cut off their communication with Wellington, marched from the field of Ligny, to effect a junction with Ney at Frasnes. Finding the allied position of Quatre Bras deserted, he immediately directed the pursuit of the retrograding army. The day was stormy and rainy in the extreme, and the roads nearly impassable; but the French cavalry, elated with their success at Ligny, and the exaggerated statement by Ney of his exploits at Quatre Bras, pressed forward with all the glow and exultation of anticipated triumph. Coming up with the British cavalry just after they had passed the narrow bridge over the river which runs through the village of Genappe, the position being favourable for attack, as it was flanked by houses and lofty embankments, they attacked the covering squadron of the 7th hussars. A fierce encounter ensued between the imperial lancers, who headed the enemy's column, and the 7th hussars; the latter regiment one moment forcing back the lancers; but at the next were compelled to give way. Lord Uxbridge, observing that the gallant 7th hussars were not able to make an effectual impression on the phalanx of the long, serried spears of the lancers, who were supported by a solid mass of cavalry in the rear, and that the high and steep banks on the sides of the road protected the enemy from any attack being made on his flanks, ordered the light cavalry to retire, and immediately launched the 1st life-guards and the Oxford Blues against the foe. Rapidly rushing from the eminence on which they were posted, into the deep ranks of the enemy, the Blues drove them, with great slaughter, to the opposite outlet of the village. The pursuit having been thus severely checked, but little further interruption was offered to the retreat, and the columns fell back on the heights of Mont St. Jean, which they reached about five o'clock in the evening, and soon afterwards the several divisions filed into their prescribed positions; the duke having, during the retrogressive movement of the day, filled up, with his own hand, on the plan of the field of Waterloo (which had been mapped by Captain Pringle

and Colonel Wells on the 8th of June), the places which the respective brigades and regiments were to occupy.

About two hours after the allied army had reached their position, the French army, under Napoleon Buonaparte, reached the opposite heights; and, as soon as they had taken up their position, a cannonade was opened on the allied troops.

Both armies now proceeded to the establishment of pickets, and the planting of sentries and videttes. Soon a series of skirmishes and single combats took place between the sentries and videttes of the hostile armies, contrary to the usual proprieties of warfare—that no advantage be taken, on either side, of a mere blunder, or too near an approach be made to the respective main positions; but that each should civilly inform the other of the misapprehension, and not proceed to cuffs and blows.

The houses in the village of Waterloo were occupied by the Duke of Wellington, the general officers, and their respective staffs. "On the doors of the several cottages the names of the principal officers were chalked; and frail and perishing as was the record, it was found there long after many of those whom it designated had ceased to exist." Never did troops prepare to pass the night in a more comfortless bivouac, than did those of both the French and allied armies on the 17th of June. The roads had been so cut up by the passage of the artillery, horses, and waggons over them, that they were reduced to a state of mud, interspersed every now and then with pools of water.

Both armies anxiously and impatiently waited the dawn of the next day, and the events it was to bring. During the night the weather had assumed an almost tropical inclemency: and as if the elements meant to match their fury against that of the combatants, in the morning furious gusts of wind, with heavy torrents of rain, continued; while vivid flashes of lightning, and echoing peals and crashes of thunder, lasted the whole night, almost from the moment that the respective lines of sentries and videttes had been posted along the fronts of the hostile lines, and the last gun had boomed from the opposite heights.

## BATTLE OF WATERLOO.\*

AFTER a night of tempestuous weather, during which rain, and thunder, and lightning continued almost without intermission, the morning of the ever-memorable 18th of June broke slowly and gloomily from the heavy masses of watery clouds with which the atmosphere was charged. Scarcely had the imperfect dawn appeared, than the numerous groups who had been drenched around the smouldering remains of the bivouac fires, or who had snatched a brief interval of repose under cover of the few trees and brushwood within range of their respective positions, were in motion at the call of the bugle-sounds of the *reveille*. "The officers in command of the several pickets, in both armies, were immediately engaged in withdrawing their videttes and sentries from the very small and almost conversational distance which had separated them, during the night, in the valley intervening between the positions of the hostile armies; concentrating their detachments, and establishing their main posts more within the immediate range of their respective positions. The drying and cleaning of fire-arms took place, and their continuous discharge for the purpose of ascertaining their capability of service, was distinctly heard throughout both positions; and soon drums, bugles, and trumpets sounded for the assembly over the whole field of the approaching battle." Staff-officers were seen galloping in all directions throughout the allied position, carrying orders and taking up the necessary alignments; and, in a moment, the various brigades were in rapid motion to take up their battle positions. Just as the troops were preparing breakfast, aides-de-camp rapidly rode up, exclaiming—"Stand to your arms! the French are advancing!" Instantly all culinary preparations were abandoned, and the men fell into position.

In the meantime, the vast and deep masses of the enemy, with their mighty reserves, extending further and further back till they seemed to meet the horizon, were in motion. The march of the columns into position was accompanied with the martial sounds of trumpets, drums, and bugles, breathing the spirit-stirring airs of the re-

public and the empire; and as soon as the formation of their lines was completed, the emperor, attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, rode down their front, and was hailed by the soldiers with loud and fervent acclamations.

Before proceeding to the details of the impending tremendous conflict, a description of the field of battle; the positions of the hostile armies, and a statement of their respective force and composition, will be necessary to enable the reader to form a true and correct conception of that mighty peal of arms.

The battle-field of Waterloo was of limited extent, extending from north to south, about two miles in length from the rear of the allied position to that of the enemy, by about one mile and a-half in breadth, from east to west. It was bounded by two ridges or heights, Mont St. Jean and Mont La Belle Alliance, with gentle acclivities, each declining for about a quarter of a mile. A valley, varying in breadth from nine to fifteen hundred yards, intervened between the ridges, which derived their designations from the two hamlets or villages of St. Jean and La Belle Alliance, in their rear. The valley and slopes of the ridges were at the time covered with lofty crops of rye and other grain, which, in Flanders, attain an unusual height.

The allied army was marshalled in two lines along the ridge of Mont St. Jean, which is about a mile and a-half in advance of the village of Waterloo, and about the same distance in front of the nearest skirts of the forest of Soignies, through which a broad road or causeway runs to Brussels. The infantry were marshalled in two lines, occupying the crest or plateau of the ridge; the raw and inexperienced troops, its reverse or interior slope; and the reserves and cavalry, the hollow or flat ground at its foot. The extreme left of the allied position rested on that part of the ridge, at the bottom of the declivity of which stands the farm of La Haye Sainte, and was protected by a deep ravine and the woody passes of St. Lambert, through which the communication of the allied and Prussian armies was kept up. The centre occupied the middle of the ridge, just where the road or causeway from Brussels divides into two roads—one branching

\* The battle of Waterloo is called by the French the "Battle of Mont St. Jean," or La Belle Alliance.

off to Nivelles, the other preserving a straight direction to Charleroi; the left centre occupied that part of the ridge which is in rear of the farm of La Haye Sainte; the right, that part which is in rear of Hougomont,\* situated about 300 yards from the foot of the exterior or outer slope of the ridge, and near the road to Nivelles. The right wing, on account of the curvature in the ridge or range of heights, was thrown rather backwards in its prolongation with the centre of the army, resting its extreme right on a deep ravine; thus protecting the Nivelles road as far as the inclosures of Hougomont. From that point, advanced posts occupied the village of Braine-la-Leude; and thus a communication was kept up with the two corps of observation, under the command of Sir Charles Colville and Prince Frederick of Orange, at Hal and Braine-le-Château, posted there for the purpose of covering Brussels from any circuitous attack.

The position of the French army was on a range of heights which ran nearly parallel with those which formed the allied position; but being higher and steeper than those of the allies, were consequently better adapted for attack and defence. The right wing of the army was in advance of the village of Planchenoit; and the line crossing the Charleroi road, at the farm of La Belle Alliance, rested its left on the Genappe road.

The amount of force, and the characteristic composition and efficiency of the hostile armies, were:—

INFANTRY.	
British . . . . .	15,181
King's German Legion . . . . .	3,301
Hanoverians . . . . .	10,258
Brunswickers . . . . .	4,586
Nassauers . . . . .	2,880
Dutch-Belgians . . . . .	13,402
	—49,608
CAVALRY.	
British . . . . .	5,843
King's German Legion . . . . .	1,991
Hanoverians . . . . .	497
Nassauers . . . . .	—
Dutch-Belgians . . . . .	3,205
	—11,536

\* The correct orthography is "Gomont," so called from the words *Gomme Mont*, or *Mont de Gomme*, on account of the resin which was extracted from the pines in the neighbouring plantation. The position bearing this name consisted of an old château, surmounted with an observatory; having a large farmyard on one side, and a garden on the other, fenced with a brick wall, and an exterior hedge and ditch. The whole was encircled by a wood or grove of beech-trees, covering a space of about three or four acres. To strengthen the defences of the position, the walls were loopholed or perforated, and a

## ARTILLERY.

British . . . . .	78 guns.	2,967
King's German Legion . . . . .	18 "	526
Hanoverians . . . . .	12 "	465
Brunswickers . . . . .	16 "	510
Nassauers . . . . .	—	—
Dutch-Belgians . . . . .	32 "	1,177
	—	—5,645
Grand total . . . . .	156 guns.	63,789 men.
The French army on the field consisted of—		
Infantry . . . . .		48,950
Cavalry . . . . .		15,765
Artillery . . . . .		7,232
	—	—
Grand total . . . . .	71,947	246 guns.

In numbers, the strength of the opposing armies was nearly equal; but in respect of their component materials, the preponderance in favour of the French was terrible. They were homogeneous in composition; being all composed of one nation, had one system of tactics, and who, as described by one of their generals, were tried veterans, "whose trade was war, and who had seen as many battles as they numbered years"—knew their chiefs, and were enthusiastically devoted to their leader. On the contrary, Wellington's army consisted of raw and inexperienced levies, who, except a few of the regiments which had served in Spain and the king's German legion, were gathered from five or six sources. The Hanoverians, Belgians, and Nassau contingents were landwehr or militiamen; and even the Brunswickers were inexperienced and ill-disciplined. The greater part of the British troops consisted of second battalions, which had been recently raised or recruited from the militia. So little satisfied was the duke, that in his confidential letters, he described the heterogeneous mass under his command, as "not what they ought to be to enable England to maintain its military character in Europe;" and often, in his private conversations, expressed an anxious wish for some of those regiments of his "old Spanish infantry,"† which ministerial imprudence was sacrificing in their ill-advised expeditions to New Orleans and the eastern coast of the United States of North America. scaffolding was erected to enable the troops to fire from the top of the wall.

† The following regiments, who had served in the Peninsula, were not present at Waterloo:—The 3rd and 5th dragoon guards; 3rd, 4th, and 14th light dragoons; 9th lancers; 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 20th, 24th, 26th, 29th, 31st, 34th, 36th, 37th, 38th, 39th, 43rd, 45th, 47th, 48th, 50th, 53rd, 57th, 58th, 59th, 60th, 61st, 62nd, 66th, 67th, 68th, 74th, 76th, 81st, 82nd, 83rd, 84th, 85th, 87th, 88th, and 91st foot.

rica. The composition of the duke's army is well described by Sir Henry Hardinge in his letter to Lord Stewart, who was on a mission to Vienna on behalf of the British government, namely, that the mass "was not unlike a pack of French hounds, pointers, poodles, turnspits—all mingled together, and running in sad confusion."

The distribution of the hostile armies in the order or arrangement of battle was:—The Anglo-allied army was distributed into two lines, with a reserve; the first line being posted on the crest of the ridge, with the artillery in advance; the second, with the reserve, on the reverse or interior slope. The cavalry, except Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades, were posted in reserve, in the hollows at the foot of the interior or reverse slope of the ridge. The reserve cavalry consisted of light and heavy brigades; the former being Grant's brigade (7th and 15th hussars, and the 13th light dragoons), Dörnberg's brigade (23rd light dragoons, and 1st and 2nd light dragoons of the German legion), Arentzchildt's 3rd hussars of the German legion, and the Brunswick and Hanoverian Cumberland hussars; the heavy brigades consisted of the 1st royal dragoons, the Scots greys, and the 6th or Enniskillen dragoons, under Sir William Ponsonby; and the 1st and 2nd life-guards, the Blues, and the first dragoon guards, under Lord Edward Somerset.

On the extreme left of the first line were Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades (the first consisting of the 10th, 18th, and 1st hussars of the German legion; and the second, of the 11th, 12th, and 16th light dragoons), who were posted on the extreme left of the left wing of the line. Then stood Picton's division (fifth), consisting of the remnants of Kempt's and Pack's brigades who had survived the battle of Quatre Bras,\* and Best's and Venche's Hanoverian brigades. Next came Bylandt's Netherlanders, consisting of five Dutch and Belgian battalions. The 3rd British division then took up the line. Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade was next to the 2nd brigade of the German legion, which formed the right of the third division. Halkett's British division, composed of the 1st battalion of the 33rd, and the 2nd battalions of the 30th, 69th, and 73rd, stood next. On the extreme right of the left wing was the first division, composed

of two brigades — that portion excepted which was allotted for the defence and reinforcement of Hougomont—of the Coldstream, and of the 1st and 3rd foot-guards.

The right wing of the first line consisted of the second division, under Sir Henry Clinton; Colonel Mitchell's brigade (14th, 23rd, and 51st regiments) of the 4th division; Adams's light brigade (52nd, 71st, and 2nd battalion 95th rifles), and Chaussé's Netherlanders.

The second line consisted chiefly of the Brunswick, Dutch, and Belgian troops; and the reserve of the 4th, 27th, and 40th regiments, which had not joined the allied army until after the battle of Quatre Bras, having been landed at Ostend in the course of that day. The Hanoverian, Belgian, and Dutch troops, posted in the first line, were distributed among the English and German legion battalions, as a precautionary measure; it having been ascertained that they had been tampered with by French emissaries and their own countrymen in the interests of the enemy, who were numerous and influential. Even in Brussels itself they were not few. Among Napoleon's papers was found a list of those who were to be respected in the contemplated sack of that city.

The force allotted for the defence of Hougomont—the key and pivot of the allied position—consisted of the 2nd brigade of guards, and two light companies of the 1st brigade (amounting to between fourteen and fifteen hundred men), and a body of Nassau-Ussingen riflemen: the whole under the command of Major-general Sir John Byng; and were thus disposed:—the light companies of the Coldstream and 3rd guards, under Lieutenant-colonel Manners and Colonel Macdonnell, occupied the house and its buildings and gardens; those of the 1st regiment and the Nassau troops, under Lord Saltoun, the wood; the rest were placed about two hundred yards in the rear, in readiness to support the garrison.

The second advanced post, consisting of the farm of La Haye Sainte, and which was in front of the centre of the allied line, was defended by the 2nd light battalion of the German legion, under Major Baring.

The French army was marshalled in two lines and a reserve. The right wing of the

\* The first was composed of the remnants of the 1st battalion of the 42nd, of the 2nd battalion of the 92nd, and of the 1st battalion of the 95th rifles; and

the second of those of the 1st battalion of the 28th, the 1st battalion of the 79th, and the 3rd battalion of the 1st royals.

first line was composed of four divisions of infantry, flanked by one of cavalry; and the left, of three divisions of infantry, flanked also by one of cavalry. The second line consisted of cavalry, except Lobau's corps, which stood in the centre. The reserve comprised the imperial guard, both infantry and cavalry.

Napoleon having completed his inspection of the French lines, took up his position on a height in rear of the farm and inn of La Belle Alliance,\* from which he had a commanding view of the whole field. As he viewed the allied line, stretching out his arms with a motion as if he grasped his prey, he exclaimed, "*Je les tiens donc, ces Anglais!*" (I have them, then, these English!) According to Alison, Napoleon had been afraid that the English would retreat during the night of the 17th; and it was when he saw the enemy before him, all plaided and plumed in his warlike array, that he gave utterance to the exclamation as given above. So confident was he of victory, that addressing Marshal Soult, he said—"Nine chances out of ten are in our favour!" Soult, who better knew the character of the foe with whom he had to deal than his master, replied—"Sire, I know these English well; they will die on the ground on which they stand, before they lose it." The clouds of cavalry, which had mustered thicker and thicker on the horizon, now advanced forward, and took their battle-station on the flanks of the infantry lines. Instantly orders were dispatched to Reille to proceed to the attack of Hougomont, and an immediate cannonade was opened to the right of the allied line, which was replied to with equal vigour and spirit.

About eleven o'clock Reille commenced the battle. The first division of his corps, amounting to 10,000 men, under Jerome Buonaparte, preceded by a cloud of voltigeurs, advanced to the attack of Hougomont and the allied right wing, with loud shouts and hot impetuosity. Instantly a fire of grape and round shot was poured upon them from the artillery in front of the allied line; and so accurately had the range been obtained, that almost every shot told on the front of the enemy's column, which soon fell back with considerable loss

\* The statement by Sir Walter Scott, and other unprofessional writers, that the high wooden observatory, which had been constructed some weeks before for the trigonometrical survey of the country, was Napoleon's post of observation, is as apocryphal and unauthentic as many of their statements and

to re-form; when Foy's division advanced, covered with a powerful artillery. Soon the assault was renewed; and the Nassau troops, being driven out of that part of the wood or grove in which they were posted, the assailants advanced to the attack of the château and the garden and orchard; surrounding the position on three of its sides. Desperate efforts were made to force an entrance; but the deadly fire poured from the loopholed walls of the garden and buildings, and the stubborn and desperate courage of their defenders, compelled the enemy to withdraw, after having sustained a severe loss. In the course of the assault, the gate of the courtyard was half forced in, and an officer, followed by a few men, actually effected an entrance; but the invaders being bayoneted, Colonel Macdonnell, with the aid of three officers and a sergeant of the guards, succeeded in closing it. For the relief of the intrepid garrison, General Byng dispatched six companies of the 3rd guards, under Colonel Hepburn, who, as but a small portion of the force under Lord Saltoun remained, superseded him in command in the wood. About one o'clock, Hepburn drove the enemy, with great loss, out of the wood, and resumed its occupation. Still, however, Hougomont remained in a measure insulated from the main position of the allies, and was consequently again attacked in the course of the day, but in every instance defended with the same stubborn valour which had been displayed in the first attack.†

Though the storm of battle had raged chiefly at Hougomont, the allied line, principally on the right and centre, had been assailed by a furious cannonade from the batteries on the enemy's position; to which the allied guns replied promptly, and made fast and fatal practice on the columns which led the attack on Hougomont.

This place still remaining insulated from the main position by the enemy's proximity, about half-past one, Ney, with four divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, covered by the incessant fire from seventy-four 12-pounder cannons ranged along the crest of the hostile position, advanced against the right centre and left of descriptions are meagre and erroneous, and at variance with facts.

† The loss of the guards in killed and wounded, in defence of Hougomont, amounted to twenty-eight officers, and about 800 rank and file. The foreign corps (Nassau and Brunswickers) lost about 100.

the allied line, with the intention of forcing the one and turning the other, and thus cut off the communication by the high road to Brussels, as also that with the Prussian army. Traversing the intervening valley, and pouring round Hougomont, they furiously drove in the light troops in advance of the allied line. No sooner was their approach perceived, than the British lines were drawn up in squares, each face six files deep, and at distances sufficient to afford space to draw up the battalions in line when they should be ordered to deploy; the battalions being posted, in reference to one another, like the alternate squares on a chess-board. The first rank of the squares knelt with sloped bayonets, to keep off the cavalry; the second rank presented theirs at the charge. It was therefore impossible for a squadron of cavalry to penetrate the distances between two of those squares, without being assailed by the fire in front from the square to the rear, and on both flanks from those between which it moved forward. At the same moment, the allied gunners were in readiness to open fire from the advanced artillery, as soon as the enemy ascended the crest of the ridge.

A body of French cavalry rapidly sweeping round the right of Hougomont, with a noise and clamour which seemed to unsettle the earth over which they galloped, ascended the height; but they had not advanced forty yards before the allied artillery played so effectively into their masses, as to strew the ground with men and horses. Still their courage was not damped. As the damaged squadrons drew off to the right and left, the supporting masses pressed forward against the British. When obliged to retire to re-form, the enemy's artillery opened a furious fire on the allied squares. But all the efforts of the enemy to turn and push back the allied right wing, and thus establish himself on the Nivelles road, proving unavailing, Ney withdrew the discomfited cavalry to co-operate with the force in action on the left centre, and the left wing of the allied line.

While the onset was made on the right wing, the battle raged with equal fury in the centre. Ney, advancing on the high road leading from La Belle Alliance to Mont St. Jean, precipitated his heavy columns of infantry and artillery, under a tremendous fire of artillery and showers of shells. No sooner had the skirmishers in

advance opened their fire, than Bylandt's Belgian brigade, which was posted between Kempt's and Pack's brigades, took to flight in the greatest consternation, amidst the hissings, hootings, and execrations of their deserted comrades; the scared and panic-struck turntails nearly running down the grenadier company of the 28th, as they rushed past them. In this part of the line, only the remnants (scarcely 3,000 men) of Kempt's and Pack's brigades of Picton's division remained, half their complements having been put *hors de combat* in the preceding day's encounter. But Picton, undaunted, prepared to receive the formidable host advancing against his shattered little band. On came the foe in four contiguous columns, amounting to 20,000 men, with cheering cries of "*En avant! en avant!*" and the continued roll of drums, beating the *pas-de-charge*. But no sooner had they reached the crest of the ridge, than Picton's intrepid soldiers poured forth a rapid and well-directed volley on the advancing host; and before the full and condensed report had died away, their gallant leader ordered a charge of bayonets, to which his troops responding with a tremendous cheer, rushed forward and repulsed the enemy, who took to precipitate flight, leaving the ground covered with killed and wounded. But the service had sustained a loss—the loss of one of the most illustrious ornaments of the British or any other army—in the heroic leader of the fighting third division of the Peninsular war. He had scarcely uttered the words "Charge! hurrah! charge!" when he fell lifeless on the neck of his horse, a musket-ball having pierced his right temple.

No sooner had the hostile infantry taken to flight, than masses of cuirassiers ascended the crest of the ridge. When at forty yards' distance, the allied artillerymen poured a destructive fire of grape into them, and instantly taking off the wheels of the gun carriages, rapidly retreated with them to the rear of the squares, or, when they had not time for that purpose, threw themselves under the bayonets of the kneeling ranks of the squares. The cuirassiers having regained their formation, which the artillery discharge had disarranged, uttering the most discordant cries and yells, rode fearlessly up to within a distance of twenty yards of the advanced squares, and deliberately walked their horses in front, in expectation of finding a chasm into which

they might rush. To repel this bold intrusion of the enemy, the Earl of Uxbridge, putting himself at the head of the two heavy cavalry brigades, galloped forward.\* Somerset's brigade moved against the cuirassiers, and Ponsonby's against the infantry, who had re-formed, and were again re-established on the crest of the position. The shock of the cavalry encounter was terrific, the hostile lines dashing furiously against each other. As the English horsemen, on account of the superior length of the cuirassiers' swords and their steel corslets, were not able to make an impression on them in front, they wedged themselves into the intervals between the horses of their antagonists. Instantly swords gleamed high in the air—now clashing violently together, and now clanging on the armour of the case-protected foe; whilst, with the din and fury of the battle-shock, were mingled the shouts, and yells, and mutual defiance of the combatants. The opposing horsemen, vainly struggling for the mastery, fell in numbers on either side, under the deadly thrust or the well-delivered cut. Horses plunging and rearing, staggered to the earth, or broke wildly from their ranks, carrying disorder and confusion wherever they rushed. But, desperate and bloody as was the struggle, it was of short duration. The physical superiority of the British, aided by transcendent valour, was soon manifested in the well-sustained conflict. The cuirassiers, notwithstanding their gallant and resolute resistance, sustained a great loss, and were driven off the ridge in confusion. At this moment Ponsonby's cavalry, who had galloped through the intervals in Pack's brigade, dashed into the mass of the French infantry columns. The tremendous shock of the British heavy horse was irresistible; the two columns of

the enemy were pierced through and trampled upon; cries of quarter mingled with the groans of the wounded and dying; and in less than five minutes this compact body of the best troops of France was utterly destroyed. Both cavalry brigades, now hurried on by the ardour of the charge, and regardless of the signal to halt and rally, furiously pursued the enemy across the valley, and ascending the brow of his position, dashed into his batteries, and galloping along the line of cannon, sabred the gunners, cut the traces, and stabbed the horses. Napoleon having observed their disorganisation, and that they were unsupported, ordered a brigade of cuirassiers and lancers to attack them in front. Ponsonby's disorganised squadrons were instantly engaged in a fierce *mêlée* while endeavouring to effect their retreat. Vandeleur's light cavalry brigade was dispatched to their relief, which, dashing amongst the French cavalry, compelled them to withdraw to their own position. From this chivalrous but disastrous affair, Ponsonby's brigade brought back scarcely a fifth of its complement, and its gallant leader had perished. Colonel Frederick Ponsonby, who commanded the 12th light dragoons, having been disabled in both arms by sabre cuts, was carried by his horse up to the enemy's position, where, receiving another sabre cut, he fell senseless to the ground, and remained there until the following morning, when being recognised, he was removed to a neighbouring farmhouse. Somerset's brigade, from the loss it had sustained in the conflict, and from the enemy's batteries and skirmishers, while retreating across the valley, was not in a more effective condition than Ponsonby's.† The shattered remnants of both brigades, when mustered, could scarcely form two squadrons. But these gallant troops

\* The noble appearance which the cavalry brigades presented as they galloped up, is thus described by Maxwell, in language worthy of the subject:—"At this critical and awful moment Lord Uxbridge galloped up; the three regiments of cavalry were, in the most masterly style, wheeled into line, and presented a most beautiful front of about 1,300 men: as his lordship rode down the line, he was received by a general shout and cheer from the brigade. After having taken a short survey of the force and threatening attitude of the enemy, and finding the highland brigade, although still presenting an unbroken front, upon the point of being on both sides outflanked by an immense superiority of numbers, his lordship determined upon a charge which, for the wonderful intrepidity of its execution, and its complete success, has rarely been equalled, and certainly

never surpassed. The royals appeared to take the lead, while the grays preserved a beautiful line at speed, more to the left over the cross-road, near which spot their brave chief, Colonel Hamilton, fell."

† We cannot refrain from laying before the reader the graphic description of this heroic charge, as given by the able and eloquent author of the *History of Europe*:—"Picton, upon this, ordered up Pack's brigade, consisting of the 42nd, 92nd, 1st or royal Scots, and 44th; and these noble veterans, as on the brow of the Mont Rave at Toulouse, advanced with a loud shout, and poured in so close and well-directed a fire, that the French columns broke and recoiled in disorder. At this instant, the heroic Picton, as he was waving his troops on with his sword, was pierced through the head with a musket-ball, and fell dead. Kempt immediately took the command; the rush of

had performed prodigies of valour. Ponsonby's—or the Union Brigade, as it was termed, from the three regiments of which it was composed being English, Irish, and Scotch (the royal dragoons, the Enniskillens, and the Scots grays)—had captured two eagles; one belonging to the "Invincibles,"\* and the other to the 105th, or the 45th of the line; together with 2,000 prisoners. At the same moment that the enemy advanced against the left centre and left wing of the allied position, an attack was made on the farm of La Haye Sainte. For the reinforcement of the slender garrison, the Luneburg Hanoverian field battalion was detached; but those gallant soldiers, alarmed in their advance at the sight of the cuirassiers, hurriedly took to flight; and the enemy, taking advantage of their panic, put the greater part of them to the sword before they could ensconce themselves under the protection of the allied position. During these tremendous conflicts, a battery of howitzers threw a continuous shower of projectiles on Hougomont; but the conflagration caused by this bombardment, did not occasion a moment's relaxation in its heroic defence, though the position was enveloped by the enemy, and repeated attempts made to force an entrance.

It was now about half-past three o'clock; and though the attack had slackened on the right centre and right wing of the allied position, it was only to be renewed on the left centre and left wing.

Under cover of a furious cannonade from the whole line of batteries ranged along the ridge of La Belle Alliance, which poured an incessant iron shower of balls and shells on the allied position, falling not only on its crest but on the reverse or exterior slope, Ney advanced with two massive columns of infantry, and forty squadrons of cuirassiers, lancers, and chasseurs. The infantry proceeded to the attack of La Haye Sainte; the cavalry pushed rapidly forward on the

horse was heard, and Ponsonby's brigade, bursting through or leaping over the hedge which had concealed them from the enemy, dashed through the openings of the infantry, and fell headlong on the wavering column. The shock was irresistible; in a few seconds the whole mass was pierced through, rode over, and dispersed; the soldiers in despair fell on their faces on the ground, and called for quarter, and in five minutes, 2,000 prisoners and two eagles were taken, and the column utterly destroyed. Transported with ardour, the victorious horse, supported by Vandeleur's brigade of light cavalry on the left, charged on against a battery of d'Erlon's guns, consisting of twenty-four pieces, which was

line of the left centre and left wing. No sooner had the horsemen began to appear on the summit of the ridge (as then the fire of the enemy's batteries must cease, lest it should destroy his own men), than orders were issued for the squares which had already been formed six line deep, to resume their position, in chequered formation, on the breast or plateau of the ridge. In a moment the British guns opened a discharge of grape and canister, at the distance of twenty yards, on the advancing foe, the artillerymen retreating with the wheels and equipments of the guns, in the same manner as had been done at the attack of the right centre and right wing. Undismayed, successive columns of the tremendous cavalry host rolled on after each other like the waves of the sea, riding furiously down on the squares, and uttering the most discordant cries and yells, and using the most opprobrious and insulting language, in order to provoke the British to fire upon them, and thus afford an opportunity to break their squares. When they arrived so near the squares that the hostile balls would just rebound from their well-tempered steel corslets, without doing them the least harm, they halted their horses, and, with perfect *sang froid*, walked them up and down the front of the squares. The British infantry remained firm and impassive, only occasionally throwing in volleys; but, from the mailed condition of the assailants, few saddles were emptied. This induced the English officers to order the fire to be directed on the horses, and by wounding them, occasioned confusion among their steel-clad riders. The assailants were obliged occasionally to retire; when the advanced squares were immediately formed into one for greater breadth of fire, which moving forward a few steps, threw in volleys of musket-balls on their assailants; but the balls, springing on their back-plates, did as little execution as those which had been

quickly carried. The highland foot soldiers, vehemently excited, breaking their ranks, and catching hold of the stirrups of the Scots grays, joined in the charge, shouting, 'Scotland for ever!' Unsatisfied even by this second triumph, these gallant horsemen, amidst loud shouts, charged a third line of cannon and lancers, and here also they were triumphant. So forcibly was Napoleon struck by this charge, that he said to Lacoste—'Ces terribles chevaux gris; comme ils travaillent!'

\* On the eagle of the "Invincibles" were inscribed the words—*Austerlitz, Jena, Eylau, Friedland, Wagram*, &c.; the battles in which that regiment had been engaged.

discharged on their front corslets. Taking advantage of the thick smoke, which was prevented from rising above the surface of the earth by a heavy atmosphere, some desperate individuals would occasionally ride up close to the ranks, fire their pistols, and endeavour to cut aside the bayonets. One officer, finding his men not willing to follow his example of endeavouring to open a passage through the square to which they were opposed, rode on the bayonets. As the moment admitted of no exhibition of clemency, he was shot.

This infuriated mass of cavalry, not having been able to make any impression on the first line, sweeping round its left, galloped towards the second line, composed of Belgian, Hanoverian, Dutch, Brunswick, and Nassau troops. Intimidated by the advance of the mailed horsemen of the enemy, several of the Belgian regiments showed symptoms of an approaching panic. To obviate the disaster, the Earl of Uxbridge ordered the wreck of the household and Union brigades to the rescue of the scared troops; and placing himself at the head of Tripp's brigade of Belgian carbineers, ordered a charge. The remnant of the two British heavy brigades nobly performed their duty. They quickly closed with the enemy. Behind the squares and between the intervals, the hostile squadrons charged each other, became intermingled, and drew off again; till the enemy at last gave ground, and were pursued down the exterior slope of the allied position, whence they rapidly fled towards their reserves. But the conduct of "Les Braves Belges" had not been quite so heroic. When ordered to charge, they immediately went to the right-about; and hurriedly galloping through the 3rd hussars of the German legion, scampered off the field.\*

\* In another part of the field, the Cumberland Hanoverians, a very gaily and gaudily dressed regiment, was ordered, when the French cavalry assailed the second line, to support the charge of the remnant of the household and Union brigades of heavy cavalry. These spruce soldiers were as unwilling as Tripp's brave Belgian carbineers, to have acquaintance with unmannerly shot and shell, and fierce-looking cuirassiers. When their gallant colonel (Hacke) received the unwelcome order to advance from the Duke of Wellington's aide-de-camp, he suggested the enemy's strength—the dreadful cuirassiers—and that his regiment were all gentlemen, and the horses their own. When the remonstrance was reported to the duke, he desired his aide-de-camp to return to the gallant colonel of the gentlemen in finely embroidered uniforms and lofty plumes, to say that if the colonel and his brave regi-

Immediately that Napoleon observed the issue of Ney's cavalry attack, he dispatched thirty-seven squadrons to his assistance. The two bodies uniting, advanced again, under cover of a heavy fire of artillery from the French position. No sooner was their approach observed, than the English left centre and left line formed squares, *en échiquier*. The enemy having reached the crest of the position, the artillerymen along the British line discharged their guns, and took shelter under the protection of the squares, while the cavalry furiously advanced almost to the points of the bayonets. To repel the attack, Wellington collected the shattered remnants of the British and German legion of cavalry, and launched them forward; Ramsay's brigade of horse artillery at the same time opening fire on the enemy through the spaces intermediate between the squares, who quickly faced about and fled down the interior slope of the hill. Immediately a furious cannonade was opened from the opposite heights, for the purpose of affording time for the re-formation of the repulsed cavalry, and again covering their advance. Repeated attacks and repulses of the kind were made for nearly an hour; but the assailants, having sustained great loss, at length retreated, leaving an enormous pile of men and horses in front of the allied batteries and on the slope of the ridge.

Whilst this scene of havoc and carnage was being acted on the ridge, the attack on La Haye Sainte was in operation. Ney's two columns of infantry, supported by a strong body of cuirassiers and a battalion of horse artillery, advanced against that post. After repeated attacks, in which the little garrison was fearfully reduced, its gallant defenders, having exhausted every cartridge of which they were possessed, maintained the unequal

ment would place themselves upon an eminence in the rear of Mont St. Jean, they would have an excellent view of the battle, and that he would leave to their discretion the proper time to charge the dreadful cuirassiers. The heroic colonel, thanking the aide-de-camp for the distinguished post of honour assigned him, cantered out with his gallant, embroidered, and high-plumed train to the place assigned; but the heroes had not long been ensconced in their fancied security, when a few random shots whizzing about their ears, they galloped pell-mell off the field, overthrowing in their headlong flight the baggage mules on the road, and never drew bridle till they found themselves in Brussels, where they spread report that the allied army was annihilated, and Napoleon was advancing at the head of his terrible cuirassiers and veteran guards.

contest with their bayonets, through the windows and embrasures. As the entrance of the farm fronted the high road, and was in the very focus of the enemy's fire, it was not possible to send supplies of ammunition that way. Thus the gallant garrison was left to its own resources. After an heroic and stubborn defence, during which the building was in flames, the assailants succeeded in ascending the walls, when, pouring down a destructive fire on its few remaining defenders, they obtained possession of it, and savagely bayoneted those who survived.

The enemy having obtained this outpost in the very centre of the allied position, and being thus enabled to assemble his troops under it, Napoleon sent orders to Ney to renew the attack on the entire allied position. The French marshal, collecting the various corps of infantry and cavalry which had been engaged during the day, prepared for the attack of the centre of the allied line, and a simultaneous assault on Hougomont. Again the cannon thundered from the heights on the French side; and under cover of the iron storm, the often-repulsed but still formidable battalions, led on by one who was well named the bravest of the brave, mounted the crest of the allied position, and repeated the manœuvres they had before resorted to in the different stages of the battle; but still the British infantry nobly held their ground, and the French were driven back with great loss. Nowise discouraged, the French marshal re-formed his discomfited squadrons and battalions under cover of the artillery fire which was again renewed on the allied position, and returned to the charge, repeating his fierce and furious assault; but, after a stubborn and resolute resistance, the French were again hurled back. The Duke of Wellington, guessing, from Ney's preparations, his intended point of attack, had anticipated it by strengthening his centre, bringing up Adams's light infantry brigade, and substituting Du Plat's brigade of the German legion from the second line, for Chassé's Belgian brigade, which stood in the first line, and of whose fighting qualifications the British chief had his misgivings, from the untoward exhibition of the Belgian troops in the preceding operations of the battle. In the meantime the contest at Hougomont, the *point d'appui*, or key of the position, was vigorously maintained; the enemy making repeated efforts to obtain its possession,

which were vigorously repulsed by its heroic defenders. The conflagration of the stacks of hay and the château and buildings, occasioned by showers of shells precipitated on the devoted place, nowise relaxed the efforts of the little garrison, and occasioned them no other regret than that produced by the loss of the wounded who perished in the flames of the château, and who could not by any possibility be removed.

During this scene of carnage and tumult, the duke exposed his person with a freedom which made all around him tremble for that life on which the fate of the battle depended. There was scarcely a square but he visited in person, encouraging the men by his presence, and the officers by his directions. Many of his short and impressive phrases were long repeated by them. While he stood in the centre of the high road in front of Mont St. Jean, distinguished as he was by his suite, and the movements of the officers who carried the orders to the respective generals of divisions, several balls repeatedly grazed the tree under which he stood on the right-hand of the road—"That's good practice," said the duke; "I think they fire better than they did in Spain." At last the shot fell so fast and abundant about them, that it was evident the enemy's guns were levelled in that direction; and as the horses of the staff became restive and fidgety, the duke said—"Gentlemen, we are too close together,—better to divide a little;" when several of the staff moved off, leaving the duke to make his observations. While thus reconnoitring, an artillery officer rode up, and informed the duke that his guns were trained in the direction of the point on which Napoleon was standing; apparently wishing to receive the duke's orders for their discharge on the French chief. "No, no," exclaimed the duke; "I will not allow it. It is not the business of commanders to be firing on each other." The duke having completed his *reconnaissance*, again revisited his heroically contending, but hourly diminishing squares of infantry. Riding up to the 95th rifles, who were momentarily expecting a formidable charge of cavalry, he said—"Stand fast 95th; we must not be beaten: what would they say of us in England?" To another regiment that had suffered severely, and had but few of its original complement remaining—"Never mind," said he, "we will win this battle yet;" and to a regiment almost decimated, he thus playfully expressed him-

self:—"Hard pounding this, gentlemen: let's see who will pound longest." Visiting the squares which composed Halkett's brigade, and which had been more favoured by the enemy's attentions than any other, he inquired how they were; and being answered by their leader, that two-thirds of their number were down, and the rest so exhausted that a withdrawal from the line for a short time was desirable, and their place supplied by some of the corps in the second line, the duke's reply was, "that a change of place was hazardous; the issue of the contest depended on the steady unflinching front of the British troops." "Enough, my lord," said Halkett, "we stand here till the last man falls." Such was the confidence of all wherever he appeared, that they received him with a shout of impatience to be led on. To another regiment, in whose front a powerful body of infantry was in advance at the moment of his appearance, and who shouted out as he approached—"Let's at them, my lord—let's down upon them;" he replied—"Not yet, not yet, my brave lads: you shall have at them soon; be firm a little longer." Such was the calm composure of their illustrious chief; such the unquailing spirit of his indomitable troops. To a leader and followers of such tone and mettle, victory must be the result.

The battle had now lasted six hours; and as the allies had, during the whole time, been incessantly exposed to the infantry and cavalry attacks of the enemy, and the furious cannonade of his range of batteries, consisting of above 200 pieces of heavy artillery, the loss had been dreadful; battalions of infantry had dwindled almost to handfuls; brigades of cavalry, except those of Vivian's and Vandeleur's, were reduced almost to squadrons; and a large portion of

\* So sure was Napoleon of having his hopes fulfilled, that the following proclamation was found "ready cut and dried" for issue:—"Proclamation to the Belgians and Inhabitants of the left bank of the Rhine:—The ephemeral success of my enemies detached you for a moment from my empire: in my exile, upon a rock in the sea, I heard your complaint; the god of battles has decided the fate of your beautiful provinces. Napoleon is among you; you are worthy to be Frenchmen: rise in a mass; join my invincible phalanxes to exterminate the remainder of those barbarians, who are your enemies and mine; they flee with rage and despair in their hearts. June 17th, 1815. At the imperial palace of Lacken.—NAPOLEON." But events proved that the ex-emperor had "calculated without his host."

Blucher's movements were also, in all probability delayed by the dispositions of Grouchy, who

the artillery had been disabled or crippled. The spectacle which presented itself throughout the position, both on the ridge and the slopes, was of the most distressing character. The ground was studded with the dead, dying, and wounded—not only on the ridge, but also on the exterior or reverse slope—by the explosion of the shells thrown from the enemy's batteries, and the ricocheting or rebounding of the round shot. The shrieks and maddened screams of the wounded writhing in their agony, and their supplications for relief, smote the ear in every direction. Even the horses participated in the horrors of the fearful scene. Some wildly galloped about with broken legs; others with their entrails trailing after them: many were seen staggering—many plunging and pawing the ground around them. On the slopes of both positions, and the valley intervening between them, lay intermingled men, horses gun-carriages, and dismantled field artillery in profusion. The crest of the allied position was surmounted with enormous piles of Frenchmen and horses. At this period of the battle, Napoleon felt so assured of victory, as to express the certainty of his being at Brussels in time for the supper which was in preparation for him by one of his adherents in that city.\*

As yet no relief had presented itself from the Prussians; only a few weak patrols of cavalry had, about half-past four o'clock, appeared in the wood of Frischemont; the march of the army having been retarded by the state of the roads and the impediments of the defiles of St. Lambert. The sound of the artillery of Bulow's corps was heard on the French right between four and six o'clock, but it soon died away; Lobau, with the 6th corps, which was in reserve, having been dispatched to oppose his progress.† The sun was near setting before

with 30,000 men had pursued the rear-guard of the Prussians from Ligny to Wavre, to commence an attack; and to whom Napoleon had transmitted orders for the purpose of engaging the attention of Blucher, in hopes of preventing his detaching any forces for the support of Wellington. The resistance of Thielmann, with the Prussian rear-guard in occupation of the villages and position on the Dyle, posted there for the purpose of masking the march of the main army under Blucher, was so obstinate, as to induce Grouchy to believe that he was engaged with a large proportion of the Prussians; a belief in which he was confirmed by the resolute conduct of Thielmann: and even after his success, he was undetermined what course to pursue, until he received orders from Napoleon; as had he attempted to close up towards Napoleon, Thielmann would have assailed his retreat. He therefore awaited orders, and

the Prussians appeared in strength on the flank of the contending armies. Then an attack was made on the village of Planchenoit, in rear of the French position, which, after having been thrice carried and recovered, remained in the possession of the Prussians, each side having sustained a murderous loss in killed and wounded.

Buonaparte, still undismayed by all the slaughter and repulses of the bloody fight, determined to make a desperate and final effort to redeem the fortunes of the day, and had recourse to his last hope of redemption—the bringing of the imperial guard into action, which had hitherto remained in reserve, and not fired a shot during the day. Drouot was ordered to bring forward its battalions in front of La Belle Alliance, and d’Erlon and Reille were directed to collect their disposable forces. The guard, comprising ten battalions, was marshalled into two columns of attack, and a reserve of four battalions of the old guard. In support, d’Erlon’s corps was formed on the left of the guard; Reille’s on the right. In rear of the right and left of the guard, and occupying the intervals between it and d’Erlon’s and Reille’s corps, the cavalry were disposed. The point of attack of the guard was against the centre of the allied right wing; those of d’Erlon and Reille were to be directed against Hougomont and the rest of the allied position. Donzelat’s division of d’Erlon’s corps in possession of La Haye Sainte, was ordered to make a simultaneous attack on the allied left centre and left wing. The whole was placed under the command of Ney. The four battalions of the old guard remained in reserve near the farm of La Belle Alliance.

Before the order was given for the advance of the guard, Napoleon placed himself at their head, exclaiming—“The battle is won; we must fall on the English position, and throw them on the defiles. *Allons! la garde en avant!*” which was answered with prodigious shouts of “*Vive l’Empereur!*” but after having headed the march about ten minutes, he suddenly halted with his staff, and motioning his hand, said—“Gentlemen, there is Brussels;” at the same moment moving aside, under a swell of ground, where he was sheltered from the fire of the allied artillery. No sooner had the two columns of the guard dipped below the

crest of the height, than the whole range of the batteries on the enemy’s position threw a perfect hurricane of balls and shells on that of the allies. Rallying in their progress such of the broken cavalry and infantry of the line which as yet maintained the combat, the guard and its supports advanced dauntlessly; one column directing its march direct on the centre of the allied position, the other advancing obliquely to the right. But the repeated repulses of the enemy had not been left unimproved by the Duke of Wellington. The extreme right of the allied line—on which was posted Adams’s light brigade (52nd, 71st, and second battalion of the 95th) and Maitland’s brigade of guards—had been gradually and imperceptibly gaining ground after each unsuccessful charge, until it was brought round from a convex to a concave position; the allied artillery raked the French columns as soon as they debouched on the causeway. Unshrinkingly, however, they rushed forward; and the columns which had the shorter distance to traverse, rapidly ascending the slope of the allied position, were in the act of mounting the crest, shouting “*Vive l’Empereur!*” when Maitland’s brigade of guards—which, for protection from the enemy’s batteries, had been lying down in line four deep—being ordered by the duke to advance, sprung forward with levelled bayonets and a tremendous cheer, and, at the distance of twenty yards, delivered so heavy and shattering a fire, that the head of the French column was torn to pieces; and while the survivors were attempting to deploy, a second discharge was poured in as destructively amongst them: the whole mass, now completely disorganised, fled down the slope in the most inextricable confusion, leaving the face of the position covered with killed and wounded. But no sooner had the repulse taken place, than Reille’s supporting column appeared on Maitland’s right flank; when, to prevent it from being turned, he rapidly fell back on his original position—a measure which Maitland was further induced to adopt, as, at the very moment, d’Aubrun’s infantry brigade of Chassé’s Dutch-Belgians, which had been posted in the rear in support of the guards, scared by the shouts and yells of the enemy (though out of the line of fire and hidden from view), evinced an inclination to abandon the field,

did not move until he received the portentous news next morning, announcing the fate of Napoleon and his army. Thus Grouchy’s conduct is easily

accounted for, and all the idle stories and fables of his treachery refuted. Those acquainted with the facts never believed in the absurd fiction.

but were prevented from putting this resolve into execution, by Vivian closing up the squadron intervals of his brigade, so as not to allow a passage to the runaways.

The second column of the imperial guard advanced against that part of the allied line occupied by two battalions of Nassau troops and five of Brunswickers, who had been moved up from the second into the first line to supply the vacuum occasioned by the fearful diminution which it had sustained from the repeated attacks and incessant artillery fire of the enemy. This French column having quickly beaten back the Nassau and Brunswick corps, proceeded to the assistance of the broken columns of the imperial guard, and enabling it to re-form under their cover, advanced against Adams's light brigade, which was next to Maitland's guards, posted on the concave position which the line had assumed in the course of the battle. Undismayed by the fate of their comrades of the first column, the imperial guards topped the height in perfect order, and with a confidence which bespoke the certainty of success. Adams's brigade, forming four deep, immediately advanced on the flank, and poured in a withering volley; while Maitland's brigade, having recovered its formation, advanced and assailed the head of the column with so heavy and destructive a fire, that the ground was instantly covered with killed and wounded. The second column, like its predecessor, took to flight, pursued by Vivian's and Vandeleur's light cavalry brigade, which the duke, who was watching the encounter, launched against them.

While these movements were in operation, Donzelat's division had not been inactive. With the usual impetuosity of their countrymen, they advanced against that part of the allied position which had been assigned for their attack, and resolutely mounted the exterior slope, with a chorus of discordant yells and shouts; but before they reached the crest they were hurled back, under a tempest of grape and canister shot, leaving the ground covered with slain and disabled.

The only force of the enemy now capable of effectual resistance was that consisting of the four battalions of the old guard in reserve, the various descriptions of cavalry, field and reserve, formed on their flanks on La Belle Alliance, and the two broken battalions of the guards, which having been rallied and formed into three squares, were posted on a height commanding the Charleroi road. The duke now observing the Prus-

sian columns sweeping down into the plain on the enemy's right flank, dispatched Vivian's hussar brigade against the force collected at La Belle Alliance, and Adams's light infantry brigade against those posted on the Charleroi road; and to prevent the rallying of d'Erlon's and Reille's corps, he ordered a general advance of the whole line of infantry, in four-deep formation, supported by the artillery and cavalry. The command was hailed with loud and joyous shouts. The duke, with hat raised high in the air, put himself at the head of the guards, to lead the army. Then, with colours unfurled, and drums, trumpets, and bugles sending forth their warlike sounds, "the majestic movement of the Waterloo line" commenced: at the same moment, as if to impart an impressive effect to the scene, the last faint rays of a hitherto clouded sun sent forth a lurid light over the battle-field. Down the slopes of their own position, and up those of the enemy, majestically advanced the British line, exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries ranged on the enemy's position, having driven before them Reille's and d'Erlon's corps through the valley. Both the pursued and pursuers mounted the crest of the enemy's position almost at the same moment. As soon as the fleeing corps had passed the batteries, a furious fire opened on the advancing line of the allies; but nowise daunted, they rushed forward in all the triumph of assured victory, and in a moment the enemy took to headlong flight, abandoning their artillery, and throwing away their arms. Though the tirailleurs and cavalry of the guard, whose numbers were still formidable, did all in their power to cover the retreat of their countrymen, their confusion each moment became more inextricable: the whole army became an entire wreck; in Napoleon's own words, "a total rout ensued." As soon as Buonaparte saw the issue of the battle, and that the Prussians had extended along his right flank, and were rapidly gaining on his rear, apprehensive of being made prisoner, he said to Bertrand, "All's over; it is time to save ourselves." Having deputed to his brother Jerome the task of collecting the shattered remnant of the army, he fled from the field, accompanied by about a dozen of his attendants, to Genappe, and thence to Charleroi, where he stopped for refreshment; whence, after appeasing his hunger, he resumed his rapid flight towards Paris, which he reached in the course of the night of the 20th.

Wellington urged the pursuit nearly as far as Genappe, when, finding himself on the same road as Bulow's corps, and that the British cavalry were so weary as to be almost unable to urge their horses into a trot for any distance, he transferred the duty of the pursuit to the Prussians; and while on his return over the battle-field to his quarters at Waterloo, he accidentally met Blucher near the farmhouse of La Belle Alliance.\* Here the leaders of the allied armies congratulated each other, and the respective troops halting, exchanged military greetings. The pursuit was urged with the most unrelenting fury during the whole night, no mercy being shown to the fugitives, in re-

taliation of their savage revenge on the wounded and prisoners at Ligny and Waterloo; the former of whom were all sabred or speared as they lay upon the ground; the latter put to death in cold blood. A slight attempt was made by the fugitives to halt at Charleroi; but there, or wherever else they attempted to pause, the sound of a cannon-shot, or even that of a Prussian drum or trumpet, set them again on flight. The allied army bivouacked on the field of battle and the villages adjacent.

The killed, wounded, and missing in the allied army, amounted to 15,573. The specific loss of each national force comprising the army, was—

Forces.	Killed.			Wounded.			Missing.		
	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers, trumpeters, drummers, & privates.	Horses.	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers, trumpeters, drummers, & privates.	Horses.	Officers.	Non-commissioned officers, trumpeters, drummers, & privates.	Horses.
British . . .	83	1,334	1,319	363	4,569	719	10	582	708
King's G. Legion	27	335	194	77	932	144	1	217	54
Hanoverians .	18	276	—	63	1,035	—	3	207	—
Brunswickers .	7	147	77	26	430	—	—	50	—
Nassauers . .	5	249	—	19	370	—	—	—	—
Dutch-Belgians	20	446	728	118	1,936	6	15	1,612	896
Total . . .	160	2,787	2,318	666	9,263	869	29	2,668	1,658

Note.—The greater part of the missing joined after the battle.

The loss of the Prussians was 6,682 men. This large loss, sustained during the brief space of time they were engaged in the battle, arose from the deadly animosity which subsisted between them and the French, neither side giving quarter or taking prisoners. The loss of the Belgians was occasioned by their unsteadiness and timidity, not from contest with the enemy. One-half of that force deserted the field; and the other half were with difficulty prevented from doing so, though they did not even see the enemy. None of them were brought into action before the time of the general advance; till then, the battle had been fought by only the first line. Baron Muffling computed that 10,000 of them took to their heels. The duke's opinion of his Belgian allies appears in the following extract from a letter to a gentleman who applied to the duke for information towards the compilation of an account of the battle of Waterloo:—"You cannot write a history of the battle without including

the faults and misbehaviour of part of those who were engaged, and whose faults and misbehaviour were the cause of the material losses. Believe me that every man you see in a military uniform is not a hero; and that, although in the accounts of a general action, such as that of Waterloo, many instances of individual heroism must be passed over unrelated, it is better for the general interests to leave those parts of the story untold than to tell the whole truth."† In a postscript to his report of the battle transmitted to the King of the Netherlands, he said—"I have marked with pencil some paragraphs in my report which I beg your majesty will not permit to be published." And yet a huge monument was subsequently erected on the field of Waterloo, in commemoration of the heroic exploits of "Les Braves Belges," surmounted with a huge lion, but—appropriately—with his tail between his legs.

The trophies of this "the most decisive victory of the age," were 170 guns, 350 caissons, to her hind or ploughman: in ridicule of the match, the name *La Belle Alliance* was given to her residence.

† Gurwood's *Wellington Despatches*.

\* This place assumed its name from a little circumstance of village scandal. A woman who resided here, after marrying two creditable yeomanry husbands, united herself, on losing her second lord,

5,000 prisoners, countless baggage and ammunition-waggons, and the whole *matériel* of the French army, which in killed and wounded had sustained a loss of 40,000 men. The Prussians, in their pursuit, took an additional 2,000 prisoners and 100 guns.

Having described the mightiest battle\* on record—faintly and imperfectly I willingly and readily admit, no pen or pencil being capable of depicting and portraying the awful magnificence of the scene with sufficient force and effect—the conqueror in the mighty scene next claims our notice.

An elegant military writer, and an accomplished soldier and scholar, the late Major Sherer, speaking of the duke's demeanour on this occasion, says—"The words and emotions of the conqueror will be long remembered by those who sat with him at supper, after the anxious and awful day had closed. The fountain of a great heart lies deep, and the self-government of a calm mind permits no tears. But this night, Wellington repeatedly leaned back upon his chair, and rubbing his hands convulsively, exclaimed aloud, 'Thank God, I have met him! Thank God, I have met him!' And even as he spoke, the smile which lighted up his eyes was immediately dimmed with those few and big tears which gush warm from a grateful heart."

Another lively and pleasing writer furnishes the following interesting information relative to the bearing of the Duke of Wellington on that memorable night:—"It was long past one when his grace lay down. He had not found time to wash his face and hands; but, overcome with fatigue, threw himself, after he had finished his despatches, upon his bed. He had seen Dr. Hume, and desired him to come punctually at seven in the morning with his report: the doctor, who had taken no rest, having spent the night beside the wounded, came at the hour appointed. He knocked at the duke's door, but receiving no answer, lifted the latch and looked in, and seeing the duke in a sound sleep, could not find it in his heart

to awaken him. By-and-bye, however, reflecting on the importance of time to a man in the duke's high station, and being aware that it formed no article in his code to allow a trifling personal indulgence of any sort to interfere with public duty, he proceeded to the bedside and roused the sleeper. The duke immediately sat up in his bed: his face unshaven and covered with the dust and smoke of yesterday's battle, presented rather a strange appearance; yet his senses were collected, and in a moment he desired Hume to make his statement. The doctor produced his list and began to read. But when, as he proceeded, name after name came out,—this as of one dead, the other as of one dying,—his voice failed him, and looking up, he saw that the duke was in an agony of grief. The tears chased one another from his eyes, making deep visible furrows on the illustrious soldier's blackened cheeks; and at last he threw himself back upon his pillow, and groaned aloud, exclaiming—"It has been my good fortune never to lose a battle, yet all this glory can by no means compensate for so great a loss of friends. What victory is not too dearly purchased at such a cost?"†

"Hume closed up his paper, unable to reply and quitting the apartment, left the duke to make his toilet. This was done in a frame of mind which none but the individual sufferer, and not even he, could undertake to describe; but the storm passed off, and as soon as he appeared in public, the leader of the allied armies was as self-possessed as he had ever been. The truth is, that they who speak of the Duke of Wellington as gifted with iron nerves, and a heart which was not easily moved, know not what they say. The difference between him and other men is the same as has in ages distinguished the hero from one of the crowd. With ordinary men, feeling, as often as it is appealed to, controls reason for a while, and is with difficulty subdued; with great men (and surely the duke is the greatest), reason exerts itself in the first instance to control feeling and keep it in its proper place. But

enhanced his bequest of the estate to the Duke of Wellington, by stating, that "he had saved not only his kingdom, but Europe also."

† While crossing the field of Waterloo to his headquarters, as he returned from the pursuit, the moans of the wounded and dying striking his ear, and viewing the dismal scene of carnage which lay before him, he exclaimed—"I hope I may never fight such another battle."

\* The battle of Waterloo was not only the mightiest ever fought, and the most decisive victory ever gained, but its results and effects were more extensive and beneficial than had been produced by any battle and victory on record. To the patriotic heroism of British troops, not only Europe, but the whole world owed their salvation from the insatiable ambition of one who not only possessed the power, but also the capacity for their enslavement—a truth acknowledged by the King of the Netherlands, who

feeling is not extinct in them, as was shown in the personal bearing of the duke on the morning of the 19th, at the time of Hume's visit, and is still apparent in the tone of the letters\* addressed to the relations of some of those who had fallen in the battle. From those letters, it is evident that his whole moral being was shaken and torn by the intensity of his grief for the loss and sufferings of his friends; yet he never for a moment permitted feeling to cast a shadow over judgment, or ceased to be, to the remotest particular, master of himself. On that morning he issued all his orders with the same calmness and deliberation which characterised his proceedings at other times. The routes which the columns were to follow, the discipline which was to be observed on the march, and the purposes it was designed to serve in the forward movement on the eve of being made on the enemy's territories, were all explained and set forth before he quitted his chamber. And when he rode out of the courtyard of his quarters, followed by his staff and orderlies, no one could have told from his manner, or the expression of his countenance, that anything extraordinary had happened."

As no new distinctions of honour remained to confer on Wellington, he having already won all, from knighthood to dukedom, parliament added £200,000 to the half million already granted, for the purchase and presentation of the manor and estate of Strathfieldsaye. The merits of the army were also not forgotten. Every regiment which had been present was to bear the word "Waterloo," in addition to those already worn on its colours; all privates were to be entered on the muster-rolls and pay-lists of their respective corps as Waterloo-men; and every Waterloo-man was to have that day's exploit reckoned as two years' service in the account of his time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged. The subaltern officers were in like manner to reckon two years' service for the victory; and henceforward pensions granted for wounds to every officer in the army, was to rise in proportion to the rank which he should attain; so that an officer maimed when an ensign, should receive a general's pension when he attained that rank. The rewards conferred on the duke by the allied powers were:

\* Namely, those to Lord Aberdeen, on the death of his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon; and to the Duke of Beaufort, on the loss of his son's arm, Lord Fitzroy Somerset, afterwards Lord Raglan.

he was created a field-marshal in the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian services, and Prince of Waterloo by the King of the Netherlands, with a dotation of lands, amounting to 1,270 acres, situate between Nivelles and Quatre Bras, and producing an annual revenue of 20,000 Dutch florins.

It now remains for the historian of the battle of Waterloo to describe the sights and sounds which pervaded every spot of the battle-field.

In a space of scarcely two miles in length by one and a-half in breadth, lay forty thousand human corpses, and many thousand horses, weltering and festering in their blood, with which the battle-field was so drenched as to have become almost a quagmire. A tremendous spectacle of havoc and carnage was frightfully exhibited in terrible variety. In some places piles of men and horses were intermingled; in others, heaps of men lay on the very spot they had defended; everywhere the bodies of men and horses, dead, dying, or wounded, were scattered in profusion. Some bodies were mere trunks, having lost both heads and arms; others were so disfigured, that scarcely the trace of the human form remained; many exhibited heads cloven to the chin: every part of the field bore ghastly evidences of havoc and slaughter; and the sounds were as mournful as the sights were fearful; low moans and groans, and frightful shrieks echoing from every spot. The cry for water was universal. "Water! Water!" "*De l'eau! De l'eau!*" "*Vater! Vater!*" resounded from every side; and, as evening approached, the desperately wounded and the dying raised their heads, imploring water, or begging an end to be put to their misery. Nor was war's misery and inflictions confined to the human participators in the preceding conflict. Of the horses which had been present, thousands had been sufferers: the field was covered with the slain and wounded; many of the latter galloping with broken or shattered legs, and their entrails dragging on the ground, kicking and pawing, and uttering piercing shrieks, maddened with pain, and in some instances with broken lances and swords still sticking in their wounds; others quietly lying upon the ground, cropping the grass within their reach; while some uttered deep moans, expressive of their pain.

On the morning following the dreadful fight, preparations were made for burying the dead, to prevent the pestilential conse-

quences which would arise from their rapid putrefaction under the influence of a powerful sun. Pits, six feet deep and about four square, were dug, into which the bodies of friends and foes were indiscriminately thrown;\* the greater part of the bodies having been previously stripped naked by the peasants of the neighbouring locality. The wells and ditches in and about La Haye Sainte and Hougomont had been filled, during the battle, with the slain. So imperfectly had the mouths of the pits been covered, that for a long time afterwards a human hand or a leg, or the feet of the horses, were distinctly visible; and when the ground had become chapped with the heat of the sun, a human face might be occasionally seen. For many weeks the effluvia of the charnel-houses emitted the most noisome stench, and were surrounded by incalculable swarms of carrion-flies.

Besides these ghastly evidences of the dreadful carnage which had taken place, the battle-field was covered with broken gun-carriages, muskets, swords lances, carbines, and pistols—some broken, some unbroken. Hel-

rets, cuirasses, shakos, lancers' caps, and highland bonnets, saddles, bridles, drums, bugles, trumpets, broken and crushed, or whole; and remnants of uniforms and epaulets, feathers, and *sabretaches*, dyed in blood, bore mute testimony of the ruinous display of the miseries of war. In the midst of the dismal scene, not a few of the crosses of the legion of honour were visible. Neither was the least conspicuous of its sights that of the busy occupation of some Russian Jews in chiselling out the teeth of the dead.

Yet such are the wise and provident ordinations of Nature, that, not many weeks after the perpetration of the mighty slaughter, the flowers were blooming, and trees bearing their fruit over the huge masses of human bodies mouldering under their shades. What an impressive as well as an instructive lesson does this beneficent provision of Nature read man of her ordinations to remedy his violations of her laws, and intentions for the happiness and well-being of her creatures!

#### MEMORABILIA OF THE BATTLE OF WATERLOO, AND AFTER-APPEARANCE OF THE BATTLE-FIELD.

MUCH idle nonsense has been prated, by would-be military critics, of the duke's apprehension of an unsuccessful issue of the battle. Some of these sages have maintained that it depended on "the toss-up of a half-penny" which way the battle went; and even some have written profound dissertations as to when the duke "won" the battle. Sir Walter Scott has furnished the best proof of the duke's apprehensions. That gentleman says that he proposed the following questions to the Duke of Wellington, at his grace's dinner-table in Paris:—"Suppose, your grace, Blucher had not come up?" The duke replied—"I could have kept my ground till next morning." "Suppose Grouchy had come first?" "Blucher would have been close behind him." "But let us suppose that your grace had been compelled to retreat." "I could have taken position in the forest of Soignies, and defied all till the allies joined." "Was

there any part of the day your grace despaired?" "Never!" was the reply. In the same question proposed to Lord Hill—namely, "Was there any part of the day at Waterloo that he desponded as to the result?" "Desponded!" exclaimed Lord Hill, "Never! There never was the least panic; we had gained rather than lost ground by the evening. No, there was not a moment that I had the least doubt of the result." Much misapprehension prevails relative to the amount of aid given by the Prussians, and their share in the victory. The Prussians lay claim to half the merit; and it has been a favourite assertion with French writers, that Wellington was on the point of being defeated, and contemplated his escape into the forest of Soignies when the Prussians came up. To the discomfiture of the ingenuous critics, the testimony of both Baron Muffling and General Foy is decisive. The former says, that "the battle could have afforded no favourable result to the enemy, had the Prussians not come up:" and the latter, while speaking in admiration of the general

\* In the course of the Peninsular war, the bodies of the slain were frequently collected in heaps, and faggots of wood and other combustible materials being applied, they were burned.

advance of the British line, says, "that the duke had just achieved the most decisive victory of the age." In the same spirit of reaping a harvest which they had not sown, the Prussians endeavoured to lay claim to the guns the allies had captured on the heights of La Belle Alliance, and which the duke had caused to be parked. On the morning after the battle, only ten could be found, the rest (160) had been carried off in the night by the Prussians to Genappe. To prevent any heart-burning, the duke consented that the guns should be equally divided between the allied and Prussian armies.

John Baptiste Coster, who served as Napoleon's guide in reference to the locality of the field of battle, occupied at the time a small alehouse, with about six acres of land. On the approach of the French army, on the 17th of June, he retired with his family to his brother's at Planchenoit. There he met three French generals, who inquired of him if he was well acquainted with the environs; and on his answering in the affirmative, they sent him, with his hands tied behind, to Napoleon with a letter, accompanied by a servant. On reaching the French headquarters, Napoleon, while consulting the maps of the country, questioned him as to the distance of several towns from the field of battle, and the different roads in the locality. He was placed on a horse between the emperor and his first aide-de-camp, his saddle being tied to that of the trooper behind him, that he might not escape. Four squadrons of cavalry and twelve pieces of artillery surrounded them as a body-guard. Seeing Coster flinch at a shower of shot, and lowering his head frequently on the neck of the horse, to avoid the balls which hissed over his head, Napoleon said, "Do not stir, my friend; a shot will equally kill you in the back as in the front, or wound you more disgracefully." The peasant Coster, in his pinioned position, was not the only civilian exposed to the dangers of "rude guns and smoking pistols" during the dreadful carnage of the 18th of June: the poor gardener at the château of Hougomont was a close prisoner in his garden during the whole of the contest in that locality; and a farmer's wife, who enjoyed the pleasures of a like endurance in La Haye Sainte, when asked for what purpose she had exposed herself to so much danger, replied—"To look after the things."

The rector of Framlingham (Rev. N. Norcross), Suffolk, soon after the battle of

Waterloo, wrote to the Duke of Wellington, stating that, in his opinion, the non-commissioned officers of the British army had, by their valorous conduct on that day, entitled themselves to some distinct marks of their country's approbation, and therefore he felt disposed, for one, to offer his humble tribute to their merit. In order that his gift might be properly applied, he requested the favour of the duke to point out to him one of the non-commissioned officers whose heroic conduct appeared the most prominent; to whom he meant to convey, in perpetuity, a freehold farm of £10 annual value. The duke instituted an inquiry among all the commanding officers, and was informed that a sergeant of the Coldstreams and a corporal of the 1st regiment of guards had so distinguished themselves, that it was difficult to point out the most meritorious; but that there had been displayed by the sergeant an exploit, arising out of fraternal affection, which he felt it a duty to state; namely, that near the close of the battle, the sergeant had solicited the officer commanding the company to which he belonged for permission to retire from the ranks for a few moments, when he hurried to an adjoining barn, to which the enemy had in their retreat set fire, and bore off his wounded brother amidst the flames. Having deposited his charge under a hedge, the gallant fellow returned to his post in time to share in the victorious pursuit of the routed enemy. To that gallant soldier the conveyance was made; but he enjoyed the bounty for two years only, in consequence of the bankruptcy of the donor.

The same patriotic priest, at his death, willed £500 to the bravest man in England. The duke being applied to by the executors to nominate the man best entitled to the bequest, expressed an opinion that Sir James Macdonald, who had closed the gates of Hougomont, was the most deserving person; as on the closing of these gates the success of the battle was mainly attributable. On application by the executors to Sir James to pay over the legacy, he said:—"I cannot claim all the merit; for Sergeant Graham, seeing with me the importance of the gates being closed, rushed forward, and together we shut the gates. I therefore propose that the sergeant and myself divide the legacy between us." The executors assenting to the proposal, the legacy was divided between Sir James and the sergeant.

During the battle, some of the horses, as

they lay upon the ground, having recovered from the first agony of their wounds, fell to eating the grass, to the extent of the circle which their limited strength allowed; while others, having lost their riders, quietly grazed in the space between the hostile

armies; but when a charge of cavalry went past them, they formed in the rear of their mounted fellows, galloping strenuously with the rest, and not stopping or flinching when the shock between the hostile squadrons took place.

#### INVASION OF FRANCE BY THE ANGLO-ALLIED AND PRUSSIAN ARMIES IN 1815.

ON the battle-field of Waterloo, it was arranged by the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher, that the Prussians should pursue the fleeing enemy\* by Charleroi, towards Avesnes and Laon, and that the Anglo-allied army should advance on Nivelles and Binche, towards Péronne.

At daybreak of the 19th of June, the Anglo-allied army broke up from its bivouac on the field of the preceding day's battle, and marched upon Nivelles, whither the corps of observation in front of Hal, under the command of Sir Charles Colville, was directed to take its route. During the following night the army occupied Nivelles and its surrounding villages; and the next day the duke issued the following general order, dated Nivelles, 20th of June, 1815, for the conduct of the troops towards the inhabitants of France, which territory they were on the eve of entering, enjoining them to abstain from pillage, and to observe the strictest discipline:—"As the army is about to enter the French territory, the troops of the nations at present under the command of field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, are desired to recollect that their respective sovereigns are in alliance with his majesty the King of France; and that France, therefore, should be treated as a friendly country. It is therefore required that nothing should be taken, either by officers or soldiers, for which payment is not made. The commissaries of the army will provide for the wants of the troops in the usual manner; and it is not permitted, either to officers or soldiers, to extort contributions. The commissaries will be authorised, either by the field-marshal or by the generals who command the troops of the respective nations, in cases where their surnames are not supplied by an English commissary, to make the proper requisitions, for which regular receipts will be

given; and it must be strictly understood, that they will themselves be held responsible for whatever they obtain in way of requisition from the inhabitants of France, in the same manner in which they would be esteemed accountable for purchases made by their own government in the several divisions to which they belong. The field-marshal takes this opportunity of returning to the army his thanks for their conduct in the glorious action fought on the 18th instant; and he will not fail to report his sense of their conduct in the terms which it deserves to their several sovereigns." And to enforce order among the foreign troops under his command, he wrote to the Belgian generals, that he would hold the officers of corps personally responsible for all pillage and misconduct of the troops under their command. At the same time, conformable to the practice he had adopted in the course of the Peninsular war, he organised, for the preservation of order, a military police, consisting of three of the most trustworthy soldiers of each brigade, under the title of the "staff corps of cavalry," who were to preserve order on the line of march, and arrest and hand over marauders to the provosts-marshal; and for that purpose they were to march on the flanks of the columns, and bring up their rears.

The main body of the Anglo-allied and Prussian armies crossed the French frontier on the 20th and 21st; the Prussians on the first-mentioned day, the Anglo-allied army on the following; when the duke established his head-quarters at Malplaquet, from which place he issued the following proclamation, addressed to the French people, dated Malplaquet, June 22nd, 1815, promising them protection, and requiring submission and orderly demeanour from them:—"I acquaint all Frenchmen that I enter their country at the head of a victorious army, not as an

\* The moon rose with unusual brightness, as if to guide the victors to their prey. So furious was the pursuit, and so remorseless the pursuers, that in the

course of that night hundreds fell under the Prussian sabres and lances: no quarter was given—in imitation of the battle's carnage.

enemy (the usurper excepted, who is the enemy of human nature, and with whom no peace and no truce can be maintained.) I pass your boundaries to relieve you from the iron yoke by which you are oppressed. In consequence of this determination, I have given the following orders to my army—[namely, the general order, dated Nivelles, 20th of June, 1815]; and I demand to be informed of any one of them who shall presume to disobey them. Frenchmen know that I have a right to require that they shall conduct themselves in a manner which will enable me to protect them against those by whom they would be injured. It is therefore necessary that they should comply with the requisitions which will be made by persons properly authorised, for which a receipt will be given, which they will quietly retain, and avoid all communication with the usurper and his adherents. All those persons who shall absent themselves from their dwellings after the entrance of this army into France, and all those who shall be found attached to the service of the usurper, and so absent, shall be considered to be his partisans and public enemies, and their property shall be devoted to the subsistence of the forces." This proclamation, which was written in French, and the general order to the troops translated into the same language, were distributed through the frontier towns and villages, and the line of march of the Anglo-allied army. Thus every precaution which sagacity, prudence, and humanity could suggest, were adopted by the English general.

In the meantime the wreck of the French army, from the field of Waterloo, had reached the frontier of France; and the corps under Grouchy was on the eve of effecting a junction with them, when Napoleon reached Laon, in his flight from the disastrous battle: he there appointed Soult to reorganise the routed troops as they came up. On the 22nd, Soult moved forward to Soissons; but on reaching that town, Soult was superseded by Grouchy, on whom the provisional government, which had been constituted at Paris on Napoleon's abdication, had conferred the command.

Napoleon arrived in Paris during the night

\* Such is the versatile character of the French, that the chambers had now become tinctured with revolutionary notions, and had assumed all the mummery and jargon of their former conventions: in a word, they wished for a revolution; and to effect their purpose, they sent a deputation of their mem-

of the 20th. As he found the chambers of peers and representatives\* unwilling to sanction and support his measures, he attempted a compromise by a transfer of the crown to the head of his infant son, under the title of Napoleon II.; but finding the chambers still refractory, he abdicated his throne, and withdrew to Malmaison, to watch the issue of affairs, and in the event of the frustration of all his hopes, to be ready to escape to America. To provide for the emergency, the chambers elected a provisional government, composed of Carnot, Fouché, and three other persons; and commissioners were appointed to proceed to the headquarters of the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blucher, to propose an armistice.

On the 28th of June, Paris was declared by the provisional government in a state of siege, and Marshal Davoust appointed to command the army. The village of St. Denis and the heights of Belleville and Montmartre were strongly fortified; and the bank of the canal of l'Ourcq was formed into a parapet, completing a formidable line of defence on the northern side of the city; the ground to the north of the city was inundated, by means of the little rivers Rouillon and La Vielle Mer; but the left of the Seine remained defenceless. The troops collected for the defence of the capital were Grouchy's army, those which survived the catastrophe of Waterloo, with the various dépôts of the French armies, amounting to about 50,000 men, besides the national guards, the tirailleurs of the guard, and the Parisian volunteers, called the *fédérés*; amounting in all to about 80,000 men.

The Anglo-allied and Prussian armies were in the meantime marching in an uninterrupted course of triumph. Prince Frederick of the Netherlands was deputed, with the Saxon corps which had joined the allied army, to blockade the fortresses between the Scheldt and the Sambre; and Prince Augustus of Prussia, those between the Sambre and the Moselle, with a Prussian corps. The main bodies of the Anglo-allied and Prussian armies, for the purpose of interrupting the fugitive French army in its line of retreat, advanced to the

bers to harangue the soldiers and the *fédérés* on the rights of men; some of their agents vociferating "*Vive la Nation! Vive la Liberté!*" But the soldiers and *fédérés* answering, "*Vive l'Empereur!*" they were obliged to have recourse to the dodge of a provisional government.

right bank of the Oise, and crossed that river at Compiègne and Pont St. Maxence. On the 27th, the Prussians crossed the Oise, and the Anglo-allied army on the following day. On the 28th, the Prussian vanguard fell in with the retreating French army under Grouchy, at Villers Cotterets; and on the 30th, Reille's and d'Erlon's corps, near Nanteville; and on those occasions, after desperate conflicts, took 4,000 prisoners and sixteen pieces of artillery.

On the 29th, the commissioners from the provisional government arrived at Blucher's head-quarters, to propose a suspension of hostilities. On their introduction to the marshal, he demanded that "Buonaparte" should be given up to him. The commissioners not knowing how to proceed, returned to their employers. In the meantime the infuriated Prussian had communicated to the Duke of Wellington his intention of putting Napoleon to death as soon as he could obtain possession of him. To the atrocious proposal the duke refused to lend his sanction, insisting that their enemy, when he fell into their hands, should be disposed of in a more honourable and humane manner by common accord of the allied powers; and advised the furious Prussian to abstain from putting his intention into execution. "You and I," said the high-minded Wellington, "have acted too distinguished a part in these transactions to become executioners; and I am determined that if the sovereigns wish to put him to death, they shall appoint an executioner, who shall not be me." On the 23rd, the Anglo-allies took Cambray by escalade, and on the following day Péronne (called *Péronne la Pucelle*, or the Virgin Fortress, from its never having been captured) was stormed. On the 1st of July, the Anglo-allied army occupied the wood of Bondy. The Prussian army had already crossed the Seine at St. Germain, having in their march, as soon as they entered the French territory, committed the most unbounded military licence, robbing and plundering the inhabitants, and setting fire to the villages and hamlets on their line of march; and notwithstanding all the precautions the duke had taken to ensure order and discipline in his army, the Belgian troops had been guilty of the like excesses, plundering on all sides. Two of the officers of that motley force, who had encouraged and participated in the excesses of their men, were arrested by the duke's order, and sent to the Hague, to be dis-

posed of by the King of the Netherlands, to whom the duke forwarded a letter detailing their offence, and concluding—"I do not wish to command such officers. I have served long enough to know that marauders, and those who encourage them, are good for nothing before an enemy. I wish to be without them."

The rapid approach of the hostile armies induced the provisional government to send commissioners to the Duke of Wellington, hoping a more favourable reception from him than Blucher had given them. On their arrival at head-quarters, to their desire to know what conditions would be acceptable to the allies, and the duke telling them the recall of Louis XVIII. and the withdrawal of the French army across the Loire, they withdrew to report the result of the conference to the provisional government.

The Anglo-allied and Prussian armies were now before Paris. Although the line of defence to the north was such as to justify temporary confidence, the city on the opposite side was entirely open, excepting the occupation of the villages of Issy and the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon. Those two points, could they have been maintained, would have protected for a time the large and level plain which stands on the south side of the city, and which presented no advantages for defence, except an imperfect attempt at a trench, and a few houses and garden walls, in which loopholes had been made. On this defenceless side, therefore, Wellington and Blucher determined to make the attack.

Blucher, as before stated, crossed the Seine at St. Germain, and occupying Versailles, threatened the French position at Meudon, Issy, and the heights of St. Cloud; while the Duke of Wellington had opened a communication with the Prussian army by a bridge at Argenteuil. Though their situation was now desperate, the French did not lose courage; and one gleam of success again shone upon their arms. On the 2nd of July, Excelmans, by a well-conducted assault, surprised the Prussians who occupied Versailles. Blucher, breathing vengeance, prepared for the assault of the city, declaring that he would take it by storm, and revenge the insults and outrages which the French had inflicted on Berlin, and which, he said, "God had given him power and will so to do;" and still harbouring his design against the ex-emperor, dispatched a body of cavalry to Malmaison, to seize him

by surprise; but the old Prussian was foiled in his attempt, the adherents of Napoleon having, in the interim, broken down the bridge of the Château, and thus saved their idol from Prussian violence.

Paris now being invested on both the north and south and a council of war having decided that its defence could not be longer maintained, a flag of truce was sent, on the morning of the 3rd of July, to the allied commanders-in-chief, requesting the cessation of hostilities during the negotiation of a military convention. The proposal being accepted, commissioners were appointed by both sides to meet at St. Cloud for the purpose; and on the same day the convention was signed, and ratified by the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Blücher on the following day. On the 4th of July, in execution of its terms, the French army began its march towards the Loire, leaving Paris in the protection of the national guard; and immediately the allies took possession of the outposts. On the 7th they marched into the city, and took military occupation of it. Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris the following day.

In the interim, Napoleon, having left Malmaison, had reached Rochefort, and embarked on board the French frigate *La Saale*, with the intention of escaping to the United States; but finding it impossible to escape the vigilance of the British cruisers, on the 15th of July he went on board the *Bellerophon*, and placed himself under the protection of the British government; at the same time addressing a note (which will be found in a subsequent part of this work) to the prince-regent, for the purpose of conciliating his favour. On the 8th of August, he was transferred from the *Bellerophon* to the *Northumberland*, which immediately proceeded to convey him to St. Helena, the spot selected by the allied governments for his safe keeping.

No sooner had the allies entered Paris, than Blücher, recalling to recollection his vengeance and French antipathies, proceeded to levy enormous contributions on the city, and to destroy the bridge of Jena, for the purpose of obliterating the memorial of Prussian humiliation; but he was induced to desist by the intercession and manly remonstrances of the Duke of Wellington. In his endeavours to recover the works of art which the French had carried off from Berlin, he was more successful. The museum of the Louvre rendered, by a

long series of French conquests and spoiliations, the richest receptacle of paintings and statuary in the world, had, notwithstanding some reclamations, been left untouched at the capitulation of Paris in the preceding year. In the convention of the present year, the provisional government made a demand that it should be equally respected; but the allies would not accede to the request. Prussia was the first claimant; and her commissioners carried off not only the spoils of Berlin and Potsdam, but also those of Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle, amounting to above 2,000 specimens of painting, statuary, &c. The Belgian government next claimed and repossessed themselves of the rich plunder of the Belgian or Flemish churches. The Austrians reclaimed the plunder of Italy and Venice; the pope obtained restitution of the treasures and products of literature and art; and the other Italian states recovered the sculptures and paintings of which their churches and museums had been rifled.

But the recovery of their own works of art did not satisfy the views of some of the allied monarchs and their cabinets: they hankered after those which were the undoubted property of the French nation, and many of which were of French production, and were only diverted from their purpose by the remonstrances of the duke and the British cabinet. The memorial addressed by Lord Castlereagh, to divert them from their contemptible design, reminded them that their enemy had tarnished the lustre of his arms by a system of plunder, in contravention of the laws of modern warfare; and that all their endeavours to humiliate the perpetuation of the memory of French military deeds and glory would be nugatory, as they were recorded in the military annals of Europe, and emblazoned on the public monuments of France, and ineradicably engraven on the memory of its people. This noble remonstrance had its effect in regard to the works of art; yet, in spite of the hint, that "it was not honourable to associate glory in the field with a system of plunder," Austria put in a claim for Lorraine and Alsace; Prussia, for all the frontier provinces of France adjoining its territory; the king of the Netherlands demanded the whole of the fortresses of the Flemish barrier; and the Spanish Don, recalling to mind his heroism during the Peninsular war, and that he had not been portioned off in recompense for his exploits, demanded the

French Basque Provinces. The military convention entered into at St. Cloud, constituted a basis for the resumption of negotiations for a treaty of peace between the allied powers and France. That treaty, which is entitled "The Second Treaty of Paris," was concluded on the 20th of November, 1815, and was founded on the terms as settled by the congress or "Holy Alliance" of Vienna, and which stated that France should be readmitted into the European community on the following conditions:—"That as the indemnity occasioned by the late usurpation of Buonaparte could not consist in entire cessions of territory, or in entire pecuniary payments, without greatly injuring the essential interests of France, they should be thus commuted: That the four principal allied powers should receive 700,000 francs, and the lesser powers 100,000; payable by equal instalments, at fixed periods: that the frontier provinces of France should be occupied for a certain time by a specified number of the allied troops: that the frontiers of France should

remain as they were in 1792, with the exception of particular modifications: that the indemnity in money to the allied powers should be 700,000,000 francs, to be paid at given periods." The principal cessions of territory were on the borders of Belgium and the Upper Rhine, and in the vicinity of Geneva.\* The places to be occupied by the allies were seventeen fortresses along the frontiers of French Flanders, Champagne, Lorraine, and Alsace; and the period of occupation was to be five years; but which circumstances might reduce to three. The troops of occupation not to exceed 150,000, to be maintained by France, and under a commander-in-chief appointed by the allies. The appointment was conferred on the Duke of Wellington on the 22nd of October.

On the 5th of September, 1815, a grand review of the British troops, representing the battle of Salamanca, took place in the plain of St. Denis; and, on the 10th of the same month, a like spectacle of the Russian troops was exhibited on the plains of Vertus.

#### NAPOLEON'S SECOND ABDICATION, IMPRISONMENT AND DEATH.

ON Napoleon's return to Paris, he immediately drew up and published a highly-coloured account of the Battle of Waterloo, in which he describes the concluding events of the day in the following words:—"It was impossible to dispose of our reserves of infantry until we had repulsed the flank attack of the Prussian corps. This attack always prolonged itself perpendicularly upon our right flank. The emperor sent thither General Duhesme with the young guard, and several batteries of reserve. The enemy was kept in check, repulsed, and fell back—he had exhausted his forces, and we had nothing more to fear. It was this moment that was indicated for an attack upon the centre of the enemy. As the cuirassiers suffered by the grapeshot, we sent four battalions of the middle guard to protect the cuirassiers, keep the position, and, if possible, disengage and draw back into the plain a part of our cavalry.

"Two other battalions were sent to keep themselves *en potence* upon the extreme left of the division which had manœuvred

upon our flanks, in order not to have any uneasiness on that side; the rest were disposed in reserve, part to occupy the *potence* in rear of Mont St. Jean, part upon the ridge in rear of the field of battle, which formed our position of retreat.

"In this state of affairs the battle was gained; we occupied all the positions which the enemy occupied at the outset of the battle; our cavalry having been too soon and ill employed, we could no longer hope for decisive success; but Marshall Grouchy having learned the movement of the Prussian corps, marched upon the rear of that corps, which insured us a signal success for the next day. After eight hours' fire and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.

"At half-past eight o'clock, the four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the ridge on the other side of Mont St. Jean, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by the grapeshot, endeavoured to carry the bat-

teries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank, by several English squadrons, put them in disorder. The fugitives recrossed the ravine. Several regiments, near at hand, seeing some troops belonging to the guard in confusion, believed it was the old guard, and in consequence were thrown into disorder. Cries of 'all is lost, the guard is driven back,' were heard on every side. The soldiers pretended even that on many points evil-disposed persons cried out, *sauve qui peut*. However this may be, a complete panic at once spread itself throughout the whole field of battle, and they threw themselves in the greatest disorder on the line of communication; soldiers, cannoneers, caissons, pressed to this point; the old guard, which was in reserve, was infected, and was itself hurried along.

"In an instant the whole army was nothing but a mass of confusion; all the soldiers, of all arms, were mixed *pêle-mêle*, and it was utterly impossible to rally a single corps. The enemy, who perceived this surprising confusion, immediately attacked with their cavalry, and increased the disorder; and such was the confusion, owing to night coming on, that it was impossible to rally the troops, and point out to them their error. Thus a battle terminated, a day of false manœuvres rectified, the greatest success insured for the next day—all was lost by a moment of panic and terror. Even the squadrons of service, drawn up by the side of the emperor, were overthrown and disorganised by these tumultuous waves, and there was then nothing else to be done but to follow the torrent. The parks of reserve, the baggage which had not re-passed the Sambre—in short, everything which was on the field of battle remained in the power of the enemy. It was impossible to wait for the troops on our right; every one knows what the bravest army in the world is when thus mixed and thrown into confusion, and when its organisation no longer exists.

"The emperor crossed the Sambre at Charleroi, at five o'clock in the morning of the 19th. Philippeville and Avesnes have been given as the points of reunion. Prince Jerome, General Morand, and other generals, have there already rallied a part of the army. Marshal Grouchy, with the corps on the right, is moving on the Lower Sambre. The loss of the enemy must have been very great, if we may judge from the number of standards we have taken from them, and

from the retrograde movements which he made; ours cannot be calculated till after the troops shall have been collected. Before the disorder broke out, we had already experienced a very considerable loss, particularly in our cavalry, so fatally, though so bravely engaged. Notwithstanding these losses, this brave cavalry constantly kept the position it had taken from the English, and only abandoned it when the tumult and disorder of the field of battle forced it. In the midst of the night, and the obstacles which encumbered their route, it could not preserve its own organisation. The artillery has, as usual, covered itself with glory. The carriages belonging to head-quarters remained in their ordinary position; no retrograde movement being judged necessary. In the course of the night they fell into the enemy's hands. Such has been the issue of the battle of Mont St. Jean, glorious to the French armies, and yet so fatal."

Having concocted this document, Napoleon convened a council of state, in which he proposed his election as dictator, "in order that he might repair the national disasters at the head of the army." On Lucien's proposing the measure, on the following morning, in the Chamber of Peers, so great disapprobation was expressed, that Lafayette proposed the declaration of their session permanent, and that every attempt to dissolve them should be high treason. This resolution being carried by acclamation, Lucien accused Lafayette of ingratitude to Buonaparte. "You accuse me of wanting gratitude towards Napoleon!" replied Lafayette; "have you forgotten what we have done for him? have you forgotten that the bones of our children, of our brothers, everywhere attest our fidelity—in the sands of Africa, on the shores of the Guadalquivir and the Tagus, on the banks of the Vistula, and in the frozen deserts of Muscovy? During more than ten years, 3,000,000 of Frenchmen have perished for a man who wishes still to struggle against all Europe. We have done enough for him. Our duty now is to save the country." When this proceeding was reported to Buonaparte he dictated to Lucien his abdication, couched in the following terms:—

"Frenchmen!—In commencing war for maintaining the national independence, I relied on the union of all efforts, of all wills, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I had reason to hope for success, and I braved all the declarations of

the powers against me. Circumstances appear to me changed; I offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove sincere in their declarations, and have really directed them only against my power! My political life is terminated, and I proclaim my son, under the title of Napoleon II., Emperor of the French.

“The present ministers will provisionally form the council of the government. The interest which I take in my son induces me to invite the chambers to organise, without delay, the regency by a law. Unite all for the public safety, in order to remain an independent nation.

“NAPOLEON.”

The two chambers voted an address of thanks, and felicitated the emperor on what they termed “his last act of heroism.” To which his reply was, that he hoped his abdication might conduce to the happiness of France, but that he had little hope of a result of the kind. The Chamber of Deputies then appointed a provisional government of five members to treat for peace with the allies in the name of the French nation.

Napoleon, when informed of the appointment of the provisional government, indignantly exclaimed, “I have not abdicated in behalf of a new directory, but in favour of my son; if he is not proclaimed, my abdication is null.”

The situation of the chambers now became critical. The garrison of Paris, the federates, a majority of the national guards, and the lower classes, daily gathered round the Elysée, calling on the emperor to put himself at the head of the army, to rescue France from foreign and domestic foes. The provisional government becoming alarmed for their safety, solicited Napoleon to leave the capital, where his presence created so much uneasiness among the factions; and to induce him to do so, the chambers, on the 24th, formally recognised Napoleon II. as emperor. In compliance with their request, Napoleon took up his residence at Malmaison, prior to his preparation for departure; and on the 25th issued to the army his farewell proclamation:—

“Napoleon to the brave men of the army under the walls of Paris.—Soldiers! While obeying the necessity which compels me to separate from the brave French army, I bear with me the happy certainty, that the army will justify, by the eminent services

which the country expects from it, the eulogies which our enemies themselves have been unable to refuse. Soldiers! I shall follow your movements, though absent. I know every corps, and not one of them shall gain a single advantage over the enemy but I shall render homage to the courage it may display. You and I have both been calumniated. Men, incapable of appreciating your exertions, have seen in the proofs of attachment you have given me, a zeal of which I was the sole object. May your future success teach them that it was the country you served in obedience to me, and that if I had any part of your affection, I was indebted for it to my ardent love of France, our common mother. Soldiers! A few efforts more, and the coalition is dissolved. Napoleon will recognise you by the blows you are about to strike. Preserve the honour, the independence of the French; continue to be the same men I have known you for twenty years, and you will be invincible.

NAPOLEON.”

On the 27th, hearing that the allies were near Paris, he wrote to the provisional government, offering his services as general of the French troops. “In relinquishing my power,” he said, “I have not renounced the noble right of a citizen—the right of defending my country. The approach of our enemies to the capital no longer leaves any doubt of their intentions, or of their bad faith. In these grave circumstances, I offer you my services as general, and desire to be regarded only as the first soldier of the country.”

The reply to this proposal was, a request that the emperor would, for the general welfare, and that of himself and family, repair to Rochefort, where two frigates would be ready to carry him to the United States of America. In compliance with that request, he on the 29th set out for Rochefort, which he reached on the 3rd of July; but the port being blockaded by English vessels, it was found impossible to put to sea. On the 8th he embarked on board the *Saale*, one of the frigates assigned him, to try the disposition of the blockading vessels; but being refused a passage, on the 10th he dispatched Bertrand to solicit of the commanding English officer permission for the frigates to pass. This being refused, on the 12th Napoleon landed with his suite and baggage on the isle of Aix, in hopes of escaping thence in two half-decked boats which he had purchased at Rochelle, with two

intention of embarking in them under cover of the night, and reaching a Danish smack, which was to wait for him at the distance of thirty leagues. But being disappointed in this design, he resolved to trust to the magnanimity of the British government; and accordingly, on the 13th, he addressed the following letter to the prince-regent of England.—

“Rochefort, July 13th, 1815.

“Your Royal Highness,—A victim to the factions which divide my country, and to the hostility of the greatest powers in Europe, I have terminated my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearth of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your royal highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies.

“NAPOLEON.”

This letter was dispatched the same afternoon by Gourgaud and Las Cases, to the *Bellerophon*, with an announcement to Captain Maitland, that the emperor would repair on board the following morning. According to his appointment, he, accompanied by his suite, came out of Aix-roads on board of the French brig *Epervier*, but the wind and tide being against the brig, Captain Maitland sent the barge of the *Bellerophon* to convey him to that ship. As Captain Maitland advanced to meet him on the quarter-deck—“I come,” said Napoleon, “to place myself under the protection of the laws of England.” The *Bellerophon* weighed anchor on the evening of the 16th, and on the morning of the 24th anchored in Torbay, where orders almost instantly came from the admiralty, that no person, except the officers and men belonging to the ship, should be permitted to visit the *Bellerophon*, or hold any intercourse with Napoleon or his attendants. During the night of the 25th, orders were sent for the ship to move round to Plymouth Sound, off which place it moored on the afternoon of the following day. The frenzy of popular curiosity was so great, that numerous boats surrounded the *Bellerophon*; and notwithstanding the peremptory orders of the admiralty, and in spite of the efforts of the men-of-war's boats, which maintained constant guard round the vessel, it was impossible to keep them at the prescribed distance of a cable's length (300 yards) from the ship, and many of the boats were nearly run down for their meretry in venturing within

the prescribed limits. On the 30th Sir Henry Bunbury, one of the under-secretaries of state, arrived, bringing with him the final intentions of the British government for the disposal of General Buonaparte (for so he was now styled, and his suite. On the following day, Sir Henry and Lord Keith, the naval commander-in-chief at Plymouth, waited on the ex-emperor, to communicate to him his future destiny—of banishment to St. Helena, as detailed in the letter of Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty. Against the right of the British government to dispose of him, the ex-emperor exclaimed with earnest energy. “I solemnly protest, in the face of Heaven and of mankind,” said he, “against the outrage I have sustained, and the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I voluntarily came on board the *Bellerophon*; I am not the prisoner, but the guest of England. I came at the instigation of Captain Maitland, who said he had orders from the government to receive and convey me and my suite to England. I came with confidence to claim the protection of the laws of England. When once on board the *Bellerophon*, I was entitled to the hospitality of the British people. If the government, in ordering the captain of the *Bellerophon* to receive me and my followers, wished merely to ensnare us, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag. If that act be consummated, it will be in vain for the English henceforth to talk of their sincerity, their laws, and liberties. British faith will have been lost in the hospitality of the *Bellerophon*. I appeal to history! It will say that an enemy who fought for twenty years against the English people, came freely in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What greater proof could he have given of his esteem and confidence? But how did England respond to such magnanimity? She feigned to tender a hospitable hand to that enemy; and when she had gained possession of his person, he was immolated.”

But no regard was paid to this protest; and as an attempt was made to procure the removal of the ex-emperor on shore by a writ of *habeas corpus*, the *Bellerophon* put to sea on the 4th of August, for the purpose of cruising off the Start till the *Northumberland* should be ready to receive the captive, and convey him to his destination.

On the 6th, the *Northumberland*, and two

frigates filled with troops, anchored alongside the *Bellerophon*. On the morning of the 7th, Admiral Sir George Cockburn, assisted by a custom-house officer, searched the effects of the ex-emperor and those of his attendants, and seized 4,000 gold Napoleons, leaving with Marchand, his valet-de-chambre, 1,500 for his master's use. All their weapons, except the ex-emperor's sword, were then taken away; and his suite was arranged to consist of the following persons:—Count Bertrand, ex-grand marshal of the palace; Count Montholon and Count Las Cases, councillors of state; Baron Gourgaud, aide-de-camp; the countesses Bertrand and Montholon, and their children; and twelve domestics of the imperial household. At the ex-emperor's request, Mr. O'Meara, surgeon of the *Bellerophon*, was attached to his suite, instead of his own surgeon, whose health was not adequate to the voyage.

On the 8th the *Northumberland* set sail, and on the 10th cleared the British Channel. On the 11th, Napoleon obtained a last glimpse of the coast of France—the heights of Cape de la Hogue. He gazed long and anxiously on the scene; and as the land lessened in the distance, he extended towards it his hands, and exclaimed, with deep emotion, “Adieu! land of the brave! adieu, dear France! A few traitors less, and thou wilt again be the mistress of the world!”

At noon on the 23rd of September, the *Northumberland* crossed the equinoctial line; and as the admiral exempted the ex-emperor from the unpleasant ceremonies which are usual on these occasions, Napoleon, as the price of his exemption, desired to present the crew with a hundred Napoleons; but Sir George Cockburn deeming this too large a sum for a general,\* reduced the present to a tenth of the amount; an interference deemed by the emperor unjustifiable, and therefore he gave nothing.

On the 15th of October, the *Northumberland* reached St. Helena; and on the following day the ex-imperial captive was transferred to “the Briars,” a small cottage about half a mile from James Town, till

\* Napoleon treated this attempt to degrade him with the contempt it merited. “I abdicated the throne of France,” said he, “but not the title of emperor. If the people had no right to make me emperor, they were equally incapable of making me a general.”

† Schemes had been set on foot, both in America and England, for Napoleon's escape. That in Eng-

land was projected by Johnstone, the smuggler, who designed a submarine vessel, which was capable of being sunk under water for a given time, and of being raised again at pleasure, by disengaging certain weights. The vessel was begun in one of the dockyards on the Thames, but when nearly finished, was seized by the British government.

On the 10th of December, the repairs and alterations having been completed at Longwood, the household of *General* Buonaparte was transferred thither. For the safe custody of the captive, the following precautions were taken:—A subaltern's guard was posted at the entrance of Longwood, about 600 paces from the house, and a cordon of sentinels and pickets were placed round the limits. At nine o'clock the sentinels were drawn in, and stationed in communication with each other, surrounding the house in such positions that no person could come in or go out without being seen and scrutinised by them. At the entrance of the house double sentinels were placed; and patrols were continually passing backwards and forwards. After nine the ex-emperor was not at liberty to leave the house, unless in company with a field-officer; and no person was allowed to pass without the countersign. This state of affairs continued till daylight in the morning. The orderly officer was instructed to ascertain the actual presence of the ex-emperor twice in every twenty-four hours. Two ships of war continually cruised, one to windward, and one to leeward; either of which accompanied every ship, except a British man-of-war, down to the road, and remained with her till she was permitted to anchor or was sent away.†

The ex-emperor and his attendants being now settled at Longwood, the several future duties of the suite of his little court were assigned. To Bertrand was entrusted the control and superintendence of the household; to Montholon, the care of all domestic details; to Las Cases the care of the property and furniture; and to Gourgaud the direction of the stables, which soon contained ten horses, supplied from the Cape of Good Hope. Determined, as he expressed himself, to be emperor within Longwood and its little demesne, he exacted from his followers the same severe etiquette which distinguished the court of the Tuileries. All

land was projected by Johnstone, the smuggler, who designed a submarine vessel, which was capable of being sunk under water for a given time, and of being raised again at pleasure, by disengaging certain weights. The vessel was begun in one of the dockyards on the Thames, but when nearly finished, was seized by the British government.

remained uncovered and standing in his presence; and even the person who played at chess with him, sometimes continued for hours standing. The early part of the day the ex-emperor usually devoted to reading, or dictating to one or other of his suite (Las Cases, Montholon, or Gourgaud, generally), such passages of his life which he desired to preserve; and about two or three o'clock received such visitors as had permission to wait on him; or, if none such were in attendance, he took an airing in a carriage or on horseback, attended by all his suite. On returning, he again caused his amanuensis to take up the pen till dinner-time, which was about eight o'clock, and constituted, with his breakfast, his only meals.

About five years after his removal to Longwood, the ex-emperor's health began perceptibly to decline; and as he had no faith in medicine, he steadily refused to experience its appliance. "Our bodies," he said, "are machines organised for the purposes of life. Leave the life there at its ease; let it take care of itself. It will do better than if you paralyse it by loading it with medicines. We are like well-made watches, destined to go for a certain time. The watchmaker has power to open his machine, and examine it; but the doctor cannot do so: he can only meddle with it at random with his eyes bandaged. For one who, by racking it with his ill-formed instruments, succeeds in doing it any good, how many blockheads destroy it altogether." About this time the news of the death of his sister Eliza affected him deeply, and awakened the most gloomy forebodings. "Eliza," he said, "has just shown us the way. Death, which seemed to have overlooked my family, has begun to strike it. My turn cannot be far off."

O'Meara having, in the summer of 1818, been removed from his situation of medical attendant by an order procured from Lord Bathurst, at the instigation of Sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of St. Helena, on the 18th of September of the following year, Dr. Antomarchi arrived from Florence to supply his place. The same vessel which brought out that gentleman, conveyed two Italian priests, Father Bonaveta and the Abbé Vagnali, the former of whom had

been father confessor to Napoleon's mother. Both these ecclesiastics had been dispatched thither by the pope, to whom the ex-emperor's uncle (Cardinal Fesch) had made application, by his nephew's desire, to depute a priest with whom he might have communion. The priests were received by the ex-emperor with courtesy, and the rite of mass were occasionally performed at Longwood.

On the 15th of April, 1821, Napoleon commenced drawing up his will, and was occupied with it during the ten following days. At the commencement of May it was evident to all around him that life was near its close. Delirium had now supervened. At intervals he spoke of France and of his ancient comrades. "Stengel! Dessaix! Massena! Ah! hasten, urge the charge! they are ours!" were his occasional exclamations. The last words which escaped his lips were—"Tête d'armée." At eleven minutes before six on the evening of the 5th he ceased to breathe. On the 3rd, the sacrament of the extreme unction had been administered to him.\*

Napoleon had desired that "his ashes should repose on the banks of the Seine, in the midst of the French people;" and that his heart should be enclosed in a vase, and sent to Maria Louisa. But Sir Hudson Lowe, wishing to ascertain the intention of the British government on the subject, caused the heart to be placed in a silver vase, filled with spirits, and interred with his remains.

The body lay in state in the small bedroom at Longwood, during the 6th and 7th of May, clad in the uniform of the imperial guard, girt with sword and spurs, and decorated with the cordon and crosses of the legion of honour, and the iron crown; the camp bedstead on which it rested being covered by the military cloak which the emperor had worn at the battle of Marengo.

The spot selected for the interment was Slane's Valley, where Napoleon had been often accustomed to repose under the weeping willows which overhung the spring from which his Chinese domestics used to fill the silver pitchers, which they carried to Longwood for the ex-emperor's use.

On the 8th of May, the body was carried parting strength, engraved upon its lid with a pen-knife the letter "N," he presented it to his physician, and shortly after died with his right hand in that of the doctor's.

\* While the ex-emperor was on his deathbed, and Dr. Arnott in attendance on him, he desired a valuable gold snuff-box should be brought him; and saving with his dying hand, and last effort of de-

to the place of interment; the military cloak worn at Marengo serving as a pall. As the road did not admit of a near approach of the hearse to the place of sepulture, a party of English grenadiers bore the coffin to the grave. The funeral service was recited by the Abbé Vegnali; and the coffin was lowered into the grave amidst discharges of artillery and minute-guns fired from the admiral's ship. On the completion of the funeral service, a large stone was lowered down on the coffin, which bore no inscription; the late emperor's suite refusing that the plate, inscribed "General Buonaparte," should be attached.

The programme of the funeral procession was:—

Napoleon Bertrand, son of the marshal. Dr. Arnott, 20th Regiment.	The priests in full robes. Dr. Antomarchi.
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Grenadiers.	The BODY, in a car drawn by four horses.	Grenadiers.
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Twenty-four grenadiers, twelve on each side, to carry the body down the steep which the car could not enter.

Count Montholon.	Napoleon's horse, led by two servants.	Marshal Bertrand.
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\* In 1840 the Prince de Joinville proceeded to St. Helena, there to receive the remains of the late emperor. It was arranged that the old companions of Buonaparte's exile, Gourgaud, Bertrand, and Las Cases, should accompany the prince. On the 8th of October, the *Belle Poule*, the frigate sent on this expedition, reached St. Helena. The Prince de Joinville landed on the following day, and visited the tomb of Napoleon. Certain complimentary formalities having been exchanged, on the fifteenth, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the landing of the renowned exile, the grand business was proceeded with, the exhumation of his corpse. The workmen employed commenced their labours at midnight, under the immediate direction of Captain Alexander, of the royal engineers, and were continued without relaxation for upwards of nine hours. It was feared that, in spite of all efforts, and the continuance of two operations simultaneously set on foot to reach the coffin, the greater part of the day would elapse before the exhumation would be completed, and that the removal must be postponed until the next day. But at daybreak all uneasiness ceased, and by half-past nine o'clock in the morning, the earth was entirely dug out from the vault, all the horizontal stratum of masonry was removed, and the large slab which covered the internal sarcophagus was detached, and raised by means of a crane. The cemented masonry work which on every side enclosed the coffin, and which during the nineteen years that had elapsed since it was built, suffered no detriment, had so preserved it from the effects of the atmosphere and the neighbouring

Servants.	Madame Bertrand and daughter, in an open vehicle. Servants. Naval Officers. Staff Officers. Members of Council.	Servants.
General Coffin.	Marquis de Monteccheno.	
The Admiral.	The Governor.	
Servants.	Lady Lowe and daughter, in an open vehicle. Servants. Dragoons.	Servants.
	St. Helena Volunteers. St. Helena Regiment. St. Helena Artillery. 66th Regiment. Royal Mourners.	
	20th Regiment.	Royal Artillery.

In 1840, the English and French governments fulfilled the request of the late emperor, that his ashes should be deposited in his beloved France. Under the auspices of M. Thiers' administration, a request was made to the British government for the transfer of the remains of Napoleon from St. Helena to France. The body was removed with the highest military honours, and deposited on board the *Belle Poule* frigate. On reaching France, it was landed at Havre-de-Grace; and, on the 15th of December, was interred in the church of the Invalides in Paris, with extraordinary pomp and magnificence.\*

spring, that it did not appear to be in the slightest degree injured. The sarcophagus in flag-stones was perfect, and could scarcely be said to be damp. As soon as the Abbé Coquereau had recited the first prayers, the coffin was removed with the greatest care, and carried by the engineer soldiers, bare-headed, into a tent, which had been prepared for its reception. After the religious ceremonies had concluded the inner coffins were opened, at the request of the French commissioner, in order that Dr. Guillard might take the necessary measures for securing the mortal remains from any further decomposition. The outermost coffin was slightly injured; the leaden coffin was in good condition, and enclosed two others, one of wood and one of tin, the lids of which were taken off with the greatest care. The innermost coffin was lined with white satin, which, having become detached, had fallen upon the body, which it enveloped like a winding-sheet, adhering slightly to it. The anxiety with which those present waited for the moment that was to expose to them all that death had left of Napoleon, was said to be such, that it could not be described by even an eye-witness of the scene. Notwithstanding the singular state of preservation of the tomb and coffins, they could scarcely hope to find anything but some misshapen remains of the least perishable parts of the costume, to evidence the identity of the body. But when the satin sheet was raised, an indescribable feeling of surprise was exhibited by the spectators, most of whom are said to have burst into tears. The emperor himself was before their eyes; the features of his face, though

In 1817, one-fifth, or 30,000 men of the army of occupation were withdrawn from the French territory; and by virtue of the congress assembled (September, 1818) at Aix-la-Chapelle, the whole of the remainder of that army quitted France, and delivered up the fortress on the 20th of the following November; but the French Government was subjected to the payment of an additional 730,000,000 francs as an indemnity for French spoliation in the conquered countries.

On the final evacuation of France by the army of occupation, the Duke of Wellington issued his last valedictory address:—

“G.O. Cambray, 10th Nov., 1818.

“6. On the return to England of the troops which have so long served under the command of the field-marshal, he again returns his thanks for their uniform good conduct, during which they have formed part of the army of occupation.

“7. The field-marshal has, in another order addressed to the army of occupation at large, expressed his sentiments regarding the conduct of, and his obligation to, general officers and officers of that army. These are especially due to the general officers and officers of the British contingent; and he begs them to accept his best acknowledgments for the example they have given to others by their good conduct, and for the support and assistance they have invariably afforded him to maintain the discipline of the army.

“8. After a service of ten years' duration, almost without interruption with the same officers and troops, the field-marshal separates from them with regret; but he trusts that they will believe that he will never cease to feel a concern for their honour and interest.”

“G.O. Paris, 1st Dec., 1818.

“1. The field-marshal has great satisfac-

tion in publishing to the troops which have lately served under his command the following letter from his royal highness the commander-in-chief, conveying the prince-regent's gracious approbation of their conduct while serving in France:—

“Horse-Guards, 27th Nov., 1818.

“My Lord Duke,—The army of occupation having finally removed from France, I have the prince-regent's commands to convey to your grace the thanks of his royal highness for the discipline and good order which have been so successfully maintained, to the honour of the British army during the period it has been stationed in that country.

“I have frequently had occasion to address your grace, by command of the sovereign, in the language of just commendation of the brilliant victories achieved under the guidance of your genius; but though the events of peace do not furnish the grounds for conveying the warmth of expression which a sense of the distinguished actions of warfare so strongly call forth, yet the conduct of the army while stationed in the country of their former enemy, where the discipline and good order established by your grace was calculated to conciliate the inhabitants, and to uphold the character of the British arms in the view of surrounding nations, cannot fail to draw forth the prince-regent's cordial approbation and thanks, as well as the gratitude of the country, to your grace and to them.

“I am commanded to request that your grace will be pleased to make these sentiments known to the general and other officers who have been under your command, in any manner you may think proper.

“I am, &c.,

“FREDERICK,  
“Commander-in-chief.

“Field-marshal the Duke of Wellington, K.G.”

changed, were clearly recognised; the hands perfectly beautiful; his well-known costume had suffered but little, and the colours were easily distinguished; the epaulettes, the decorations, and the hat, seemed to be entirely preserved from decay; the attitude itself was full of ease, and, but for the fragments of the satin lining, which covered, as with a fine gauze, several parts of the uniform, it might have been believed that Napoleon was before them, extended on a bed of state. “At this solemn moment,” says the Prince de Joinville, “at the sight of the easily recognised remains of him who had done so much for the glory of France, the emotion was deep and unanimous.” General Bertrand and M. Marchand, who were present at the interment, pointed out the different articles which each had

deposited in the coffin; and it was even remarked that the left hand, which General Bertrand had taken to kiss for the last time, before the coffin was closed up, still remained slightly raised. Between the two legs, near the hat, were the two vases which contained the heart and the entrails. With great formality the body was carried on board the frigate, and conveyed to France, where, on the 14th of December, it was made the subject of a solemn procession, and deposited in the church of the Invalides, being received by Louis Philippe beneath the dome of the edifice in the name of France. General Bertrand and General Gourgaud placed the sword and hat of the deceased on the coffin by command of the king.

## LABÉDOYÈRE AND NEY ARE TRIED AND SHOT—ESCAPE OF LAVALETTE.

IMMEDIATELY after his return to the French capital, Louis XVIII. was urgently besieged by the victorious royalists to execute vengeance against the authors of the plot which had involved the country in all the horrors of war. Orders were accordingly given to Fouché to draw up the list of proscriptions; and on the 24th of July, 1815, a royal ordinance was issued, which named fifty-seven individuals who were not entitled to be included in the general amnesty; but nineteen only of these were pointed at as liable to be punished capitally, or tried before a military tribunal.\* The first name on the doomed list was that of Ney; the second, Labédoyère. Both Ney and Labédoyère had got timely warning of their danger; and passports and money had been provided for them by Talleyrand and Fouché, to enable them to retire from France. It has been surmised that the two latter had good reasons for wishing them out of the way. Labédoyère accompanied the army, and remained with it some days behind the Loire; but after a short time, having returned to Paris in disguise, he was arrested and handed over to a council of war. On the 12th of August he was brought to trial, charged with treason, rebellion, and for seducing his troops from their duty. It was proved that on Buonaparte's return, he was sent to Grenoble to oppose the ex-emperor, but instead of doing so, had raised the cry of "*Vive l'Empereur*," and the standard of Buonaparte, and called upon his soldiers to revolt. In his defence, he said he might have been misled by false ideas of honour, but he denied that he had been connected with any plot that preceded the return of Buonaparte. He said—"If on this important day my life alone were compromised, I should abandon myself to the encouraging idea that he who has sometimes led brave men to death, would know how to march to death himself like a brave man; and I should not detain you. But my honour is attacked as well as my life, and it is my duty to defend it, because it does not belong to me alone; a wife, the model of every virtue, has a right to demand an account of it from me. Shall my son, when

reason comes to enlighten him, blush at his inheritance? I feel strength enough to resist the most terrible attacks, if I am able to say, honour is untouched! I may have been deceived; misled by illusions, by recollections, by false ideas of honour; it is possible that country spoke a chimerical language to my heart. Appointed colonel of a regiment, I wished only to occupy myself in my military duties. I wished, above all, to inspire my soldiers with an *esprit de corps*. Never should I have attempted to make them forget the warrior who had so often led them to victory; but I know also the names of exploits of the great men who have rendered the family of the Bourbons illustrious, and I should have made it a duty and pleasure to teach them to my troops. I do not conceal that I set off with sad *presentiments*, but Napoleon was far from my thoughts. I had foreseen that France, untouched and united, would resume for three months, under a new *régime*, a political attitude. I had not foreseen this coalition of all Europe, against which the army, protector of the territory, would again fight under Buonaparte. But I was a victim to a vague uneasiness, of which, nevertheless, I could explain, and perhaps justify, the cause. Ah! if my voice could have that solemn character which, they say, the feeblest accents assume in the moment of death, my reflections might still be useful to futurity! I confess with grief my error, I confess it with anguish when I cast my eyes on my country. My fault consisted in having misunderstood the intentions of the king, and his return has opened my eyes. I shall not be permitted to enjoy the spectacle of the constitution completed, and France, still a great nation, united around its king. But I have shed my blood for my country; and I wish to persuade myself that my death, preceded by the abjuration of my errors, may be useful to France; that my name will not be held in detestation, and that when my son may be of an age to serve his country, he will not be ashamed of his father's name." Labédoyère was found guilty, and sentenced to die. His wife, attired in mourning, got an opportu-

\* The names of those who were to be delivered to the proper military tribunals for immediate trial, and who were liable to be punished capitally, were—Marshal Ney, Labédoyère, the two brothers Lalle-

and, Drouet, D'Erlon, Lefebvre Desnottes, Ameil, Braffer, Gilly, Mouton, Duvernet, Grouchy, Clausel, Deville, Bertrand, Drouot, Cambronne, Lavalette and Rovigo.

nity of throwing herself at the king's feet, and raised her voice to call for pardon. Louis replied in compassionate language, that it was painful to reject her prayer, but France demanded the punishment of the man who had brought upon her a renewal of the scourges of war. He promised his protection to the supplicant and her child. Labédoyère was allowed an appeal to a court of revision. By that body the judgment was confirmed, and he was sentenced to die the same evening. Led to the plain of Grenelle, he received on his knees the benediction of his confessor; when, rising,

\* In justice to the military fame of Marshal Ney, we give his letter entire:—

*A Letter from the Prince of the Moskwa (Marshal Ney) to his Excellency the Duke of Otranto.*—“M. le Duc,—The most false and defamatory reports have been publicly circulated for some days, respecting the conduct which I have pursued during this short and unfortunate campaign. The journals have repeated these odious calumnies, and appear to lend them credit. After having fought during twenty-five years for my country, after having shed my blood for its glory and independence, an attempt is made to accuse me of treason, and maliciously to mark me out to the people, and the army itself, as the author of the disaster it has just experienced. Compelled to break silence, while it is always painful to speak of oneself, and particularly to repel calumnies, I address myself to you, sir, as the president of the provisional government, in order to lay before you a brief and faithful relation of the events I have witnessed. On the 11th of June, I received an order from the minister of war to repair to the imperial head-quarters. I had no command, and no information upon the force and composition of the army. Neither the emperor nor his minister had given me any previous hint from which I could anticipate that I should be employed in the present campaign; I was consequently taken unprepared, without horses, without equipage, and without money, and I was obliged to borrow the necessary expenses of my journey. I arrived on the 12th at Laon, on the 13th at Avesnes, and on the 14th at Beaumont. I purchased in this last city two horses from the Duke of Treviso, with which I proceeded on the 15th to Charleroi, accompanied by my first aide-de-camp, the only officer I had with me. I arrived at the moment when the enemy, attacked by our light troops, was retreating upon Fleurus and Gosselies. The emperor immediately ordered me to put myself at the head of the 1st and 2nd corps of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-generals d'Erlon and Reille, of the divisions of light cavalry of Lieutenant-general Pire, of the division of light cavalry of the guard, under the command of Lieutenant-generals Lefebvre Desnouettes and Colbert, and of two divisions of cavalry of Count Valmy, forming altogether eight divisions of infantry and four of cavalry. With these troops, a part of which only I had, as yet, under my immediate command, I pursued the enemy, and forced him to evacuate Gosselies, Frasnès, Millet, and Heppiegnies. There I took up a position for the night, with the exception of the 1st corps, which was still at Marchiennes, and which did

without waiting for his eyes to be bandaged, he threw open his bosom to the soldiers who were to be his executioners, and called to them, “Be sure you do not miss me.” They fired, and he was in a moment lifeless.

The next person of note who was brought to trial was Marshal Ney. After the defeat of the French army at Waterloo, he returned to Paris, where, on the 22nd of June, he wrote the letter to the Duke of Otranto descriptive of that celebrated battle, in which he cleared himself from the imputations which had been cast upon him in the bulletin published by Napoleon.\*

not join me until the following day. On the 16th, I was ordered to attack the English in their position at Les Quatre Bras. We advanced towards the enemy with an enthusiasm difficult to be described. Nothing could resist our impetuosity. The battle became general, and victory was no longer doubtful, when, at the moment that I intended to bring up the 1st corps of infantry, which had been left by me in reserve at Frasnès, I learned that the emperor had disposed of it without acquainting me of the circumstance, as well as of the division of Girard, of the 2nd corps, that he might direct them upon St. Amand, and to strengthen his left wing, which was warmly engaged with the Prussians. The shock which this intelligence gave confounded me. Having now under my command only three divisions, instead of eight, upon which I calculated, I was obliged to renounce the hopes of victory; and, in spite of all my efforts, notwithstanding the intrepidity and devotion of my troops, I could not do more than maintain myself in my position till the close of the day. About nine o'clock, the 1st corps was returned to me by the emperor, to whom it had been of no service. Thus twenty-five or thirty thousand men were absolutely paralysed, and were idly paraded, during the whole of the battle, from the right to the left, and the left to the right, without firing a shot. I cannot help suspending these details for a moment to call your attention to all the melancholy consequences of this false movement, and, in general, of the bad disposition during the whole of the day. By what fatality, for example, did the emperor, instead of directing all his forces against Lord Wellington, who would have been taken unawares, and could not have resisted, consider this attack as secondary? How could the emperor, after the passage of the Sambre, conceive it possible to fight two battles on the same day? It was to oppose forces double ours, and to do what the military men who were witnesses of it can scarcely yet comprehend. Instead of this, had he left a corps of observation to watch the Prussians, and marched with his most powerful masses to support me, the English army would, undoubtedly, have been destroyed between Les Quatre Bras and Genappe; and that position, which separated the two allied armies, being once in our power, would have afforded the emperor an opportunity of outflanking the right of the Prussians, and of crushing them in their turn. The general opinion in France, and especially in the army, was, that the emperor would have bent his whole efforts to annihilate first the English army; and circumstances were favour-

Marshal Ney had been urged by Talleyrand and Fouché to leave France with all possible dispatch, and Talleyrand got his

able for the accomplishment of such a project: but fate ordered it otherwise. On the 17th, the army marched in the direction of Mont St. Jean. On the 18th, the battle began at one o'clock, and though the bulletin which details it makes no mention of me, it is not necessary for me to mention that I was engaged in it. Lieutenant-general Count Drouot has already spoken of that battle in the house of peers. His narration is accurate, with the exception of some important facts which he has passed over in silence, or of which he was ignorant, and which it is now my duty to declare. About seven o'clock in the evening, after the most frightful carnage which I have ever witnessed, General Labédoyère came to me with a message from the emperor, that Marshal Grouchy had arrived on our right, and attacked the left of the English and Prussians united. This general officer, in riding along the lines, spread this intelligence among the soldiers, whose courage and devotion remained unshaken, and who gave new proofs of them at that moment, in spite of the fatigue which they experienced. Immediately after, what was my astonishment, I should rather say indignation, when I learned, that so far from Marshal Grouchy having arrived to support us, as the whole army had been assured, between forty and fifty thousand Prussians attacked our extreme right, and forced it to retire. Whether the emperor was deceived as to the time when the marshal could support him, or whether the march of the marshal was retarded by the efforts of the enemy longer than was calculated upon, the fact is, that at the moment when his arrival was announced to us, he was only at Wavre upon the Dyle, which to us was the same as if he had been a hundred leagues from the field of battle. A short time afterwards, I saw four regiments of the middle guard, conducted by the emperor, arriving. With these troops he wished to renew the attack, and to penetrate the centre of the enemy. He ordered me to lead them on; generals, officers, and soldiers all displayed the greatest intrepidity; but this body of troops was too weak to resist, for a long time, the forces opposed to it by the enemy, and it was soon necessary to renounce the hope which this attack had for a few moments inspired. General Friant had been struck with a ball by my side, and I myself had my horse killed, and fell under it. The brave men who will return from this terrible battle will, I hope, do me the justice to say they saw me on foot with sword in hand during the whole of the evening, and that I only quitted the scene of carnage among the last, and at the moment when retreat could no longer be prevented. At the same time, the Prussians continued their offensive movements, and our right sensibly retired; the English advanced in their turn. There remained to us still four squares of the old guard to protect the retreat. These brave grenadiers, the choice of the army, forced successively to retire, yielded ground foot by foot, till overwhelmed by numbers, they were almost annihilated. From that moment retrograde movement was declared, and the army formed nothing but a confused mass. There was not, however, a total rout, nor the cry of *sauve qui peut*, as has been calumniously stated in the bulletin. As for myself, constantly in the rear-guard, which I followed on foot,

fictitious passport, countersigned by the commander of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Switzerland. His capture was

having all my horses killed, worn out with fatigue, covered with contusions, and having no longer strength to march, I owe my life to a corporal, who supported me on the road, and did not abandon me during the retreat. At eleven at night I found Lieutenant-general Lefebvre Desnouettes; and one of his officers, Major Schmidt, had the generosity to give me the only horse that remained to him. In this manner I arrived at Marchienne-au-Pont at four o'clock in the morning, alone, without any officers of my staff, ignorant of what had become of the emperor, who before the end of the battle had entirely disappeared, and who, I was allowed to believe, might be either killed or taken prisoner. General Pamphile Lacroix, chief of the staff of the 2nd corps, whom I found in this city, having told me that the emperor was at Charleroi, I was led to suppose that his majesty was going to put himself at the head of Marshal Grouchy's corps, to cover the Sambre, and to facilitate to the troops the means of rallying towards Avesnes, and, with this persuasion, I went to Beaumont; but parties of cavalry following on too near, and having already intercepted the roads of Maubeuge and Philippeville, I became sensible of the total impossibility of arresting a single soldier on that point to oppose the progress of the victorious enemy. I continued my march upon Avesnes, where I could obtain no intelligence of what had become of the emperor. In this state of matters, having no knowledge of his majesty nor of the major-general, confusion increasing every moment, and, with the exception of some fragments of regiments of the guard and of the line, every one followed his own inclination, I determined immediately to go to Paris by St. Quentin, to disclose, as quickly as possible, the true state of affairs to the minister of war, that he might send to the army some fresh troops, and take the measures which circumstances rendered necessary. At my arrival at Bourget, three leagues from Paris, I learned that the emperor had passed there at nine o'clock in the morning. Such, M. le Duc, is a history of the calamitous campaign. Now I ask those who have survived this fine and numerous army, how I can be accused of the disasters of which it has been the victim, and of which your military annals furnish no example? I have, it is said, betrayed my country—I who, to serve it, have shown a zeal which I perhaps have carried to an extravagant height: but this calumny is supported by no fact, by no circumstance. But how can these odious reports, which spread with frightful rapidity, be arrested? If, in the researches which I could make on this subject, I did not fear almost as much to discover as to be ignorant of the truth, I should say, that all was a tendency to convince that I have been unworthily deceived, and that it is attempted to cover, with the pretence of treason, the faults and extravagancies of this campaign; faults which have not been avowed in the bulletins that have appeared, and against which I have in vain raised that voice of truth which I will yet cause to resound in the house of peers. I expect, from the candour of your excellency, and from your indulgence to me, you will cause this letter to be inserted in the *Journal*, and give it the greatest possible publicity.—MARSHAL PRINCE OF MOSKWA."

much desired by many royalists; and one Locard, a prefect of police, had the fortune to discover him in a mean *auberge*, situated in the Cantal, in the wildest part of old Auvergne, one of the most mountainous regions in France. Ney was discovered through his wearing a magnificent sabre, which had been presented to him by Napoleon on the occasion of his marriage. He was conveyed to Paris, and lodged in the Abbaye. He was examined by a prefect of police, when his answers are described to have been incoherent and strange. He spoke of the 13th of March as that fatal day when he lost his head; that he had been dragged into the plot, and could not help it. A question was raised, whether he should be tried by the Chamber of Peers or by a court-martial. The decision was that he should be tried before the latter, as his name had been erased from the list of peers, since his defection from the royal cause. Marshal Moncey, who was president of that court, declined to preside or to attend on the trial.\* That office was, in consequence, filled by Marshal Jourdain, who had commanded for Joseph Buonaparte at Vittoria; marshals Massena, Augereau, and Mortier, with generals Gazan, Claparede, and Villette, and Field-marshal Grundner, were members of the court. The counsel for the prisoner insisted that the court was not competent to try a case like that, and a majority of its members decided that the objection was good, and that the offending marshal could only be called upon to answer for his alleged treason before the Chamber of Peers. In consequence of this, which took place on the 9th of November, two days afterwards, the act of accusation and the royal ordinance were presented to the chamber by the Duke of Richelieu, who, addressing the peers, said—“It is not only in the name of the king that we discharge this duty—it is in the name of France, long indignant, and now stupified; it is even in the name of Europe that we at once conjure and require you to undertake the trial of Marshal Ney. We accuse him before you of high treason and crimes against the state. The Chamber of Peers owes to the world a conspicuous reparation; and it should be prompt if it is to be effectual. The king's ministers are obliged to say that this decision of the

council of war has become a triumph to the factions. We conjure you, then, and in the name of the king require you, in terms of the ordinance of his majesty, to proceed to the trial of Marshal Ney.” The trial proceeded accordingly, MM. Berryer and Dupin being the advocates for the defence. It was impossible for the advocates of Ney to deny the facts proved against him in reference to his betrayal of the cause of Louis; in fact, the most important of them were admitted by himself. They therefore confined their defence of the accused to the protection afforded him by the twelfth article of the convention entered into by the allied generals at St. Cloud, for the capitulation of Paris. Marshal Davoust, General Guillimont, and M. Bignon, deposed that this article was intended to cover the military as well as the ordinary inhabitants of Paris. Marshal Davoust said—“I added to the convention articles relative to the safety of persons and property, and I specially charged the commission to break off the conferences if these were not ratified.” Upon this evidence being given, Marshal Ney exclaimed—“The declaration was so protecting, that it was upon that I relied. Without it, is it to be believed that I would not have preferred dying sword in hand? It is in contradiction to this capitulation that I was arrested, and it was on the faith of it I remained in France.”

Notwithstanding the efforts of the counsel of the accused, the court held that they could listen to no defence founded on the military convention of July 3rd, as the convention was concluded between foreign generals and a provisional government not emanating from the king, and to which he was an entire stranger; so much so, that in twenty-two days after the convention, he signed an ordinance, directing that a certain number of individuals should be brought to trial, and this ordinance was signed by the minister who had been president of the provisional government. Defeated on this point, M. Berryer objected that Marshal Ney was no longer a Frenchman. He said—“My client is not only under the protection of the French laws—he is under the protection of the law of nations. I speak not of the convention, but of the limits traced by the treaty of the 20th of November, which certainly is an act solemn and legal, which we may invoke, since it is to that we owe the happy peace we now enjoy. The treaty of the 20th of November, in

\* In consequence of Marshal Moncey's refusal to attend on the trial, he was punished by three months' imprisonment.

tracing a new line round France, has left on the right Sarrebruck, the country of the marshal. The marshal, Frenchman as he is in heart, is no longer a Frenchman since the treaty."

Marshal Ney, much affected, and with vehemence, exclaimed—"Yes, I am a Frenchman! I will die a Frenchman! I beg his excellency to hear what I have to say. Hitherto my defence has been free; I perceive it is wished to render it otherwise. I thank my counsel for what they have done, and are ready to do; but desire them rather to cease defending me at all than to defend me imperfectly. I had rather not be defended at all than have the mere shadow of a defence. I am accused against the faith of treaties, and they will not let me justify myself. I will act like Moreau! I appeal to Europe and to posterity!"

*The President.*—"Gentlemen, defenders of the accused, continue the defence by confining yourselves within the circle marked out for you. The Chamber of Peers, in its wisdom, will appreciate the means you shall deem to be most suitable."

*Marshal Ney.*—"I forbid my counsel from saying a word more. Your excellency will give what orders you please. The chamber may judge me. But I forbid my counsel to speak, unless they are permitted to make use of all the means in their power."

A profound silence reigned for a short time in the chamber.

M. Bellart, after a conference with the king's ministers, rose.—"We have a right, and it is our duty to refute the captious means that have been resorted to; but since the marshal renounces all further defence, we renounce the right of reply. I shall now present the requisition, upon which the chamber will retire to deliberate. To condemn Marshal Ney, Marshal of France, Duke of Elchingen, Prince of the Moskwa, to the penalty declared in the said dispositions, in the form prescribed by the decree of the 12th of May, 1793."

*President.*—"Accused, have you anything to say on the application of the penalty?"

*Marshal Ney* (rising and with a firm tone).—"Not another word, my lord."

The chamber, at half-past eleven o'clock, on the night of the 6th of December, pronounced their solemn decision, which sentenced Ney to death. In favour of that sentence, 138 votes had been given; against

it, 22. Of the minority, seventeen peers were in favour of transportation, and five declined giving any vote.

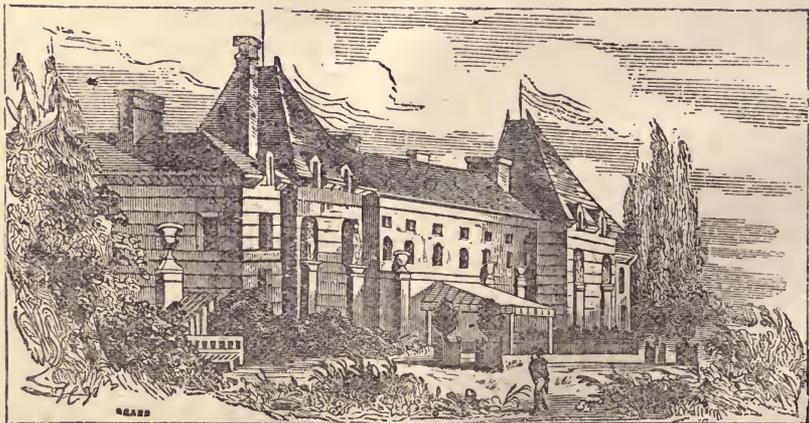
A great sensation was created in Paris by the decision of the peers. At midnight, a council was held on the subject at the Tuileries, at which some of the members wished that a reprieve might be granted; but the king, in this case, could see no ground for mercy, and the sentence was carried into effect at nine o'clock the next morning. Ney was conducted to the gardens of the Luxembourg palace. He was taken thither in a hackney-coach, from which, having descended, a detachment of *gens-d'armes* and two platoons of veterans, appeared drawn up to receive him. He resigned himself to his fate, with the courage of a man who had been accustomed to brave death. He advanced a step towards those who were to fire, and, exclaiming "*Vive la France!*" met the bullets which instantly numbered him with the dead.

The lady of the unfortunate marshal called upon the Duke of Wellington to interfere in favour of her husband; insisting upon it, as a matter of right, that his grace was bound in honour, and by his own act, to protect her husband. The duke was reported, by her, to have answered that he had nothing to do with the government of the King of France, and it was not in his power to stop the course of justice.

Lavalette was the next person of importance who was brought to trial. He had been the director-general of the post-office under Buonaparte, and had favoured the return from Elba. Louis XVIII., when forced to fly from his capital, had not left the Tuileries more than two hours, when Lavalette took possession of the general post-office in Paris, secured the letters and the money there, and sent forthwith a circular to all the postmasters of France, to inform them that Buonaparte was returning to his capital, and would be at the Tuileries in a few hours. He added, that the return of the emperor had been hailed with enthusiastic delight; and let the friends of the Bourbons do what they would, there was no danger of a civil war. Lavalette was arrested in Paris, and tried in the Cour d'Assises on the 22nd of November. The jury found him guilty, and he was doomed to die. Great interest was excited by the efforts which Madame Lavalette made to save her husband. Through the favour of

Marshal Marmont, she appeared before the king, and humbly entreated that he might be pardoned. Louis spoke kindly, but gave her no reason to expect that the offender would be spared. A plan was then formed to enable him to escape. He was to die on the 22nd of December, and the 21st had arrived, when Madame Lavalette, accompanied by her daughter, visited him in the Conciergerie, and made such an exchange of dress with him, that while he, his face concealed with an air of feminine dejection, passed from the prison, was not suspected to be other than a woman, she remained in his cell or dungeon, and for some moments was supposed to be the doomed criminal. Lavalette having passed from the prison, there was great danger of his being recaptured, when an Englishman, Mr. Michael Bruce, with his friend Sir Robert Wilson, and a Captain Hutchinson, contrived to obtain passports for him; and wearing the uniform of an English general, he was enabled to leave Paris. Still assisted by his English friends, the police on the lookout for him were deceived. When near Compiègne, some of Lavalette's gray hairs stealing from beneath the youthful wig he wore, threatened to betray his disguise. They were observed by Wilson, who, with a pair of scissors, effectually removed these evidences of his true quality. They crossed the frontier, and having reached Mons, the danger was considered to be at an end, and Sir Robert Wilson then returned with all haste to Paris, the affair having been managed in about sixty hours. Suspicion fell upon him, and a letter in its passage through

the post-office, addressed to Earl Grey, was opened, and found to contain a narrative of the whole proceeding. In consequence of this, Wilson, Bruce, and Hutchinson were apprehended, and confined in the Conciergerie, and subsequently brought to trial. Being convicted, they were sentenced to three months' imprisonment, having been incarcerated for a like period before trial. Madame Lavalette was not molested for the part she had taken, as it was held a wife was justified in doing all she could to save the life of her husband. The heroic devotion of the lady has been justly eulogised. Her part was admirably performed; and all kindly natures, whatever their politics, rejoiced in her triumph. It is afflicting to add, the great excitement attendant on the virtuous struggle, was more than the mind of the amiable Madame Lavalette could endure. Her object gained, she sunk into imbecility, and was denied to enjoy the happiness she had promised herself in the society of him she had saved. Though Lavalette was restored by royal mercy to his family, she who had rescued him, bereft of reason, was unconscious of his presence. Sir Robert Wilson and Hutchinson, as British officers, were officially censured by the prince-regent for interfering with the internal affairs of France. This was deemed a serious impropriety; but his royal highness, in consideration of the extraordinary situation in which they had been placed, forebore to inflict any further punishment than this reproof was intended to convey.



MALMAISON.



CASTLE AT PORTO FERRAJO, NAPOLEON'S RESIDENCE AT ELBA.

## AFFAIRS OF NAPLES--DEATH OF MURAT.

WHILE Napoleon was pursuing his triumphant progress, his brother-in-law, Murat, doubting the intention of the Holy Alliance congress to confirm his title to the crown of Naples, determined to unite his fortunes with the emperor. With this intent, he marched at the head of 50,000 men to Rome, from which the pope and the cardinals fled precipitately on his approach. The Neapolitans then advanced into the north of Italy, scattering proclamations, by which Murat invited all true Italians to rally round him, and assist in the erection of Italy into one kingdom, with himself at its head. The Austrian commander in Lombardy immediately advanced to oppose him. The hostile armies met at Occhiobello. The Neapolitan army fled in confusion almost at the sight of their enemies; and, on the 27th of April, it had fallen back as far as Pesaro. The Austrian general, Bianchi, was now marching with celerity from Bologna through Florence and Foligno, in order to occupy the direct road from Ancona to Naples, and thereby to turn the positions of the Neapolitan army. On the 2nd of May he took a position in front of Tolentino, which rendered it necessary for Murat to venture a battle for the purpose of securing a retreat to the Neapolitan frontier. Advancing from Macerata, with a much superior force, on the same day he attacked the positions of Bianchi, and the contest continued till the approach of night. On the following morning the attacks were renewed with great vigour, and were resisted with equal obstinacy, till night again put an end to the combat. The arrival of Count

Niepperg at Jesi, now obliged the Neapolitans to commence a precipitate retreat in the direction of Ferino, in order to gain the road along the sea-coast to Pescara. General Nugent, who had entered Rome, marched from that capital in the beginning of May, towards the Neapolitan frontier on that side, the enemy retiring before him. They were at length driven beyond the Garigliano to San Germano, to which they were followed by the Austrian advanced guard. On the 14th, Murat arrived at San Germano, and his troops being considerably reinforced, he drove back the advanced guard, and afterwards attacked all the Austrian outposts. On the 15th he began again to retire, and returning with a small escort to San Germano, he soon left that place. Nugent, resuming the offensive, advanced against the enemy, who were posted on the banks of the Melfa, which they quitted on his approach. They afterwards left San Germano to their pursuers and fell back to Mignano, where they drew up in force. In that position they were attacked and put to the rout; and thus the Neapolitan army, named that of the interior, was entirely broken up. On the 18th, a junction was formed at the Austrian camp, near Calvi, of Bianchi's army with that of Nugent, who had now no opponents in the field, the wretched remains of the Neapolitan army being reduced, chiefly by desertion, to a dispirited band of about 16,000 effective soldiers of all kinds.

Meanwhile, in consequence of arrangements made between Lord Burghersh, the English minister at Florence, and Captain Campbell, of the *Tremendous* man-of-war,

the latter, in the beginning of May, sailed with his ship, accompanied by a frigate and a sloop of war, to the Bay of Naples. On his arrival he declared to the Neapolitan government, that unless the ships of war were surrendered to him, he would bombard the town. Madame Murat immediately sent Prince Carrati to negotiate for the surrender. The terms dictated by Captain Campbell were, that the ships of the line in the bay should be given up; that the arsenal of Naples should be delivered over, and an inventory taken of its actual state; and that these captures should be at the joint disposal of the English government and of Ferdinand IV. of Naples. The ships were then taken possession of, and were sent off to Sicily. The following convention was then entered into between the belligerents:—

Art 1. From the day in which the present military convention shall have been signed, there shall be an armistice between the allied troops and the Neapolitan troops in all parts of the kingdom of Naples.

2. All fortified places, citadels, and forts of the kingdom of Naples, shall be given up in their actual state, as well as the seaports and arsenals of all kinds, to the armies of the allied powers, at the periods fixed upon in the following article, for the purpose of being made over to his majesty King Ferdinand IV., excepting such of them as may before that period have already been surrendered. The places of Gaeta, Pescara, and Ancona, which are already blockaded by the land and sea forces of the allied powers, not being in the line of operations of the army under the general-in-chief Carascosa, he declares himself unable to decide upon their fate, as the officers commanding them are independent, and not under his orders.

3. The periods for the surrender of the fortresses, and for the march of the Austrian army upon Naples, are fixed as follows:—Capua shall be given up on the 21st of May, at noon: on that day the Austrian army will take its position on the Canal de Reggi Lagui. On the 22nd day of May, the Austrian army will occupy a position in the line of Averse, Fragola, Meleto, and Juliano. The Neapolitan troops will march on that day upon Salerno, which place they will reach in two days, and concentrate their head-quarters in the town and its environs, in order to wait the decision of their future destiny. On the 23rd of May, the allied army will take possession of the city, citadel, and all the forts of Naples.

4. All the other fortresses, citadels, and forts (the above-mentioned excepted), situated within the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, such as Scylla, Omandea, Reggio, Brindisi, Manfredonia, &c., shall be likewise surrendered to the allied armies, as well as all the depôts of artillery, arsenals, magazines, and military establishments of every kind, from the moment that this convention shall reach the said places.

5. The garrisons will march out with all the honours of war, arms and baggage, clothing of the several corps, the papers relative to the administra-

tion; without artillery. The engineers and artillery officers of these places shall make over to officers of the allied armies, named for this purpose, all papers, plans, and inventories of effects belonging to both departments pendent thereon.

6. Particular arrangements will be concluded between the respective commandants of the said places, and the generals or officers commanding the allied troops, as to the manner of evacuating the fortified places, as well as for what regards the sick and wounded, who will be left in the hospitals, and for the means of transport which will be furnished to them.

7. The Neapolitan commandants of the said places are responsible for the preservation of the magazines within them at the moment of their being made over; and they shall be given up, in military order, as well as everything which is contained within the fortresses.

8. Staff-officers of the allied and Neapolitan armies shall be immediately dispatched to the different places above-mentioned, in order to make known to the commandants these stipulations, and to convey to them the necessary instructions for putting them into execution.

9. After the occupation of the capital, the remainder of the territory of the kingdom of Naples shall be wholly surrendered to the allies.

10. His excellency the general-in-chief, Baron de Carascosa, engages, until the moment of the entry of the allied army into the capital of Naples, to superintend the preservation of all the public property of the state without exception.

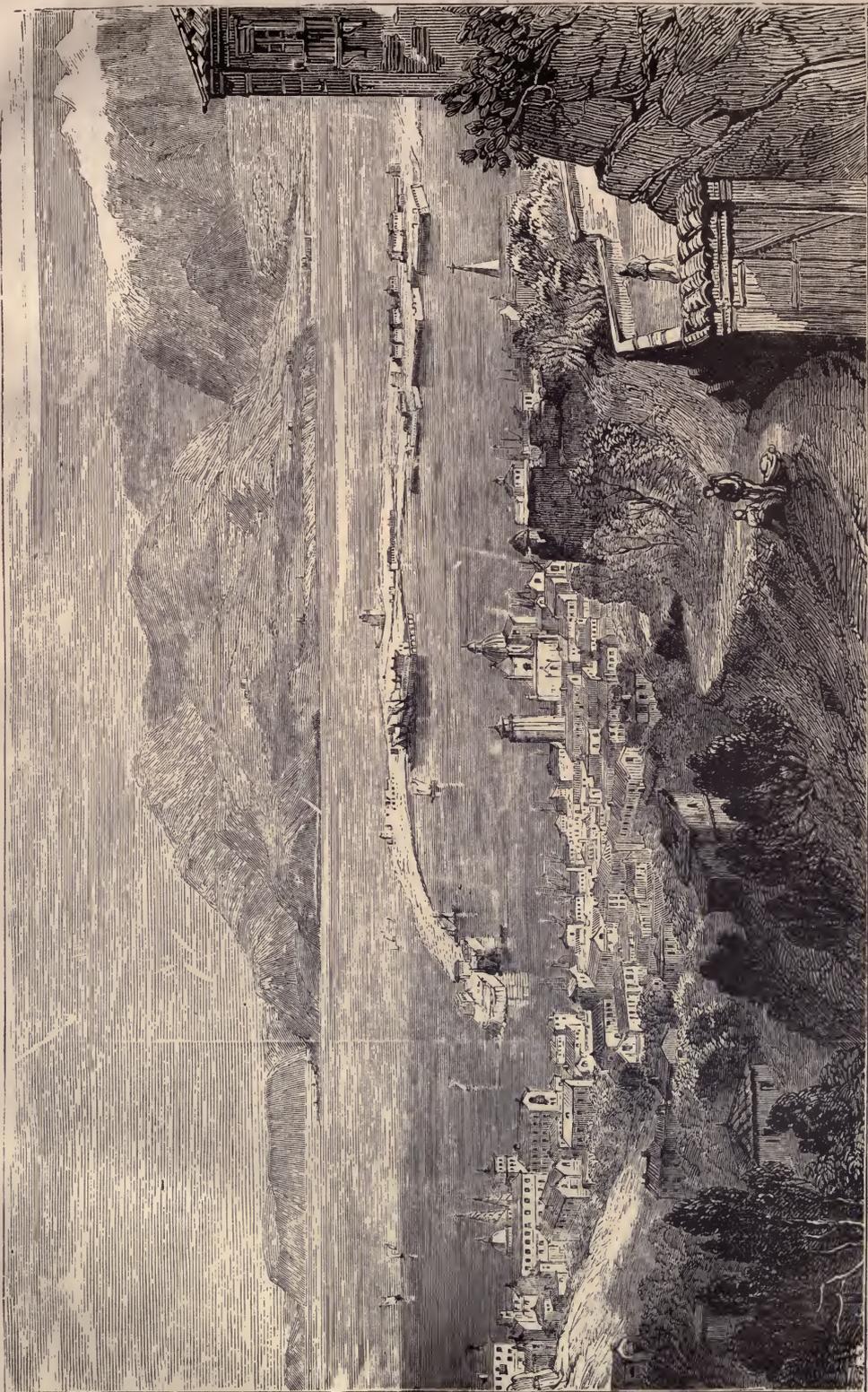
11. The allied army engages to take measures in order to avoid all kind of civil disorder, and to occupy the Neapolitan territory in the most peaceable manner.

12. All prisoners of war that have reciprocally been made during this campaign, as well by the allied armies as by the Neapolitan army, shall be given up on both sides.

13. Permission will be granted to all foreigners, or Neapolitans, to leave the kingdom, with legal passports, during the space of a month from the present date. The sick or wounded must make a similar application within the same period.

The disturbances which broke out in Naples caused the possession of it by the allies to be anticipated by one day. By the convention they were to have been placed in possession of it on the 23rd; but the popular feeling had so strongly manifested itself against the then existing government, on the 20th and 21st, that Murat left the town in disguise, and his wife sought the security which had been assured her on board a British man-of-war. General Carascosa sent to General Bianchi, requesting he would prevent the misfortunes with which the town was menaced, by entering it immediately; and Madame Murat, by the same request to Admiral Lord Exmouth, who had arrived in the bay, prevailed upon him to land a body of 500 marines to maintain tranquillity.

General Bianchi's cavalry occupied Naples on the night of the 22nd; and, on that day,



GENERAL VIEW OF MESSINA.



Prince Leopold, of Sicily, entered at the head of the Austrian troops in the midst of general acclamations. He requested that all the authorities of the kingdom, the ministers of state, and the officers of the army, should remain at their posts until they received the orders of King Ferdinand. Madame Murat sailed in the *Tremendous* for Gaeta, to receive her children, who had been sent thither for safety. She was afterwards conveyed into the Austrian territories. On the 23rd, the English and Sicilian expedition, consisting of about 6,000 troops, under the command of General Macfarlane, appeared in the Bay of Naples. King Ferdinand had previously issued a proclamation to the Neapolitans.

The King of the Two Sicilies, after an absence of nine years, made his entrance into Naples on the 17th of June, and was greeted with great enthusiasm. Murat escaped to France, and landed at Cannes on the 25th of May.

Murat afterwards fixed his residence at Toulon, where he continued till the restoration of the Bourbons, when he was persecuted and proscribed. He had hired a vessel at Toulon on the intelligence of their arrival, by which he might effect his escape; but the ship sailed without him, carrying away all his effects and attendants. He was left completely destitute, and wandered about more than a fortnight in the woods, subsisting on a few pieces of brown bread, which he obtained from the humanity of the neighbouring shepherds. He at length threw himself on the mercy of the inmates of a small villa near Toulon, where he remained concealed more than a month, indebted for his daily food to the benevolence of two naval officers. While he remained in concealment, he wrote repeatedly and ineffectually to some friends at Paris, claiming their interference and protection. His letters were either intercepted or neglected. The place of his retreat was now discovered. A band of more than sixty armed men surrounded the house, and he had scarcely time to escape to an adjoining vineyard, carrying with him two brace of pistols, and resolved to sell his life as dearly as possible, and to die rather than fall into the power of his enemies. They passed him, threatening vengeance, as he lay concealed in the thick foliage. The search was continued several days without success, and a reward was set upon his head. He tremblingly stole from his retreat every night, and received some scanty and pre-

carious subsistence from the officers, who would not even now desert him; and at length he was enabled, by their means, to escape to Bastia in Corsica. They were immediately cashiered and thrown into prison.

From Bastia he removed to Ajaccio, where he was joined by many of his friends. An offer was here made, by the court of Austria, to grant him an honourable and safe retreat in any part of the Austrian dominions, on condition of his renouncing for ever the Neapolitan throne. To this he pretended to consent, that he might better conceal his real intentions. He had been informed of the unpopularity of Ferdinand; he believed that he was beloved by every class of his former subjects; and he had received many invitations to return and resume his kingdom. In vain his confidential friends endeavoured to dissuade him from the rash enterprise; in vain they represented the improbability of his first success, and the total impossibility of resisting the overwhelming force which Austria and England would bring upon him. He replied, that "he could not submit to the humiliating conditions imposed upon him; that there was neither moderation nor justice in compelling him to live in perpetual captivity under the arbitrary laws of a despotic government; that this was not the respect due to an unfortunate monarch who had been formerly acknowledged by all Europe, and who, in a most critical period, had undertaken the campaign of 1814 in favour of those very powers that now, contrary to their own interests, conspired to crush him; that England and Austria would have nothing to fear from him; that he would not have driven the Austrians beyond the Po, had he not known that it was their determination to attack him; that it could not now be attributed to him, that he would unite himself with Napoleon, who was an exile on the rocks of St. Helena; that England and Austria might expect from him many advantages, for which they would in vain look from the person by whom he was supplanted; that the majority of his subjects ardently expected his return, and that he was resolved to place himself at their head; that he had often exposed himself to death in its most frightful forms, and that he was not afraid once more to defy it in the attempt to regain his rights, and deliver himself from undeserved oppression; and that his only fears were for his beloved family."

On the 28th of September, Murat with his followers, numbering 250 men and about thirty officers, embarked on board six small feluccas; but the expedition did not arrive in sight of the mountains of Calabria before the evening of the 6th of October. Having cast anchor, Colonel Ottaviani was sent ashore to ascertain the feeling of the people, and to learn what military force there was in the neighbourhood. No sooner had the colonel and his attendant landed than they were arrested: This ill-omened commencement discouraged the remainder of the expedition; and, during the night, the whole of the vessels, except the one in which Murat himself was, slipped their cables, and disappeared. Finding himself thus deserted, the ex-monarch proposed to his captain to make sail for Trieste, for which place he had passports and a safe-conduct from the Emperor of Austria; but this he refused to do, on the plea that he had not provisions for so long a voyage. An angry altercation then ensued, and Murat determined at once to land. His officers then dressed themselves in their uniforms, and the wind being fair, they steered into the bay of Pizzo. When they approached the shore, his generals wished to precede him on leaving the vessel; but Murat exclaiming that the precedence, as well as the responsibility, belonged to him, boldly leaped ashore.

Attracted by the novelty of the scene, groups of peasants were gathered to the spot to witness the disembarkation. Murat was soon recognised; and the officers who accompanied him raised their hats, and shouted "*Vive le Roi Joachim.*" The people, however, showed no symptoms of declaring in his favour. Meanwhile the news of the landing soon spread; and the inhabitants of Pizzo, under the direction of the agent of the Duke del Infantado, prepared to oppose his advance. He then directed his steps to the fortress of Monteleone, where it was hoped the garrison would be more favourably inclined towards him. In this, however, he was deceived. As the little party proceeded on their way, they were met by Trenta Capelli, then a colonel of the royal *gendarmerie*, but who had formerly been one of the most celebrated of the Calabrian chiefs, and whose three brothers had been slain on the scaffold by the French. Murat used all his eloquence to persuade Capelli to join him, but in vain; and at the same moment a crowd of armed men advanced from Pizzo, and the colonel, putting himself at their head, demanded the king to

surrender. Murat, finding that everything was adverse to his hopes, endeavoured to induce the people to believe that he had landed among them with no hostile intention, but was only endeavouring to seek an asylum in the Austrian states, and showed the passport which he had procured from Vienna to bear out his assertion. This, however, the Neapolitans disbelieved, and a volley was fired upon the invaders, which killed one officer, and wounded several. A second volley was then fired, which decimated their ranks, and the whole party then took to flight, Murat making his way to the coast, with the intention of getting on board his vessel. Having outstripped his pursuers, he called out to his captain to stand in and take him aboard; but the perfidious wretch, instead of doing so, hoisted all sail, and bore out to sea. Deserted in this treacherous manner, Murat threw himself into a fishing boat which was moored a short distance from the shore, but he was unable to get it afloat. The fugitive soon found himself surrounded by ruthless enemies, who, instead of owning him for their king, fired at him, wounded him with a dagger, lacerated his face, and knocked him down. Eager for plunder, they snatched from him the jewels he wore, searched his pockets, and would have taken his life, had it not been suggested by their leader, who was a Bourbon partisan, that it would be better to reserve him, that he might be executed according to law. His person being searched, the Emperor of Austria's passport was found, and the manuscript of a proclamation, with corrections supplied by himself, which was to have been put in circulation without delay, and which threatened with death the ministers and others in the service of the King of Naples, denouncing them as rebels and traitors. The news of his landing and capture was soon conveyed to King Ferdinand. General Nunziante then commanded in Calabria, and was directed to proceed forthwith to Pizzo, and there try the unfortunate Murat before a military tribunal, under one of his own laws which he had caused to be enacted two years before, and which law ordered that any person landing in the country with the intention of disturbing the public tranquillity, should be immediately arrested, tried, and shot. The tribunal was accordingly formed, and he was accused as a disturber of the public peace. Seven officers decided on his case, and sentenced him to die. Three members of the

tribunal who came to this decision, had formerly owned him for their chief, and received gifts and honours from his hand. It was made known to him that he must prepare for death. His firmness was not shaken by the announcement, but his thoughts recurred to the Duke d'Enghien, whose fall he considered was now to be avenged by executing a like doom on him. He declared to an officer who was present, that in that tragedy he took no part whatever; "and this," said he, "I swear by that Eternal Being before whose judgment-seat I must presently appear." He then wrote a letter to his wife and children, describing

what had befallen him, and that done, gave himself up to devotional exercises. The sacrament was administered to him, and he declared himself a sincere believer in the doctrine of the catholic church. The priest who attended him wished this confession to be reduced to writing, and he complied with the request by tracing the following words:—"I declare that I die a good christian. J. M." When led into the courtyard to be executed, he called to the soldiers with a firm voice, "Soldiers, save my face, point at my heart." The soldiers fired, and he ceased to live. He suffered on the 13th of October.

#### PEACE WITH AMERICA.

As the signature of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and America, in December of the last year, could not operate to put an end to hostilities, till it had been made known to the United States' government and ratified, an occurrence closed the war which was highly humiliating to the national pride of the American navy.

While Captain Hayes was cruising off the coast of New York, with the 56-gun ship the *Majestic*, and the three frigates *Endymion*, *Pomone*, and *Tenedos*, on the 14th of January, 1815, Sandy Hook bearing north-west fifteen leagues, he discovered the American ship *President* and a brig attempting to get to sea. Chase was immediately given, but the wind failing, and the *President* exceeding the *Majestic* in sailing, it was not till the *Endymion* was able to come up with her powerful opponent, that she was brought to action. At about half-past five in the evening she was alongside of the *President*, and an action immediately commenced at pretty close quarters. The battle raged furiously till eight o'clock, when the *President* ceased her fire, being fearfully shattered in her hull. The *Endymion*, supposing that she had struck, ceased her fire also, and began to bend new sails, her old ones having been cut into ribands. But while the *Endymion* dropped astern for this purpose, the *President* bore away under a crowd of canvas; but she had scarcely ran three hours in the dark before the *Pomone* came up with her, and poured in a broadside; the *President* immediately hailed that she had surrendered. In her action with the *Endymion*, she had had

thirty-five men killed and seventy wounded, while the loss of the *Endymion* was eleven killed and fourteen wounded. The *President* was the largest frigate at that time in the world. She mounted fifty-six guns, and her crew consisted of 319 men. The other principal naval transactions which occurred during the short interval of renewed war, were:—On the 30th of April, a few miles to the northward of Ischia, the British 74-gun ship *Rivoli*, after a running fight of fifteen minutes, captured the French 40-gun frigate *Melpomene*. On the 17th of June, the British brig-sloop *Pilot*, encountered, about fifty miles to the westward of Cape Corsica, the French corvette *Legere*, when, after a contest which lasted two hours, she took to flight and escaped.

During the progress of the American war, the British government had made several overtures for a reconciliation. These were at first mistaken by the Americans, and regarded as confessions of weakness. The fall of Napoleon, and the restoration of peace in Europe, which left England free to concentrate her whole power against the United States, undeceived the Americans, and both president and people became anxious for peace. They well knew they were not in a condition to carry on a war with England single-handed; for they had brought themselves into great difficulties by contending with her even at a time when she was engaged in a war which taxed her resources and strained her powers of endurance to an extent unparalleled in her history. The foreign trade of America, which

before the war amounted to £22,000,000 of exports, and £28,000,000 of imports, may be described as having been destroyed; for in 1814 the former had sunk to £1,400,000, and the latter to less than £3,000,000. During the contest no less than 1,400 vessels of war and merchandise had appeared in the *London Gazette*, beside which it is conjectured that an equal number were taken, which, on account of the smallness of their value, or some other circumstances, did not appear on that register. The ordinary revenues of the States, arising chiefly from customs, had disappeared; heavy taxes had to be laid on in consequence, two thirds of the trading classes had become insolvent, and the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New England, shrinking from the impending ruin, were taking steps to break off from the union, and make a separate peace with Great Britain.

Lord Castlereagh, on the part of the English government, had proposed the appointment of plenipotentiaries to treat respecting terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg. The American diplomatist made choice of the latter place, but the negotiations were afterwards, by mutual consent, carried on at Ghent. After much deliberation and correspondence, a treaty of peace was signed in that city on the 24th of December, 1814, on terms which have correctly been described as honourable to Great Britain. On each side there was a general restitution of conquests, and the boundaries of the Canadian frontier were defined; though, unfortunately, not with such precision as to exclude future dissensions. The

right of search was no longer of importance to England. Each nation engaged to terminate all hostilities existing between them and the Indian tribes. All prisoners of war, taken on either side, by land or by sea, were to be set at liberty, and to be allowed to return to their respective countries as soon as they should have paid the debts they had contracted during the period of their captivity. All archives, records, deeds, and papers, either of a public or private character, which had fallen into the hands of the officers of either party, were, as far as practicable, to be restored. Finally, it stipulated that—"Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice; and, whereas, both his majesty and the United States are desirous of continuing their efforts to promote its entire abolition: it is hereby agreed that both the contracting parties shall use their best endeavours to accomplish so desirable an object." In England some disappointment was experienced that the war was not prolonged until the injuries this country had sustained were sufficiently avenged; but the government had no desire to carry on warfare of a vindictive character. The effects of the war had not been unfelt on the manufacturing interests of this country, an enormous market for which had existed in the United States. A permanent injury in this direction was effected by the manufacture of those commodities by the Americans themselves, which had hitherto been imported from this country. In nearly all the American States, news of the restoration of peace was hailed with joy.

## LORD EXMOUTH'S BOMBARDMENT OF ALGIERS.

### HIS LIFE AND EXPLOITS.

THE return of peace now enabled Britain to turn her attention to affairs which, during the bustle and turmoil of war, she had been obliged to pass over. Up to the present year, the Barbary states on the coast of Africa had been allowed to carry on their piratical practices, destroying the commerce

of the Mediterranean, seizing on the persons comprising the crews or passengers of the vessels they attacked, and selling them as slaves. Their prisons were filled with captives of every nation, who were treated with barbarous cruelty: and among those afterwards liberated by the British was a Neapolitan lady

of rank, who had been kept in a state of slavery for thirteen years; six of her children had died during the period, and two of them had survived the cruel punishment which they had undergone. In the course of this year the Americans had inflicted a severe chastisement upon the corsairs, and compelled the lawless pirates to respect the national flag of the United States. It now became necessary that Britain should step in and put an end to the horrible practice of Christian slavery, and compel the beys to respect the flags of the smaller powers of Europe.

In the spring of 1816, Lord Exmouth being in command of the British squadron, in the Mediterranean, received orders to proceed to Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers, and demand the liberation of all Christian slaves, and then to negotiate on behalf of the minor powers in the Mediterranean; in particular the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands, who, by the late political arrangements, had now become British subjects; and of Naples and Sardinia, who were then the allies of Britain. He was also instructed to endeavour to obtain a pledge for the abolition of all Christian slavery; and if his negotiations failed, he was at once to attack the place. Feeling that he was likely to meet with considerable opposition, especially at Algiers, Lord Exmouth at once dispatched Captain Warde, of the *Banterer*, to that place, with instructions carefully to observe the town, and report on the nature of the defences. Captain Warde discharged the duty entrusted to him with great skill and ability, and with such secrecy that even the British consul, resident at Algiers, had no suspicion of the object of his visit. So important was the information obtained by Captain Warde, and so correctly were his plans laid down, that Lord Exmouth afterwards stated, in his despatch, that had he proceeded to hostilities without having been furnished with Captain Warde's chart and observations, he should have assigned to the ships stations which they could not have occupied.

On Captain Warde rejoining the squadron, the admiral made known to the officers and men the service on which they were proceeding, in the following general memorandum:—"The commander-in-chief embraces the earliest moment in which he could inform the fleet of his destination without inconvenience to the public service. He has been instructed and directed, by his royal highness the prince-regent, to pro-

ceed with the fleet to Algiers, and there make certain arrangements for diminishing at least the piratical excursions of the Barbary states, by which thousands of our fellow-creatures, innocently following their commercial pursuits, have been dragged into the most wretched and revolting state of slavery. The commander-in-chief is confident that this outrageous system of piracy and slavery rouses in common the same spirit of indignation which he himself feels; and should the government of Algiers refuse the reasonable demands he bears from the prince-regent, he doubts not but the flag will be honourably and zealously supported by every officer and man under his command, in his endeavours to procure the acceptance of them by force; and if force must be resorted to, we have the consolation of knowing, that we fight in the sacred cause of humanity, and cannot fail of success."

The squadron immediately set sail from Port Mahon, and shortly after appeared off Algiers, when Lord Exmouth soon procured the assent of the dey to the proposals which he was instructed to make; the Ionian slaves were released as British subjects; but the Neapolitans and Sardinians were ransomed, the former at 500, and the latter at 300 dollars a head. The squadron having thus peaceably obtained the object of its mission, proceeded to Tunis, where the negotiations took an unexpected and important turn. By an error of the interpreter, the message of the admiral was made to read that the prince-regent *was determined that slavery should be abolished*—instead of "that it would be very agreeable to him if slavery were abolished." The dey of Tunis immediately suspended negotiations and summoned a divan. When Lord Exmouth was made aware of the mistake which had occurred, he availed himself of the advantage it gave him—allowed the divan two hours for deliberation, and retired to the house of the consul to await the result. Before the expiration of that time, he was informed that his demand was complied with. He then sailed to Tripoli, and the same terms were at once agreed to.

While these negotiations were proceeding, the admiral had received further instructions from his government, directing him to claim the privilege of British privateers being allowed to refit in the port of Algiers, and also that prizes should be permitted to be sold there; these privileges having re-

cently been granted to the Americans. In consequence of these additional instructions the squadron returned to Algiers. While engaged negotiating on these points, Lord Exmouth took the opportunity to press on the regency of Algiers the total abolition of Christian slavery; informing the dey that the governments of Tripoli and Tunis had complied with his demand. The dey of Algiers, however, refused to agree to the conditions of the British admiral, and an angry altercation ensued, in which Lord Exmouth threatened to bombard the town. The dey, however, consented to dispatch a message to the Ottoman Porte, to receive instructions from his government on the subject. Accordingly, an ambassador was sent in a frigate to Constantinople to procure the sanction of the Porte, and from thence he was to proceed to England to treat on the British admiral's proposal.

Lord Exmouth having so far accomplished the objects he had in view, returned with his squadron to Great Britain; but an outrage which was again perpetrated by the Barbary pirates, even before the squadron reached the shores of this country, brought upon them the punishment which their crimes so justly merited. A number of Italian, Corsican, and Neapolitan vessels, being engaged in coral fishing on the coast of Algiers, the crews landed at Bona, on May the 23rd, under protection of the British flag, in order that they might celebrate the festival of the Ascension by attending mass. While preparing to join in the ceremonies of their religion, a gun was fired from the castle, and when this preconcerted signal was heard, a body of upwards of 2,000 Turks and Moors fell upon the defenceless seamen, and massacred them in cold blood, tore to pieces the English flag, and threw the consul into prison. Such an atrocious outrage roused the feelings of the people of this country to the highest pitch of indignation, and immediately on Lord Exmouth's arrival in Britain, it was determined to send him out again to Algiers, with whatever force he deemed necessary, to inflict summary vengeance or exact complete submission.

The equipment of the squadron placed under the command of the gallant admiral proceeded with the greatest activity. Officers flocked in hundreds, soliciting to be allowed to join the expedition, and the greatest enthusiasm pervaded every one, from the humblest sailor to the admiral in command. The admiralty had determined

that the same ships which had just returned should not be sent out again; it being thought best that the vessels forming the expedition should be manned by volunteers. The armament which Lord Exmouth deemed sufficient for the purpose of attacking and destroying the stronghold of the pirates was only five sail of the line, five frigates, and as many bomb-vessels. It was considered by many of the most experienced members of the board of admiralty, that this was too small a force; Lord Nelson himself having, at one time, expressed an opinion that Algiers could not be successfully attacked with a less force than twenty-five ships of the line. Lord Exmouth, however, having had opportunities of personally inspecting the place, and being also in possession of Captain Warde's survey and report, felt confident in his estimate of the amount of force required. Having explained his plans to the admiralty, showing the position which each ship was to occupy, and the particular works to which it was to be opposed, they determined to allow the admiral to act on his own judgment. Confident of success, he said—"All will go well—at least as far as depends on me." Speaking to his brother on the subject, he said—"If they open their fire when the ships are coming up, and cripple them in the masts, the difficulty and loss will be greater; but if they allow us to take our stations, I am sure of them; for I know that nothing can resist a line-of-battle ship's fire."

Having made his arrangements at the admiralty, Lord Exmouth hastened to Portsmouth, and proceeded at once on board the *Boyne*, the ship which had carried his flag in the last expedition. Having mustered the ship's company, he read to them the admiralty letter, and expressed a wish that they should volunteer to accompany him in this new enterprise. Few, however, joined him, as having been a considerable time at sea, they were unwilling to sail again so soon without enjoying themselves for some time on shore; but volunteers were not wanting, and on the 25th of July the fleet left Portsmouth, and by the afternoon of the 28th was off Falmouth. Lord Exmouth hoisted his flag on board the 100-gun ship, *Queen Charlotte*. Rear-admiral Milne, the second in command, hoisted his flag on board the *Impregnable*. In addition to the five line-of-battle ships, two of which were three-deckers, the force included three heavy frigates, and two smaller ones; four

bomb-vessels, and five gun-brigs. Four of the line-of-battle ships were to destroy the fortifications on the mole, while the fifth covered them from the batteries south of the town, and the heavy frigates from those on the town wall. The bomb-vessels were to fire on the arsenal and town, assisted by a flotilla of the ships' launches, &c., fitted as gun, rocket, and mortar boats; and the smaller frigates and the brigs to assist as circumstances might require.\*

The biographer of Lord Exmouth says:—"Through all the passage the utmost care was taken to train the crews. Every day, Sunday excepted, they were exercised at the guns; and on Tuesdays and Fridays the fleet cleared for action, when each ship fired six broadsides. On board the *Queen Charlotte*, a 12-pounder was secured at the after-part of the quarter-deck, with which the first and second captains of the guns practised daily at a small target, hung at the foretop-mast studding-sail boom. The target was a frame of laths, three feet square, crossed with rope yarns so close that a 12-pound shot could not go through without cutting one, and with a piece of wood the size and shape of a bottle, for a bull's-eye. After a few days' practice the target was never missed, and on an average, ten or twelve bottles were hit every day."

The fleet reached Gibraltar in the beginning of August, and having completed their provisions and ordnance stores, they were ready to set sail for their destination on the 12th; but owing to contrary winds, they did not leave till the 15th. When the British fleet arrived at Gibraltar, they found there a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, under the command of Admiral Von de Capellan. Learning the object of the expedition, the Dutch commander solicited and obtained leave to co-operate with the British squadron. The united squadrons now advanced in gallant style towards the stronghold of the pirates. On the evening of the 16th, the *Prometheus*, direct from Algiers, joined, and reported that the most active preparations were being made there to resist the attack. The defences were being put in the

most effective condition, and new and formidable works were being added; upwards of 40,000 troops had been assembled, and janizaries called in from distant garrisons. A considerable naval force had also been collected in the harbour, consisting of four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty-seven gun-boats. On board the *Prometheus* were the wife, daughter, and infant child of Mr. M'Donnell, the British consul.†

Algiers,‡ or Algeria, is a country of North Africa, and is now in the possession of the French. The country was originally inhabited by the Moors and Numidians, and was afterwards under the power of the Romans and Vandals. In the sixteenth century it was invaded by the Spaniards, under Charles V.; but Barbarossa expelled the Spaniards, and founded, under the sovereignty of Turkey, the state of Algiers. From this period it became redoubtable on account of its corsairs, and many of the European nations found it necessary to pay tribute to this piratical state for the protection of their merchant vessels. In 1653 it was attacked by Admiral Blake, and forced to conclude a peace with England. In 1688 and 1761 the French attempted to reduce it, but were repulsed. The Spaniards also made various attempts against it with no better success; and by many the place had been deemed impregnable. Algiers, the principal city and capital of the state, stands on the declivity of a steep hill, its lower part being washed by the ocean. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, and crowned by a citadel; the whole presenting the appearance of a triangle, with its base towards the sea. Its fortifications are of considerable strength, the city being entirely surrounded by walls of great thickness, running to the summit of the hill behind the town. The harbour is artificial. In front there are two rocky islands forming a mole, which are connected with the mainland by a broad straight pier, 300 yards long, on which the storehouses were built. The pier projects into the sea at a point about a quarter of a mile from the northern extremity of the town; from

\* Ostler's *Life of Viscount Exmouth*.

† "The wife and daughter of Mr. M'Donnell had succeeded in getting off, disguised as midshipmen; but the infant, which had been carefully concealed in a basket after a composing medicine had been given to it by the surgeon of the *Prometheus*, awoke, and cried as it was passing the gateway, and thus led to the arrest of all the party then on shore. The child was sent off the next morning by the dey,

and, as a solitary instance of his humanity, said Lord Exmouth, 'ought to be recorded by me;' but the consul was confined in irons at his house, and the surgeon, three midshipmen, and fourteen seamen of the *Prometheus*, were detained as prisoners."—Ostler's *Life of Lord Exmouth*.

‡ The name, *Al-jezair*, "the islands," is derived from the rocky islets which lie in front of the town, and on which the mole is built.

which the mole is carried in a south-westerly direction, and forms nearly a quarter of a circle. Another smaller pier projects from the mainland towards the head of the mole, and between the extremity of this pier and the head of the mole is the entrance to the harbour, which is not more than 120 yards in width. As already mentioned, all the works around the harbour were covered with the strongest fortifications. Immediately beyond the pier-head stood the lighthouse battery, a large circular fort, with more than fifty guns, in three tiers. The guns in the first tier were fired from ports, which were twenty feet above the base; those in the second tier were fired from embrasures in the wall; the third were mounted on an inner tower, and were 18-pounders, capable of being brought to bear on the mole-head. At the outer extremity of the rock on which the mole was erected was another battery with two tiers of ports, containing thirty heavy guns and seven mortars. This fort pointed round from north-west to east, and no ship could get into the bay to the north-west of the lighthouse without passing within a cable's length or a little more of it. There was also a magazine in this fort. The mole itself was filled with cannon, like the side of a line-of-battle ship, mostly disposed in double tiers, with ports below and embrasures above; and the eastern batteries next the lighthouse had an inner fortification, with a third tier of guns; making sixty-six heavy guns in the mole alone. The different batteries in the mole and entrance to the harbour mounted not less than 220 guns—18, 24, and 30-pounders, besides two 68-pounders, which were upwards of twenty feet long. On the sea wall of the town were nine batteries; two at the southern extremity: next came the Fish-market battery, with fifteen guns, mounted in three tiers; these guns flanked the mole: there were then three more batteries between the Fish-market and the gate leading to the mole; one over this gate, and two on the wall beyond it. Along the shore, within

1,200 yards of the town, were three additional batteries and a large square fort, with three tiers of guns pointing to the eastward; having in the upper tier fifteen, in the second eighteen, and in the lower eighteen guns. Another large fort and six batteries commanded the bay to the north-west; and scarcely a point in the city, or on the hills around it which commanded the approaches to the town, but was bristling with cannon ready to pour forth death and destruction on the infidel invaders. Altogether, there were nearly 500 guns ready to defend the sea-approaches to Algiers. The ramparts were admirably constructed, of the very best materials, and in excellent repair; so that a more formidable object of attack has rarely been presented to an invading force.

By daybreak on the morning of the 27th of August, the inhabitants of the city of Algiers could distinguish the white sails of the ships of the united squadrons as they lay nearly becalmed in the bay. At an early hour, a boat, in charge of a lieutenant, was sent from the *Queen Charlotte* with a flag of truce. The officer was to state the terms dictated by the prince-regent, and demand the immediate liberation of the consul and the people of the *Prometheus*. At eleven o'clock she was met outside the mole by the captain of the port, who received the communication, and promised an answer in two hours. During the period of the absence of the flag of truce, a favourable breeze having sprung up, the fleet stood into the bay, and lay-to within a mile from the town. About two o'clock the boat with the flag of truce was seen returning with the signal flying—that no answer had been given. Lord Exmouth immediately telegraphed to the fleet—“*Are you ready?*” In a few seconds, an answer in the affirmative was displayed by each ship as she bore up to take the station which had been appointed to her in the plan of attack which the admiral had prepared some time before, and with which each officer was intimately acquainted.\*

Favoured by the light sea breeze, the

\* Lord Exmouth's instructions for the disposition of the fleet, in their attack on Algiers, was issued on August the 6th; and on the 13th every ship received a plan of the fortifications, with full instructions as to the position she was to occupy. The instructions were as follows:—

*Form of Attack.*—The space for the attack on the south-east part of the mole of Algiers being very limited, it will require the greatest attention to place the ships well in their respective stations, and it is very

desirable to avoid opening any fire from them, if it be possible, before they are placed. But as it cannot be presumed that the enemy will remain inactive, it becomes necessary to prepare for that event by endeavouring to divert their fire from the ships of the line, by opening a fire from the frigates, which may under sail pass the batteries in advance or possibly, in the intervals of the line, as circumstances point out.

The flag-ship will lead, and bring up as near to the mole-head as practicable. The *Superb*, *Impregnable*

*Queen Charlotte* led the attack, bearing steadily on for the mole-head. The other vessels moved slowly on to their various positions during an ominous silence; not a single gun having been fired on either side until the flag-ship had got anchored alongside of the mole, and was lashed by a hawser to the mainmast of an Algerine brig, which lay at the entrance of the harbour. Lord Exmouth had quite expected that the Algerines would attack whilst the fleet advanced towards the fortifications; for this he was quite prepared, his determination being not to reply to a fire while approaching, unless it became galling; in that case, the middle and main-deck guns of the *Queen Charlotte* (thirty long 24-pounders) were to have opened, keeping the upper deck for shortening sail, and the lower deck for working the cables. The guns of the last-named decks were not primed till after the ship was anchored. Had the ships in their first advance been subjected to a galling fire, a few more men might have been lost in killed and wounded, and some of the ships might not have been so near by forty or fifty yards; but there can be no doubt,

following, will anchor as close as they can to her, the latter ship placing herself to the southward of the large arch near the centre of the works, and the *Superb* between us; and when placed, it will be of the greatest advantage if they could be made fast to each other, and move together to concentrate their fire.

The rear-ship, the *Albion*, will see if by any failure she can supply the place of either ship thrown out. But if the *Impregnable* succeeds in getting her place, it appears to me the *Albion* may be well situated close on her bow, presenting her broadside against the only flanking battery, marked H., of three guns, by which she may cover the *Impregnable*, and enfilade the north part of the works, by throwing part of her fire upon the upper tier of the Lighthouse battery.

The *Leander* will keep nearly abreast the *Superb*, and seeing the flag-ship placed, will anchor as near to her as possible, veering towards the town until she opens the mole, when she will either fire on the round tower, or the gun-boats, and batteries on the town walls. She must run a warp to the flag-ship, and heave as close to her as possible, to connect the fire of both, and to afford room for the *Severn* to get within her, or between her and the flag-ship.

The *Glasgow* will anchor, and present her broadside to the Fish-market battery, Nos. 9 and 10, and any other she may be able to fire upon.

The *Gramicus* should occupy any space in the line open between the ships at anchor; or if either of the frigates in the mouth of the mole should meet with accident, she will endeavour to take her place.

*Hebrus* will attack battery, No. 7 and 8.

*Minden* will attack the large battery, No. 4, taking care not to pass to the southward of the north-east angle. She will also be able to fire on No. 5 and 6.

This attack need not be closely pressed, being a

so excellent were the arrangements, that the result would have been the same. As it was, however, the Algerines, confident in the strength of their defences, and calculating on being able to carry the larger ships by boarding, reserved their fire until the flag-ship got fairly into position, with her starboard broadside flanking all the batteries, from the mole-head to the lighthouse. The enemy's batteries, on which every eye was fixed, were seen crowded with troops, the gunners standing beside the guns with lighted matches, ready for action. The crew of the *Princess Charlotte* now gave three hearty cheers; and while the sound was still ringing in their ears, the heavy boom of a gun from the upper tier of the eastern battery was heard; a second and a third succeeded. One of these shots struck the *Superb* as she was getting into action, but the report of the third had not yet died away, when the thunder of the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside rent the air. Immediately the whole of the batteries opened fire, and a perfect hurricane of shot and shell was poured on the fleet. The fire of the *Queen Charlotte* was well sustained, falling with

cover only for the ships attacking the mole from a flank fire. Captain Patterson will be extremely watchful of our operations, and be ready to slip and join, in the event of any accident to the ships attacking; and he will use the schooner to the best advantage for communication.

*Heron*, *Mutine*, *Cordelia*, and *Britomart*, will consider it their first duty to attend and aid the ships they are named to assist in every possible way; and they are to remember that even their brigs are to be sacrificed to save the ships they are ordered to attend. Should that service be uncalled for by their being well placed, the captains will take any position where their fire can do good.

*Prometheus* will tow down the explosion-vessel as instructed, and receive her commander and crew.

The bombs will put themselves under the orders of Captain Kempthorne, and as soon as anchored prepare to open fire. They will be placed by the master of the fleet to the northward of the large arch; and they will take care during the attack not to throw their shells over our own ships. The Lighthouse battery is a great object, and keeping that in a line with the town-gate, will give two objects for throwing the shells at.—EXMOUTH.

N.B.—Ships leading into anchorage, are to have the preparative flag flying at the mizen-topgallant-mast-head, which is to be hauled down the instant they let go the anchor.

A slight change was made in the foregoing instructions, in consequence of the joining of the Dutch fleet. To that squadron Lord Exmouth assigned the duty of attacking the forts and batteries south of the town. This service, it will be observed, was intended for the *Hebrus* and *Minden*, which were now to take a position among their consorts in front of the mole.

deadly precision, and telling so fatally on the Algerines, that, by her first broadside, from five to six hundred men were killed or wounded on the mole-head. When the batteries opened their fire, none of the ships, except the *Queen Charlotte* and *Leander*, had yet reached their stations. The most admirable arrangements, however, had been made to save the men in the various ships from being exposed in going aloft to shorten sail. The *Superb*, following close upon the flag-ship, took up her position astern of her, and the *Minden* at not more than her own length from the *Superb*. The *Albion* was close astern of the *Minden*, the latter ship passing her stream cable out of the larboard gun-room port to the *Albion's* bow, to keep the two ships together. The *Impregnable* was anchored close astern of the *Albion*.

Meanwhile, the tremendous fire which was kept up on the nearest defences, from the broadside of the *Queen Charlotte*, proved so severe, that before the action had become general, the fortifications on the mole-head were reduced to a heap of ruins, and the guns dismantled. Having silenced the fire from this point, the flag-ship then sprang her broadside to the northward, and opened fire on the batteries over the gate which leads to the mole, and on the upper works of the Lighthouse fort. The accuracy and precision of firing which the gunners on board the *Queen Charlotte* had obtained, was here very strikingly exhibited. Her shot struck the tower of the lighthouse, and immediately reduced it to ruins; and gun after gun, in the batteries, was brought down.\*

In the meantime the cannonade from the Algerine batteries was kept up with great spirit; and as the ships got within range, they were subjected to a galling and well-directed fire. Nothing daunted, however, they steadily advanced to the positions assigned to them, and immediately poured broadside after broadside upon the devoted city. Shortly after the commencement of the bombardment, the smoke became so dense that it was impossible for the admiral to see along the line, and he was only able to judge that his ships had got into their stations by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to

\* One of the guns in the Lighthouse battery was dismantled just as the artilleryman was in the act of discharging it; when an Algerine chief was seen to spring upon the ruins of the parapet, and with impotent rage to shake his scimitar against the ship. Some of the gunners on board the *Queen Charlotte*

which they were opposed. The Algerines continued the defence of their fortifications with the most desperate bravery; the bastions and battlements streamed with fire, while the roar of upwards of a thousand pieces of artillery, mingled with the hissing of shells, and every now and then the explosion of a magazine, caused such a deafening noise as almost to take away the sense of hearing.

The Dutch squadron and the three large frigates now advanced, and took their stations in the most gallant manner and with the most perfect accuracy, although exposed to a heavy fire from the batteries. The Dutch ships came to anchor in front of the works to the south of the town, and kept up a well-supported fire on the flanking batteries, which it had been arranged they should attack. While the Dutch squadron was thus ably performing this service, the three British frigates, the *Severn*, *Leander*, and *Glasgow*, took part in the fight. The *Leander* had placed herself athwart the bows of the *Queen Charlotte*, with her after-guns bearing on the Algerine gun-boats, while, with the others, she was able to rake the Fish-market battery. The *Severn* lay ahead of the *Leander*, with the whole of her starboard broadside bearing on the Fish-market battery. Beyond the *Severn*, the *Glasgow* took her place, and brought her guns to bear on the batteries of the town. The two smaller British frigates, *Hebrus* and *Granicus*, were left to come into the line wherever they could find an opening. The *Hebrus* pressed onwards to obtain a position close to the *Queen Charlotte*; but the heavy cannonade having produced a lull in the wind, she got becalmed, and was obliged to anchor on the larboard quarter of the flag-ship. The captain of the *Granicus*, anxious to take his share in the battle, set topgallant-sails and canvas, and steered straight to where he saw Lord Exmouth's flag flying,—it being occasionally visible as the breeze blew aside, for a moment, the dense clouds of smoke in which the *Queen Charlotte* was enveloped. Favoured by his intrepidity and able seamanship, Captain Wise was able to anchor in the open space between the *Queen Charlotte* and the *Superb*.†

were so expert marksmen, that many of them were detected amusing themselves, in the wantonness of skill, by firing at the Algerine flagstuffs.—*Life of Lord Exmouth*.

† When Lord Exmouth observed the position which Captain Wise, in the *Granicus*, had been

The bomb-vessels were placed to the east of the Lighthouse battery, at a distance of about 2,000 yards, the shells from which were admirably well delivered by the royal marine artillery; and although thrown directly across and over the attacking vessels, not the slightest accident occurred to any ship. The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats were distributed in the opening of the line, and kept up an incessant and destructive fire on the ships in the harbour. The sloops of war, also, which had been appropriated to aid and assist the ships of the line, and prepare for their retreat, if necessary, kept moving about, and took every opportunity of firing through the intervals in the line. Thus, by the excellent disposition of his force by the admiral, the strongest of the enemy's defences were commanded by his fire, while the fleet was exposed to the weakest of the enemy's.

About half-past three o'clock, an attempt was made to board the *Queen Charlotte* by the enemy's gun-boats. Under cover of the dense smoke they approached unseen, and with the greatest daring, till they were close in the vicinity of the flag-ship. On being observed, a heavy fire was immediately opened on them; and in a short time thirty-three out of thirty-seven were sent to the bottom. The battle now raged furiously along the whole line; a heavy cannonade having been maintained for upwards of an hour. Lord Exmouth considered the time was come to destroy the ships belonging to the Algerines. Instructions were accordingly sent to the *Leander* to cease firing; and the *Queen Charlotte's* barge being manned, under the command of Lieutenant Peter Richards, accompanied by Major Gossett, of the miners, Lieutenant Woolrige, of the marines, and a midshipman, they immediately proceeded towards the nearest frigate, which they boarded and set fire to so effectually, that she was completely in flames almost before the crew of the barge had got into their boat. The barge now returned to the flag-ship, and when she came alongside she was welcomed with three hearty cheers. Immediately after the frigate had been set on fire she burst into one sheet of flame, and it was hoped that the conflagration would spread to the rest of the Algerine shipping. This, however, did

fortunate enough to secure, he remarked that it did him the greatest credit, as he occupied with his small frigate a station of which a three-decker might be justly proud.

not occur; as, although she burnt from her moorings, she passed clear of her consorts, and drifted along the broadsides of the *Queen Charlotte* and *Leander*, grounding ahead of the latter ship, but without doing them any damage. The *Queen Charlotte's* launch, assisted by the gun-boats, then opened fire with carcass-shells upon a large frigate which was moored in the centre of the other ships inside of the Mole. In a short time this vessel was also on fire, and burnt so furiously, that notwithstanding all the exertions of the Algerines to extinguish the flames, the devouring element communicated to all the other ships in the port, and from them to the storehouses and arsenal on the Mole. About seven o'clock the frigate drifted out of the harbour, and passed so close to the *Queen Charlotte*, as nearly to set her on fire; she, however, escaped without damage.

About sunset, Lord Exmouth received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, by Captain Powell, informing him of the severe loss the *Impregnable* was sustaining, having then one hundred killed and wounded, and requesting him, if he could, to send a frigate to divert some of the fire he was then under. The admiral immediately sent instructions to the *Glasgow* to weigh and repair to the assistance of the rear-admiral's ship; but the effect of the bombardment having been to drive away the wind, she was obliged to anchor again. The *Glasgow* had, however, by her attempt to move out, obtained a better position than before, between the *Severn* and the *Leander*. In her new position the *Glasgow* was much exposed to the fire of the enemy; but this caused little uneasiness to her gallant commander, as by the change he was enabled better to command the batteries to which his ship was opposed. Being unable to grant any assistance to the *Impregnable*, Lord Exmouth sent word by Captain Powell, that as she had suffered so much, she might withdraw from the line; but the rear-admiral and his gallant crew declined to avail themselves of this privilege, and fought their ship till the last. At this time orders had been sent to the explosion vessel (an ordnance sloop which had been fitted up at Gibraltar for this purpose, and on board which had been placed 143 barrels of gunpowder) to bring her into the mole; but Rear-admiral Milne, thinking she might do him essential service if exploded under the battery in his front, Captain Powell was desired to carry the admiral's

orders to that effect to this vessel, which he did, and remained till they were executed. The explosion vessel had been intended for the destruction of the Algerine fleet; but, as has been seen, this was effected by other means. Everything being ready, she was run on shore under the battery north of the lighthouse, where, at nine o'clock, she blew up with a tremendous explosion.

About ten o'clock in the evening, the enemy's batteries commanded by the admiral's division were silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation; the fire of the ships was therefore slackened, as it now became necessary that they should husband their ammunition. During the bombardment, they had fired nearly 118 tons of powder, and 50,000 shot, weighing more than 500 tons of iron; besides 960 thirteen and ten-inch shells, thrown by the bomb-vessels, and the shells and rockets from the flotilla. Exposed to such a fire, it is not wonderful that the sea defences of Algiers, with great part of the town itself, were completely destroyed. Having thus executed the most important part of his instructions, the admiral prepared to withdraw his ships. About this time the land-wind sprung up, and favoured by this, the lower cable of the *Queen Charlotte* was cut, and her head hauled round to seaward. She still, however, continued to engage with several of her guns; and it was only by the assistance of her boats in towing, that she was rendered manageable. After considerable exertion had been made in towing and warping off, the whole fleet got under sail, and about two in the morning came to anchor, out of reach of shot and shell, after twelve hours of incessant labour. During the night a tremendous storm of thunder and lightning came on, with dreadful torrents of rain. The scene, as viewed from the ships in the bay, was one of terrific grandeur. The war of the elements seemed to have succeeded to the incessant roar of cannon which had just subsided; while the burning ships and storehouses, ever and anon bursting into streams of flame, emulated in brightness the vivid flashes of lightning which rapidly succeeded each other, and illuminated the battered walls and dilapidated buildings of the stronghold of the barbarians. When the storm had somewhat subsided, Lord Exmouth, with the feelings of a Christian, with which he was always animated, assembled in his cabin all the wounded who could be moved with safety,

that they might unite with him and his officers in thanksgiving to the God of Battles, who had given him such a signal victory over the enemies of humanity.

So soon as the two admirals could leave their ships, they came on board the *Queen Charlotte*, to congratulate Lord Exmouth on the glorious victory which he had just achieved. The casualties had been very great in proportion to the force employed; but still comparatively trifling to the service performed. The returns were 128 killed, and 690 wounded in the British ships; and thirteen killed and fifty-two wounded in the Dutch squadron. During the action Lord Exmouth had a very narrow escape, having been struck in three places; and a cannon-shot passed him so closely as to cut away the tails of his coat.

At daybreak on the morning of the 28th, Lord Exmouth dispatched a flag of truce with the following letter to the Dey of Algiers:—

“H.B.M. ship *Queen Charlotte*, Algiers Bay, August 28th, 1816.

“Sir,—For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday in the name of the prince-regent of England, the fleet under my orders have given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

“As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the unoffending inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday in my sovereign's name. Without the acceptance of these terms, you can have no peace with England.

“If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns; and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my convenience.

“I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment; or any of the Christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand that the consul, the officers, and men, may be sent off to me, conformably to ancient treaties.

“I have the honour to be, &c.,

“ЕХМОУТН.

“His highness the Dey of Algiers.”

In order to prove to the dey that the British admiral was determined to enforce his demands, the bomb-vessels were directed to resume their positions. As the boat with the flag of truce neared the shore, it was met by the captain of one of the frigates which had been destroyed on the previous day, who stated that an answer had been sent to the first communication before the bombardment commenced, but that there was no one to receive it, as the boat had left. Shortly after the booming of the three guns was heard—the signal that the terms of the admiral were agreed to; and the captain of the port, accompanied by the Swedish consul, proceeded on board the *Queen Charlotte*, and informed Lord Exmouth that all his demands would be submitted to. On the next morning, the captain of the port paid a second visit to the admiral, bringing with him on this occasion the British consul; and, after arranging some preliminaries, Captain Brisbane went on shore by order of the admiral, and held a conference with the dey. Sir Charles Penrose, who had arrived from Malta after the bombardment, also went ashore, and assisted in the negotiations, which were soon concluded; and on the 30th, the result of the arrangement was communicated to the fleet in the following memorandum:—

“The commander-in-chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace confirmed under a salute of twenty-one guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his royal highness the prince-regent of England:—

“I. The abolition of Christian slavery for ever.

“II. The delivery to my flag of all slaves in the dominions of the dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

“III. To deliver, also, to my flag, all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year—at noon also to-morrow.

“IV. Reparation has been made to the British consul for all losses he has sustained in consequence of his confinement.

“V. The dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the *Queen Charlotte*.

“The commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the admirals, captains, officers,

seamen, marines, royal sappers and miners, royal marine artillery, and the royal rocket corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service; and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving shall be offered up to Almighty God, for the singular interposition of his divine providence during the conflict which took place on the 27th between his majesty's fleet and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

“It is requested that this memorandum may be read to the ship's company.”

Thus closed the battle of Algiers, one which will be long remembered in the annals of the British navy, as well for the desperate nature of the service, and the heroic courage displayed, as for the disinterested motives of humanity from which it was undertaken. On the 31st of August, above 1,200 slaves were embarked, who were ultimately restored to their country and friends. The total number liberated at Algiers and at Tunis and Tripoli, was 3,003.

Algiers, when visited by Captain Brisbane on the 29th, presented a melancholy appearance. The Mole, the Lighthouse battery, and all the fortifications near them, were one heap of ruins; and among the huge masses of stones and masonry were mingled cannon, gun-carriages, and dead bodies, laying one above the other, in one undistinguished mass. Upwards of 7,000 had perished in the defence of the place, while the number wounded was proportionally great. The walls of the town presented huge gaps opposite to the places where the men-of-war had presented their broadsides; and behind these were to be seen long lanes of crumbled houses, where the shot had cut its way right through them.

Lord Exmouth, writing to his brother, gives the following graphic account of the battle:—

“It has pleased God to give me again the opportunity of writing you, and it has also pleased Him to give success to our efforts against these hordes of barbarians. I never, however, saw any set of men more obstinate at their guns, and it was superior fire only that could keep them back. To be sure, nothing could stand before the *Queen Charlotte's* broadside. Everything fell before it; and the Swedish consul assures me we killed about 500 at the very first fire, from the crowded way in which the troops were drawn up, four deep above

the gun-boats, which were also full of men. I had myself beckoned to many around the guns close to us to move away, previous to giving the order to fire; and I believe they are within bounds, when they state their loss at 7,000 men. Our old friend John Gaze was as steady as a rock; and it was a glorious sight to see the *Charlotte* take her anchorage, and to see her flag towering on high, when she appeared to be in the flames of the Mole itself; and never was a ship nearer burnt; it almost scorched me off the poop; we were obliged to haul in the ensign, or it would have caught fire. Everybody behaved uncommonly well. Admiral Milne came on board at two o'clock in the morning, and kissed my hand fifty times before the people, as did the Dutch admiral, Von Capellan. I was but slightly touched in thigh, face, and fingers—my glass cut in my hand, and the skirts of my coat torn off by a large shot; but as I blead a good deal, it looked as if I was badly hurt, and it was gratifying to see and hear how it was received even in the cockpit, which was then pretty full. My thigh is not quite skinned over, but I am perfectly well, and hope to reach Portsmouth by the 10th of October. Ferdinand has sent me a diamond star. Wise behaved most nobly, and took up a line-of-battle ship's station;—but all behaved nobly. I never saw such enthusiasm in all my service. Not a wretch shrunk anywhere; and I assure you it was a very arduous task, but I had formed a very correct judgment of all I saw, and was confident, if supported, I should succeed. I could not wait for an off-shore wind to attack; the season was too far advanced, and the land-winds become light and calmy. I was forced to attack at once with a lee-shore, or perhaps wait a week for a precarious wind along shore; and I was quite sure I should have a breeze off the land about one or two in the morning, and equally sure we could hold out that time. Blessed be God! it came, and a dreadful night with it of thunder, lightning, and rain, as heavy as I ever saw. Several ships had expended all their powder, and been supplied from the brigs. I had latterly husbanded, and only fired when they fired on us; and we expended 350 barrels, and 5,420 shot, weighing above sixty-five tons of iron. Such a state of ruin of fortifications and houses was never seen, and it is the opinion of all the consuls, that two hours more fire would have levelled the town; the

walls are all so cracked. Even the aqueducts were broken up, and the people famishing for water. The sea-defences, to be made effective, must be rebuilt from the foundation. The fire all round the Mole looked like Pandemonium. I never saw anything so grand and so terrific, for I was not on velvet for fear they would drive on board us. The copper-bottoms floated full of fiery hot charcoal, and were red-hot above the surface, so that we could not hook on our fire-grapnels to put the boats on, and could do nothing but push fire-booms, and spring the ship off by our warps, as occasion required."

Lord Exmouth, after the action, sent off Admiral Milne, in the *Leander*, with despatches for the admiralty, but fearing that he might be delayed by contrary winds, he dispatched Captain Brisbane with a duplicate despatch on the 1st of September. On the 3rd of the same month, Lord Exmouth sailed for England.

The following is the despatch of Admiral Von Capellan to his government, descriptive of the action:—

"H.M. frigate *Melampus*, Bay of Algiers,  
"August 30th.

"Hon. Sir,—Lord Exmouth, during his short stay at Gibraltar, having increased his force with some gun-boats, and made all his arrangements, on the 14th of August the united squadrons put to sea. On the 16th, off Cape de Gatte, the *Promethèus* corvette joined the fleet. Captain Dashwood reported that he had succeeded in getting the family of the British consul at Algiers on board by stratagem; but their flight being too soon discovered, the consul, together with two boats' crews of the *Prometheus*, had been arrested by the dey, who, having already received a report of this second expedition, had made all preparations for an obstinate opposition, and summoning the inhabitants of the interior, had already assembled more than 50,000 men, both Moors and Arabs, under the walls of Algiers.

"His lordship, on whom I waited in the morning, was afraid that he should that day be obliged to rest satisfied with coming to an anchor, and confine himself for the night to an attack of bomb-vessels, gun and rocket-boats. Scarcely had I returned on board my vessel, when the sea-breeze sprung up, and the fleet bore into the bay with press of sail; the four bomb-vessels immediately took their station before the town, and everything was prepared for the attack.

Shortly afterwards, his lordship communicated to me by private signal—'I shall attack immediately, if the wind does not fail.' Upon this, I immediately made signal to form line of battle in the order agreed upon, in the supposition that all the officers must have been well acquainted with the position of the forts and batteries that fell to our share, before the attack was to begin; but as it appears the signal was not well understood, I resolved to change line, and to lead it myself in the *Melampus*. At half-past one o'clock the whole fleet bore up in succession, the *Melampus* closing in with the rearmost ship of the English line; and at fifteen minutes past two o'clock, we saw Lord Exmouth with the *Queen Charlotte* before the wind, with sails standing, come to anchor with three anchors from the stern, with her broadside in the wished-for position, within pistol-shot of the batteries, just before the opening of the Mole. This daring and unexpected manœuvre of this vessel (a three-decker) appears to have so confounded the enemy, that a second ship of the line had already well-nigh taken her position before the batteries opened their fire; which, how violent soever, was fully replied to.

"Having told Captain de Man that I wished as speedily as possible with the *Melampus*, and the other frigates in succession, to take our position on the larboard side of Lord Exmouth, and draw upon our squadron all the fire of the southern batteries, the captain brought his frigate in a masterly manner under the cross fire of more than a hundred guns; the bowsprit quite free of the *Glasgow*, with an anchor from the head and stern, in the required position, so as to open our larboard guns at the same minute.

"Captain Zievel, who was fully acquainted with the above plan, and with the batteries, brought his frigate the *Diana*, nearly at the same moment, within a fathom's length of the place where I had wished it, for our directed position. The *Dageraad*, Captain Polders, also immediately opened her batteries in the best direction. The captains Van der Straaten and Van der Hart, by the thick smoke, and not being so fully acquainted with the localities, were not so fortunate in the first moments; but worked with the greatest coolness, and under the heaviest fire, so as to give their batteries a good direction. The *Eetragt*, Captain-Lieutenant Wardenburg, which I had placed in reserve, in order to be able to

bring assistance, remained under the fire of the batteries close by. Our ships had not fired more than half-an-hour, when Lord Exmouth acquainted me that he was very much satisfied with the direction of the fire of our squadron on the southern batteries; because these giving now as little hindrance as possible, he commanded the whole of the Mole, and all the enemy's ships.

"His majesty's squadron, as well as the British force, appeared to be inspired with the devotedness of our magnanimous chief to the cause of all mankind; and the coolness and order with which the terrible fire of the batteries was replied to, close under the massy walls of Algiers, will as little admit of description as the heroism and self-devotion of each individual generally, and the greatness of Lord Exmouth in particular, in the attack of this memorable day.

"The destruction of nearly half Algiers, and, at eight o'clock in the evening, the burning of the whole Algerine navy, have been the result of it. Till nine o'clock, Lord Exmouth remained with the *Queen Charlotte* in the same position, in the hottest of the fire; thereby encouraging every one not to give up the begun work until the whole was completed, and thus displaying such perseverance, that all were animated with the same spirit, and the fire of the ships against that of a brave and desperate enemy appeared to redouble.

"Shortly afterwards, the *Queen Charlotte*, by the loosening of the burning wreck, being in the greatest danger, we were, under the heaviest fire, only anxious for the safety of our noble leader; but upon offering him the assistance of all the boats of the squadron, his reply was, 'that having calculated everything, it behoved us by no means to be alarmed for his safety, but only to continue our fire with redoubled zeal, for the execution of his orders, and according to his example.'

"His lordship at last, at about half-an-hour to ten o'clock, having completed the destruction of the Mole, gave orders to retire without the reach of the enemy's fire; which I, as well as the others, scrupled to obey before the *Queen Charlotte* was in safety from the burning ships.

"In this retreat, which, from the want of wind, and the damage suffered in the rigging, was very slow, the ships had still to suffer much from a new-opened and redoubled fire of the enemy's batteries; at last, the land-breeze springing up, which

Lord Exmouth had reckoned upon, the fleet, at twelve, came to anchor in the middle of the bay.

"The *Queen Charlotte*, under the fire of the batteries, passing the *Melampus* under sail, his lordship wished to be able to see me, in order to completely reward me by shaking my hand in the heartiest manner, and saying, 'I have not lost sight of my Dutch friends: they have, as well as mine, done their best for the glory of the day.'

"The circumstance of the general order of Lord Exmouth to the fleet, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, must make the squadron hope for his majesty's satisfaction.

"For our loss in killed and wounded, I have to refer you to the subjoined list. It is remarkably small for ships exposed to a fire of eight hours' duration, in comparison with that of the English ships. In the damage done to our rigging, &c., your excellency will observe that we have been less fortunate.

"The day after the action, Lord Exmouth sent a second summons to the dey, of which his lordship sent me a copy. It stated, that by the destruction of half Algiers, and of his whole navy, the dey was now chastised for his faithless conduct at Bona, &c., and that he could only prevent the total destruction of the town, by the acceptance of the conditions of the preceding day. The signal of the acceptance of the conditions was the firing of three shots which, three hours afterwards we had the satisfaction of hearing. In a conference with two persons empowered by the dey, on board Lord Exmouth's ship, at which myself, together with Admiral Milne and Captain Brisbane were present, all the points were regulated. The conclusion of the peace for England and the Netherlands was celebrated by the firing a salute of twice twenty-one cannon, and I have now the satisfaction of wishing you joy on the successful termination of the efforts of his majesty in the cause of humanity.

"I shall have the honour, on a future opportunity, to report further to your excellency, and am,

"With the highest respect, &c.,

"J. VON DE CAPELLAN."

The ships engaged in the bombardment of Algiers were—the *Queen Charlotte*, 108, Admiral Lord Exmouth, Captain J. Brisbane, C.B.; *Impregnable*, 104, Rear-admiral

Milne, Captain Edward Brace, C.B.; *Superb*, 74, Captain Charles Ekins; *Minden*, 74, Captain William Patterson; *Albion*, 74, Captain John Coode; *Leander*, 50, Captain Edward Chetham, C.B.; *Severn*, 40, Hon. Frederick William Aylman; *Glasgow*, 40, Captain Hon. Anthony Maitland; *Hebrus*, 36, Captain Edmund Palmer, C.B.; *Granicus*, 36, Captain William Furlong Wise; *Mutine*, 16, Captain James Mould; *Prometheus*, 16, Captain William Bateman Dashwood; *Infernal* bomb, Captain Hon. John James Percival; *Hecla* ditto, Captain William Popham; *Fury* ditto, Captain Moorson; *Beelzebub* ditto, Captain Kempthorne; *Cordelia* and *Britomart*, of 10 guns each; and the *Express* schooner. The Dutch squadron consisted of the *Melampus*, 36, flag-ship of Admiral Von Capellan; *Frederika*, 36, Captain Van der Straaten; *Dageraad*, 36, Captain Polders; *Diana*, 36, Captain Petrus Zievogel; *Amstel*, 36, Captain Van der Hart; *Eetragt*, Captain Wardenburg.

Lord Exmouth, on his arrival in Britain, was received with great enthusiasm, and he was raised to the dignity of a viscount for his services; Admiral Milne was knighted; and promotion, on the usual scale, was bestowed on the other officers. Admiral Viscount Exmouth also received an honourable augmentation to his arms. In the centre of the shield a triumphal crown was placed by a civic wreath; below was a lion rampant, and above them a ship, lying at the mole-head of Algiers, and surmounted with the star of victory. The former supporters were exchanged for a lion on the one side, and a Christian slave holding aloft the cross, and dropping his broken fetters, on the other. The name "Algiers" was given for an additional motto. Orders of knighthood were conferred on him by the kings of Holland, Spain, and Sardinia. A sword, ornamented with diamonds, was presented to him by the lord mayor of the city of London, at a grand banquet given by the Ironmongers' Company; Mr. Betton, a member of that company, who had himself endured the misery of captivity amongst the barbarians, having left a considerable sum for the ransom of Christian slaves in Barbary, and for which the company were trustees. A medal was struck by a society in Paris in honour of the victory, and the officers of the squadron presented to their commander a magnificent piece of plate, value 1,400 guineas, representing the mole of Algiers and its fortifications.

The thanks of parliament were cordially voted to the admiral, and the officers and men of his squadron, for the glorious achievement; and in both houses the highest testimony was borne to the able manner in which Lord Exmouth had conducted the expedition. Referring to the disadvantages which the commander-in-chief and his officers had laboured under in getting their crews so hurriedly together, Lord Melville, in the house of peers, said—"When the expedition to Algiers was determined on, it became necessary to collect men from different guard-ships,\* and to call for the services of volunteers for this particular enterprise. He mentioned this circumstance because those who knew the value which naval officers attach to a crew long accustomed to act together, would be the better able to appreciate the skill and exertions of Lord Exmouth, and the difficulties he had to contend with in rendering crews, collected as he had stated, efficient for his purpose. To that object Lord Exmouth devoted his daily, his hourly attention, and accomplished it in a manner which reflected the highest credit on his judgment and ability. He then proceeded with his squad-

\* Among others who volunteered to serve in this expedition, were a number of smugglers who had been taken on the western coast, and sentenced to five years' service in the navy. They were sent to the eastward as prisoners, in a cutter in which Mr. Pellew (Lord Exmouth's brother) had taken a passage to make a parting visit to the admiral, and they implored his intercession on their behalf. He advised them to enter for the *Queen Charlotte*, and gain a title to the indulgence they sought by their good conduct in the battle. They all did so: no serious casualty occurred among them; and they behaved so well, that Lord Exmouth applied to the admiralty, and obtained their discharge.—Ossler's *Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth*.

† On the occasion of Lord Exmouth's victory, there were not wanting those who made every endeavour to take away from him the merit of this great achievement, and who wished to make it appear that the victors owed their success to the forbearance or stupidity of the enemy. An officer who served in the *Queen Charlotte* thus disposes of this unworthy attempt to deprive an able commander of the honour which was due to him for making use of every means that human foresight could devise to effect the object which he had in view. Speaking of what might have occurred if the Algerine gunners had opened their fire earlie, he says—"It cannot be supposed that the officers and men who supported with so much steadiness and self-possession the continued fire of such an action, would have quailed under the first fire of the Algerines, even though it had been necessary to have borne it in silence. But what is the fact? The *Queen Charlotte* was the only ship secured, the only ship anchored when the battle began. The stations taken up, under the heaviest of

ron on the appointed service. He proposed certain terms to the dey of Algiers, according to his instructions, and no satisfactory reply being given, the ships took their positions. It was due to Lord Exmouth to state a circumstance not generally known. An opinion had prevailed, that accident and the elements had been very favourable to Lord Exmouth in the execution of the enterprise;† but the fact was, that when government had determined on the undertaking, many persons, and among them several naval officers, were of opinion that the defences were so strong that the attack could not succeed. Not so Lord Exmouth, though he was perfectly aware of the difficulties with which he had to contend. He had himself formed the plan of his operations, and gave it as his opinion that the object might be accomplished; not from any idle confidence, but founded on the reasons which he stated, and the plan which he had formed. He had in this plan settled the position which every ship was to take; and when the despatches came, he (Lord Melville) had noticed that the positions exactly taken were those which had been before settled. The whole scheme of

the fire, by the *Leander*, *Granicus*, *Glasgow*, *Severn*, and *Melampus* frigates, attest the assertion that the ships *must have reached their stations*; for be it remembered that these ships are mentioned, not only for the exactitude with which they took their assigned stations, but also because they were the most difficult, having to pass all the batteries, and anchor on a part of the position where not only the smoke of the admiral's ship, but also that of the enemy was settling. My own idea, and that of dozens of other officers, undoubtedly was, that we were going to an assured victory—that our opponents were outmatched in skill—that our chief's plans were infallible, and only required the exertions of his subordinates to insure success." The following anecdote shows the confidence the admiral had in his own resources, and the arrangements he had made for every contingency. After the battle was over, one of his officers remarked to him, that it was well for them that the land-wind came off, or they should never have got out; and that God only knew what might have been their fate, had they been obliged to remain in during the night. The admiral at once replied—"No man is more deeply sensible of the value of the land-wind which saved us many a gallant fellow; no man is more deeply grateful to Divine Providence, for having so favoured us, than myself; but I have not wholly rested on such a contingency. I never dreamed of carrying my squadron where I could not withdraw them. My means were prepared, and I am sure that the exertions of the officers and men would have realised all my expectations; and on no one could I have counted more truly than on yourself and your people." Such coolness in danger, and such able foresight, must always command success.

attack was before prepared by him, and exactly followed; and the whole transaction reflected the highest credit on Lord Exmouth as a naval commander, as well as upon his perseverance and gallantry." In the House of Commons, Lord Castlereagh spoke to the following effect:—"He should not attempt," he said, "to add anything more to an action so glorious, both as to the principles upon which it was undertaken, and the mode by which it was carried out; but only observe that he intended to extend the thanks to the officers and seamen of their brave ally, the King of the Netherlands, whose co-operation had been so beneficial. He was sure the house would feel a peculiar gratification in seeing the navy of Holland united with ours for the general liberties of mankind, and be anxious to mark their sense of the services performed by the Dutch admiral, his brave officers, and sailors." We shall conclude our extracts from this debate with the remarks of one who was well able to give an opinion on the subject before the house. Lord Cochrane, who spoke on this occasion, said—"No one was better acquainted than himself with the power possessed by batteries over a fleet; and he would say that the conduct of Lord

Exmouth and the fleet deserved all the praise which that house could bestow. The attack was nobly achieved, in a way that a British fleet always performed such services; and the vote had his most cordial concurrence, for he never knew or had heard of anything more gallant than the manner in which Lord Exmouth had laid his ships alongside the Algerine batteries.\*" Such language as this, from such a man, must have been peculiarly grateful to Lord Exmouth's feelings.

As the bombardment of Algiers was the last great event in which Lord Exmouth took a part in the service of his country, we shall here lay before the reader a brief sketch of his career. Lord Exmouth entered the service an unfriended orphan, and with nothing to rely on but his character and his sword, he rose to the highest honours in his profession. The example of such a man is invaluable to those who have devoted themselves to the service of their country, as by the exercise of the same exertions they may hope to obtain the same rewards.

Edward Pellew, Viscount Exmouth, was born on the 19th of April, 1757, at Dover. His father was commander of the post-

\* "These are noble words, such as the brave only can apply to the brave; rendered doubly striking, and not less honourable to the giver than the receiver, when it is recollected under what unmerited obloquy Lord Cochrane laboured at that time, and the shameful ingratitude with which he had been treated by his country. There were not wanting, however, many who thought that, on such an occasion, honours and rewards might have been bestowed with a more liberal hand, and that government would have acted more gracefully if they had seized this opportunity to bestow, perhaps, an unusual amount of the royal favour on a service which, during the last year of the war, had received so little of it, simply because the magnitude of its former victories had swept every enemy from the ocean. But the admiration and gratitude of the world was the real reward of the victors. Never, perhaps, since the fall of Jerusalem resounded through Christendom, had such a unanimous feeling pervaded every civilised state. Difference of race, of nations, of institutions were forgotten in the common triumph of faith. The Roman catholic grasped the hand of the protestant, the Lutheran of the Greek. Through two hundred million of human beings, one simultaneous burst of joy broke forth; the unity of feeling, which is the charm of love between two faithful hearts, was for once felt by an entire fifth of the human race. The battle of Algiers was memorable in another point of view, still more important to the general interests of humanity. It was the first of the great and decisive triumphs of the Christians over the Mohammedans. Other victories had been gained in former days, but they were in defence only, or were

obliterated in the consequences of subsequent disaster. The battle of Tours, in the days of Charles Martel, the deliverance of Vienna by John Sobieski, the victory of Lepanto by Don John of Austria, only averted subjugation from Christendom; the glories of Ascalon, the conquest of Jerusalem, the heroism of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, were forgotten in the disaster of Tiberias, the fate of Ptolemais, the expulsion of the Christians from the Holy Land. Even the more recent successes of the Russians over the Turks had been deeply chequered with disaster; the storming of Oczakow was balanced by the disaster of the Pruth; the Balkan had never been crossed by the followers of the Cross, and the redoubtable antagonists still exchanged desperate thrusts, with alternate success, on the banks of the Danube. But with the battle of Algiers commenced the decisive and eternal triumph of the Christian faith; the Cross never thereafter waned before the Crescent. Other triumphs not less decisive rapidly succeeded, and the Ottoman empire was only saved from dissolution by the jealousies of the victors. Navarino wrenched Greece from its grasp; Acre saw the sceptre of Syria pass from its hands; Koniah brought it to the verge of ruin. Algiers delivered its sway over Africa to France; the passage of the Balkan rendered it tributary to Russia. Nor was the waning of the Crescent less perceptible in Asia. The bastions of Erivan gave the Muscovites the command of Georgia; the Cross was placed on the summit of Ararat, the resting-place of the ark; the British standards were seen on the ramparts of Ghuznee, the cradle of the Mohammedan dominion of India."—Alison's *Europe from the Fall of Napoleon*.

office packet on the Dover station. Like many others who have risen to eminence, early difficulties drew forth his energies. His father, who died in 1765, left six children, and a subsequent imprudent marriage of their mother deprived them of the support of a parent; and thus they were thrown on the world with scarcely any resources. Edward, the subject of this notice, began his career at sea in the year 1770, in the *Juno* frigate, with Captain Stott, whom he accompanied in the same year to the Falkland Islands, and afterwards to the Mediterranean. An incident in the history of young Pellew at this time is characteristic of the man. Captain Stott, whom Pellew had followed to the *Alarm*, after the *Juno* had been paid off, was an excellent seaman, but unfortunately retained some habits which were not suited to his position as commander of a ship. He kept a mistress on board. Among the midshipmen was a boy named Frank Cole, who was three years younger than Mr. Pellew, but had entered on board the *Juno* at the same time. Mr. Pellew was warmly attached to him. The woman had some pet fowls, which were allowed to fly about; and one day, when the ship was lying at Marseilles, and the captain absent, one of them was driven off the quarter-deck by young Cole, which led to great abuse from the woman, and a sharp reply from the boy. When the captain returned, he became so much enraged at her representations, that he not only reprimanded the youngster severely, but so far forgot himself as to give him a blow. In consequence of this, Cole, having consulted his friend Pellew, applied for his discharge. The captain immediately ordered a boat to be got ready, for the purpose, as he said, of turning Mr. Cole on shore. As soon as this order was given, Mr. Pellew went to the captain, and firmly but respectfully told him—"If Frank Cole is to be turned out of the ship, sir, I hope you will turn me out too." The spirited conduct of the lads attracted the notice of the two lieutenants on board—Keppel and Lord Hugh Seymour; and learning that they had no money, Lord Seymour kindly gave them an order on his agent at Marseilles. This incident in the early career of Lord Exmouth laid the foundation of an intimacy which continued through life. His next ship was the *Blonde*, Captain Pownoll, whose character as an able seaman and commander deservedly stood among

the highest in the service. On the commencement of hostilities with the American colonies, the *Blonde* was sent to America with General Burgoyne on board as a passenger. When the general came alongside the frigate, the yards were manned to receive him. Looking up, he was surprised to see a midshipman on the yardarm standing on his head. Captain Pownoll, however, who was near him, soon quieted his apprehensions, by telling him that it was only one of the daring tricks of young Pellew, a midshipman on board, and that he need not be in the slightest degree alarmed; as, if he should fall into the water, he would only pass under the ship's bottom, and come up on the other side. At another time, when the *Blonde* was going fast through the water, a sailor accidentally fell overboard while Pellew was engaged on the fore-yard. He immediately sprung from the yard into the sea, and seizing the drowning man, he held him up until a boat which was sent from the ship came to their assistance. His biographer states, that when Mr. Pellew came on board, "Captain Pownoll reproached him for his rashness; but he shed tears when he spoke of it to the officers, and declared that Pellew was a noble fellow."

During the continuance of the war with the American colonies, a party, of whom Mr. Pellew was one, was selected to act under Commodore Douglas, and other able officers, in equipping and afterwards commanding vessels on Lake Champlain, to oppose the enemy's flotilla. Our hero was appointed to the *Carleton* schooner, in which he was engaged in the most desperate service. On the 11th of October, 1776, the enemy's vessels were discovered drawn up in a strong line between one of the numerous islands on the lake and the western land. The *Carleton* was the vessel nearest to the enemy; and though her force was only twelve 6-pounders, and the enemy consisted of fifteen vessels, carrying ninety-six guns, she at once attacked, without waiting for the rest of the squadron. In this affair, General Arnold commanded the American squadron. The wind being unfavourable, none of the British vessels were able to work up to the assistance of the *Carleton*, so that this small craft was exposed to a severe fire from the whole of the enemy's force. In a short time the artillery boats approached to the assistance of the *Carleton*. Meanwhile, however, she had suffered severely. Mr. Brown, a midshipman, and

Lieutenant Dacres, had both been struck down, and the command devolved on Mr. Pellew, who continued the unequal contest with great spirit, until all efforts to bring up the squadron to his assistance having failed. Captain Pringle made the signal of recall. The *Carleton*, with two feet of water in her hold, and with more than half her crew killed and wounded, was in no condition to obey the order. While endeavouring to get his vessel out of range of shot, the gun-boats having taken the *Carleton* in tow, a shot from the enemy cut the tow-rope in two, when finding that his men hung back from executing the order he had given to secure it, the enemy's shot falling so thick as to render this a service of almost certain death, he at once ran forward and did it himself. If the *Carleton* had suffered severely herself, she had at least managed to give a good account of the enemy to whom she was opposed. She had, during the time in which she was engaged, sunk the *Boston*, a gondola, carrying an 18-pounder and two twelves; and burnt the *Royal Savage*, of 12 guns, the largest of the enemy's schooners. For his gallant conduct on this occasion Mr. Pellew received the following letter from Sir Charles Douglas, the senior officer at Quebec, to whose command all the lake service was subordinate:—

“Sir,—The account I have received of your behaviour on board the *Carleton*, in the different actions on the lakes, gives me the warmest satisfaction, and I shall not fail to represent it in the strongest terms to the Earl of Sandwich and my Lord Howe, and recommend you as deserving a commission for your gallantry; and as Lieutenant Dacres, your late commander, will no doubt obtain rank for his conduct when he reaches England, I am desired by General Sir Guy Carleton to give you the command of the schooner in which you have so bravely done your duty.” He also received the following from Lord Howe, appointing him lieutenant:—“Sir,—The account I have heard of your gallant behaviour from Captain Charles Douglas, of H.M.S. *Iris*, in the different actions on Lake Champlain, gives me much satisfaction, and I shall receive pleasure in giving you a lieutenant's commission whenever you may reach New York.”

His next service was with a party of seamen who were appointed to co-operate with General Burgoyne's army; and he was present at most of the encounters in that disastrous campaign, and afterwards in-

cluded in the capitulation at Saratoga, when the British army surrendered to General Gates, in 1777. Unfortunate as this expedition was to all concerned in it, Lieutenant Pellew contrived to distinguish himself, as he recovered a vessel laden with provisions after it had been captured by the enemy, for which service General Burgoyne thanked him in a letter written with his own hand. A circumstance highly creditable to the young officer occurred at this time. Before the capitulation, a council of war was held to determine on what was best to be done. Mr. Pellew was summoned to attend, in virtue of his being in command of the brigade of seamen who had assisted in the expedition. When the capitulation was proposed, Pellew, who was the youngest officer present, pleaded hard that he might be allowed to fight his way back with his handful of sailors. It was an unheard-of thing, he said, for sailors to capitulate; and if it met with the sanction of the council, he was confident he could bring them off. General Burgoyne, with great difficulty, succeeded in dissuading him from making the attempt, by representing to him that it would lead to a general ruin and violation of the capitulation. Being sent to England with despatches, he was immediately rewarded with a lieutenant's commission, the commanders-in-chief having borne the highest testimony to his skill and intrepidity. His natural fearlessness of character, and the confidence which he had in his own powers, often led him into positions of danger from which it required all his coolness and address to extricate himself. The water seemed to be a natural element to him, and he would often go out in a boat alone, and upset her by carrying a press of sail. On one occasion he nearly lost his life in a boat in Portsmouth harbour, having upset himself. On another occasion, he was going by himself from Falmouth to Plymouth in a small punt, when his hat blew overboard, and he immediately threw off his clothes and swam after it, having first secured the tiller a-lee. As he was returning with his hat the boat got way on her, and sailed some distance before she came up in the wind. He had almost reached her when she filled again, and he was thus baffled three or four times. At length, by a desperate effort, he caught the rudder; but he was so much exhausted, that it was a considerable time before he had strengt to get into the boat.

In 1780, Lieutenant Pellew was again with Captain Pownoll in the *Apollo*. While cruising in the North Sea, the *Apollo* fell in with the French frigate *Stanislaus*. The enemy made every effort to escape; but the *Apollo*, under a press of sail, speedily overtook the frigate and brought her to action. Shortly after the commencement of the fight, Captain Pownoll was shot through the body. Pellew caught the dying commander in his arms, who was only able to articulate—"Pellew, I know you won't throw the ship away;" and immediately expired. Captain Pownoll well knew the character of his gallant lieutenant, for the action was continued with such impetuosity that the Frenchman fled before him, and sheltered himself from capture in the neutral anchorage of Ostend.\* Pellew was immediately promoted to the rank of master and commander, first of the *Hazard*, and afterwards of the *Pelican* sloop of war, in

\* The following is an extract from a letter written to the first lord of the admiralty, giving a detailed account of the action:—" . . . . . When the action began, both ships had all their sails set upon a wind, with as much wind as we could bear. The ever-to-be-lamented Captain Pownoll received a wound through his body about an hour after the action commenced, when standing by the gangway. The enemy had then suffered much, having lost the yardarms of both his lower yards, and had no sails drawing but his foresail, maintop-gallant-sail, and mizen-topsail, the others flying about. We had engaged her to leeward, which, from the heel his ship had, prevented him from making our sails and rigging the objects of his fire; though I am well convinced he had laid his guns down as much as possible. When I assumed the command, we had shot upon his bow. I endeavoured to get the courses hauled up, and the top-gallant-sails clewed up, neither of which we could do, as we had neither clue-garnets, bunt-lines, or leech-lines left. However, we got the top-gallant-sails down with most of the stay-sails, and the mizen-topsail aback; but finding we still outsailed him, I had no other method left but that of sheering across his hawse, first on one bow, then on the other, raking him as we crossed, always having in view the retarding his way, by obliging him either to receive us athwart his bowsprit, in which case we should have turned his head off shore, or to sheer as we did. He, foreseeing our intention, did so; but never lost sight of gaining the shore. In this situation we had continued for a considerable time. His bowsprit had been at two different times over our quarter-deck, but never so far forward as to enable us to secure him. All this time we were approaching the shore, and we were then, I am certain, within two miles of it. I had been cautioned by the master, whose abilities and great assistance I must ever gratefully remember, more than once, of the shoal water, and I had repeatedly called for and sent after the pilot; and I am sorry to inform your lordship he did not appear. Thus situated, in three and a-half fathoms water, and steering towards danger, there was no time to

which he drove ashore three large French privateers, for which gallant service he was advanced to be post-captain in 1782. During the ensuing peace, he commanded the *Winchelsea* frigate; and afterwards the *Salisbury*, bearing the flag of Admiral Milbanke, till the close of 1791. While in command of the *Winchelsea*, an officer who served under him gives the following account of his conduct during a gale of wind, while on the passage to Newfoundland:—" I remember relieving the deck one night after eight o'clock, when the captain was carrying on the duty, and shortening sail upon the quick approach of a severe gale, and being an old sailor for my age, being then sixteen, he ordered me to the mizen-top to close-reef and furl the mizen-topsail; and this being done, from the increase of the gale, we had before twelve o'clock to take in successively every reef, furl most of the sails, and strike the topgallant-masts and

hesitate; and, with the advice of the master, I wore, and brought-to under the mizen, with her head off shore, until we could get the courses and other sails taken in, not having then a brace or bow-line left, and being fully determined to renew the action in a few minutes. We had scarcely wore, when his foremast, maintop-mast, main-yard, and maintop fell, leaving his mainmast without rigging; and the ship at the same time took a large heel, which made us all conclude she had struck the ground. It was then half-ebb, and I firmly believe, had we pursued him, in less than ten minutes we must have run aground. She had fired a gun to leeward seemingly to claim the protection of the port, which was answered by three from the garrison. I was at this time preparing to wear again to anchor alongside him; but Mr. Unwin, the purser, bringing me some orders found in Captain Pownoll's pocket, among which was one relative to the observance of neutrality, I did not think myself justified in renewing the attack. I therefore continued lying-to, to repair our damages. Our masts are much wounded, the rigging very much torn, and several shot under water, by which we made two feet of water an hour. Your lordship will, I hope, pardon me for troubling you with the relation of private feelings. The loss of Captain Pownoll will be severely felt. The ship's company have lost a father. I have lost much more, a father and a friend united; and that friend my only one on earth. Never, my lord, was grief more poignant than that we all feel for our adored commander. Mine is inexpressible. The friend who brought me up, and pushed me through the service is now no more! It was ever my study, and will ever be so, to pursue his glorious footsteps. How far I may succeed, I know not; but while he lived I enjoyed the greatest blessing, that of being patronised by him. That happiness I am now deprived of, and unassisted by friends, unconnected with the great, and unsupported by the world, I must throw myself totally on your lordship's generosity. If I have erred, it was not from the heart; for I will be bold to say, the love and honour of his country makes no heart more warm than mine."

other spars, to make the ship snug, the midshipmen being on the yards as well as the men, and the captain, when the gale became severe, at their elbow. In close-reefing the maintop-sail, there was much difficulty in clewing up the sail for the purpose of making it quiet, and the captain issued his orders accordingly from the quarter-deck, and sent us aloft. On gaining the topsail-yard, the most active and daring of our party hesitated to go out on it, as the sail was flapping about violently, making it a service of great danger. A voice was heard amidst the roaring of the gale from the extreme end of the yardarm, calling upon us to exert ourselves to save the sail, which would otherwise be beat to pieces. A man said, "Why, that's the captain; how the devil did he get there?" It was by such acts that he inspired confidence in his men, by all of whom he was greatly beloved; and while discussing among themselves the orders which he issued, they would finish by saying, "Well, he never orders us to do what he won't do himself;" and they often remarked, when talking of his seamanship, "Blow high, blow low, he knows to an inch what the ship can do, and he can almost make her speak."

On the commencement of the war with France, in 1793, Captain Pellew was appointed to the *Nymphé* frigate at Plymouth, and put to sea on the 17th of June in that year. Before the evening closed, he fell in with the *Cleopatre* French frigate, of equal force, and chased her through the night. In the morning, the French captain, Jean Mullon by name, bore down into action. When within hail, Captain Pellew advanced to the gangway, and pulling off his hat, cried "Long live King George!" to which his crew responded with three hearty cheers. The Frenchman came forward with "*Vive le Nation!*" and was seconded by his men in like manner, on which Pellew put on his hat (the concerted signal for firing), and poured a destructive broadside into the enemy's ship, which returned it with great

effect; and after a desperate conflict of an hour, in which his gallant rival was killed, Pellew captured the *Cleopatre*, and carried her into Portsmouth.\* The brave Captain Mullon, commander of the *Cleopatre*, was buried at Portsmouth with all the honours due to the gallantry he had displayed. Sir Edward Pellew wrote a letter of condolence to his widow: from the reply of the lady, having learnt that she was in narrow circumstances, he sent with her husband's effects whatever assistance his own slender means at that time enabled him to afford. Such acts as these are more honourable to a man than all the titles which monarchs or governments can bestow.

On being presented at St. James's, the king conferred on him the honour of knighthood. He was now advanced to the command of the *Arethusa*, which formed one of the western squadron of frigates employed against the French cruisers in the British channel. In this service Sir Edward was prominently engaged in the capture of the French frigates *Pomone*, *Flora*, and *Babet*, and the destruction of the *Felicite*, and also several smaller vessels of war. In 1795, with a detachment of frigates under his own orders, he captured the *Revolutionnaire*, of 44 guns, and soon after, a valuable convoy of merchant vessels, with the ship which protected them. But, justly as his conduct in presence of the enemy was entitled to distinction, it was eclipsed by that union of prompt resolution with constitutional philanthropy which personally endeared him to his followers. Twice already, when captain of the *Winchelsea*, this heroic spirit had been signally displayed by his leaping from the deck, and saving two of his drowning sailors; the first of these acts being performed while he was under severe indisposition. A more conspicuous example of this noble feeling was shown on the 26th of January, 1796, when, by his personal exertions, he preserved the crew and passengers on board the *Dutton* East Indiaman, crowded with troops, which was

\* Captain Pellew gives the following account of this action in a letter to his brother Samuel:—"Dear Sam,—Here we are, thank God! safe—after a glorious action with *La Cleopatre*, the crack ship of France, 40 guns; 28 on her main-deck, and 12 on her quarter-deck, some of 36 pounds, and 320 men. We dished her up in fifty minutes, boarded and struck her colours. We suffered much, but I was long determined to make a short affair of it. We conversed before we fired a shot, and then, God knows, hot enough it was, as you will see by the

inclosed. I might have wrote for a month, had I entered on the description of every gallant action, but we were all in it heart and soul. I owe much to Israel [his brother], who undertook with the after gun to cut off her rudder and wheel. The tiller was shot away, and four men killed at her wheel, which I verily believe was owing to him. I will write again in a day or two, and do all I can for everybody. *Cleopatre* is fifteen feet longer and three feet wider than *Nymphé*: much larger.—Yours, &c., E. P."

driven on the rocks under the citadel at Plymouth, in a tremendous gale, in which many other ships of the expedition to the West Indies were lost.\*

Sir Edward being now in the *Indefatigable* as commodore of the western squadron, had the good fortune to capture the French frigates *Unite* and *Virginie*. On the 13th of January, 1797, having the *Amazon* as his consort, he fell in with the *Droits de l'Homme*, of 74 guns. Pellew pursued her in a heavy gale throughout the night, the French ship being unable to use her lower tier of guns with any effect, owing to the high sea; and even on board the two English frigates the men fought their main-deck guns often up to the waist in water. Having lost sight of the other ships towards morning, when close in with the coast of France, Sir Edward at length descried his brave antagonist ashore in Audierne Bay, totally lost, with great part of her crew.†

In 1798, Sir Edward's success was remarkably shown by the capture of no less than fifteen of the enemy's cruisers. In the following year he unwillingly surrendered this active service, upon being advanced to the command of the *Impetueux* of 74 guns. At this time the crew were on the eve of mutiny, and a few days after, while he was dressing in his cabin, they advanced in a tumultuous body to the quarter-deck. Sir Edward instantly rushed out among them, grappled with their ring-leader, and, being ably seconded by his

\* The conduct of Sir Edward Pellew, on this occasion, was so noble that a brief account of the circumstances cannot fail to prove interesting, and to show that it is not in the hour of battle alone that true bravery exhibits itself. The *Indefatigable*, Sir Edward's ship, was on the 26th of January, 1796, lying at Hamoaze, after having been docked, and Sir Edward was on his way in a carriage along with his lady to dine with a friend, when he was made aware that the *Dutton*, a large East Indiaman, employed in the transport service, had gone ashore under the citadel, where beating round she lay rolling heavily, with her broadside to the waves. The whole of her masts had gone overboard together. He immediately sprang out of the carriage and ran off towards the wreck. As soon as he arrived at the beach he learned that the ship had been deserted by her principal officers, and that in the course of a very short time the loss of all on board, in number more than 500, was inevitable, unless some one was on board capable of directing them. Sir Edward in vain endeavoured to persuade the officers to return to their duty. He also offered rewards to the pilots and some of the boatmen of the port, to induce them to board the wreck and succour the crew, but in vain; the sea running so high that they pronounced

it impossible that a boat could live in it. Finding all his efforts useless, he exclaimed, "then I will go myself!" and attaching a rope, which formed the only communication with the ship, to his body, he was dragged on board through the surf. Having reached the deck, he declared himself, and assumed the command. He then informed the people on board that their only chance of being saved depended on their obeying his orders, and he assured them that he would answer for the safety of every one if they preserved order; that he himself would be the last man to leave the ship; and, drawing his sword, declared that he would run any one through who disobeyed him. In the meantime, two boats from his own ship, although ignorant that he was on board, made towards the wreck. The ends of two hawsers were now got on shore, and a cradle constructed, with travelling ropes so that it could be drawn backwards and forwards from the ship to the beach. The children, the women, and sick were first landed; next the soldiers were got on shore, then the ship's company, and finally Sir Edward himself, who was among the last to leave her. Not a single life was lost; and scarcely had all got on shore when the wreck went to pieces.

officers, he drove them between decks, where ten of the principals were put in irons, which quelled the insurrection. A court-martial was afterwards held on the mutineers, when several of them were sentenced to be executed. When the unfortunate men were brought out to suffer the penalty of their crime, Sir Edward addressed a few words first to the men who had followed him from the *Indefatigable*, and afterwards to the rest of the crew. "Indefatigables," he said, "stand aside; not one of you shall touch the rope. But *you*"—meaning that portion of the crew who belonged to the *Impetueux* before he took the command, and among whom the mutiny originated—"who have encouraged your shipmates to the crime by which they have forfeited their lives, it shall be your punishment to hang them." On a previous occasion, while the *Indefatigable* was lying in Fal-mouth harbour, Sir Edward Pellew quelled an attempt at insurrection on board that ship. One of the sailors, in the dead of the night, privately informed Sir Edward of the intended mutiny; but he pretended to discredit the man's tale, and to all appearance took no steps in consequence. However, when the ship was ordered to be got under weigh, it was observed that the sailors were sulky, and the officers complained that they could not get the men to go round with the capstan. Sir Edward immediately came forward, and drawing his sword, told the crew that he was acquainted with their plot, and commanded them to perform their duty

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† See p. 77, vol. i.

as directed. He then desired his officers to draw their swords, and addressing them said—"You can never die so well as on your deck, quelling a mutiny; and now, if any man hesitate to obey you, cut him down without a word." The consequence of this prompt and decided conduct was, that the ringleaders were completely cowed, and the crew, accustomed to obedience, at once returned to their duty, and the frigate was soon under sail.

In 1799, he co-operated in landing the unfortunate French royalists in their expedition to the Morbihan, and afterwards proceeded with other ships of the line to co-operate in an attack upon Ferrol. In 1801, he received the honorary rank of colonel of marines, and was elected to serve in parliament as representative for Barnstaple. On the resumption of hostilities which followed the short and feverish peace, Sir Edward was appointed to the *Tonnant* of 80 guns, and hoisted a broad pennant in charge of five ships of the line. Being not long after advanced to the rank of rear-admiral, he received the chief command in the East Indies, and sailed thither on the 10th of July, 1804, in the *Culloden* of 74 guns. During five years, the naval administration committed to him in that quarter of the world was conducted with great efficiency and judgment. Having attained the rank of vice-admiral, Sir Edward Pellew proceeded to Europe, and had not long returned, when, in the spring of 1810, he was appointed to the chief command of the fleet, which was then observing the French force in the Scheldt. He hoisted his flag in the *Christian the Seventh* of 80 guns, and for many months kept an anxious watch on their movements. Early in the summer of the following year, he had the satisfaction of being removed to the more important station of commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. Here the constant wish of his heart was a general action. Twice indeed his flag-ship, with a few others of the van, got near enough to have a partial engagement with the rear of the enemy's fleet, while exercising before the port of Toulon; but these served only to augment his anxiety for a decisive conflict. How long and earnestly he maintained the blockade of the enemy's superior force in that port, unconscious that their imperious master had forbidden his admiral to venture an engagement,—how well he provided for the perfect equipment and efficiency, and the health and

comfort of his own ships,—every officer employed in that highly-disciplined fleet can bear ample testimony. At length the progress of events once more united the great powers of Europe; and while Sir Edward Pellew was engaged in combined operations with the forces of Lord William Bentinck upon the coast of Italy, intelligence arrived to inform him that Napoleon was already a fugitive from his capital, and shortly after, that he had embarked at Frejus, on his way to Elba.

The restoration of peace was distinguished by the rewards bestowed by the sovereign on those officers who had rendered the most important services. Among these our admiral was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Exmouth of Canonteign, with a pension of £2,000 per annum.

Upon the reappearance of Napoleon on the throne of France, a squadron was again dispatched to the Mediterranean, of which Lord Exmouth resumed the command. On arriving upon his station, he placed himself in communication with the Bourbon interests in the south of France, and with the Austrian general in Italy, thus effectually preventing any hostile movement of the French fleet at Toulon, and mainly contributed to the restoration of the legitimate sovereign of Naples. The decisive battle of Waterloo at length extinguished every hope of the fallen Napoleon, and peace was once more restored to Europe.

In the year 1827, the chief command at Plymouth was conferred on his lordship for the usual period of three years; soon after the conclusion of which, he was appointed to the honorary rank of vice-admiral of England, and finally retired from the active duties of his profession; and, excepting occasional attendance in the House of Lords, he passed the remainder of his days in his quiet retreat at Teignmouth. There, while enjoying repose in the bosom of his family, he looked back upon the chequered scene of his former services with unmingled gratitude for all the dangers he had escaped, all the mercies he had experienced, and all the blessings he enjoyed. Withdrawn from the strife and vanity of the world, his thoughts were raised with increasing fervour to Him who had guarded his head in the day of battle, and led him in safety through the hazards of the pathless sea. His lordship expired at his house, at Teignmouth, Devon, on the 23rd of January, 1833, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

# ENGLAND'S FIRST CHINESE WAR

AND

## THE DISPUTES WITH TURKEY AND EGYPT.

BETWEEN 1816 AND 1840.

### LORD AMHERST'S EMBASSY TO CHINA.

THE Chinese empire has, to a considerable extent, been a closed region to Europeans. The arrogant spirit and timid jealousy of its government and people, combined with the fact that the great surface and variety of its soil renders the inhabitants independent of other countries for a supply of the necessaries and even the luxuries of life, has led to the policy of a harsh and even offensive exclusion of strangers. The first attempt of the English to open a trade with China was made in 1637, when four merchant vessels arrived at Macao; but through the intrigues of the Portuguese then established there, the enterprise failed. The East India Company subsequently conducted a petty traffic at the different maritime ports, but chiefly at Canton. In 1792, Lord Macartney was sent on an embassy to put the trade on a more liberal basis, but he met with but little success.

The difficulties which the supercargoes at Canton experienced in the management of their trade, in consequence of the oppressions of the local government, induced the directors of the East India Company, early in 1815, to solicit the ministry to send another embassy to the Chinese court, in the hope that it might lead to a more amicable and unrestricted commerce between the two countries. The directors suggested that the embassy should consist of three members; the first, a person of rank, appointed by the prince-regent; and the other two to be Mr. Elphinstone, the chief of the factory at Canton, and Sir George Staunton, who was distinguished by his abilities, and regarded as peculiarly fitted for such a position, on account of his knowledge of the Chinese language. It was arranged that all expenses attending the embassy were to be defrayed by the East India Company, for whose interest, and at whose solicitation, it was to be undertaken.

The English government consented to these arrangements, but thought it advisable to give the deputation to the Chinese

court the character of an embassy extraordinary, as being more likely to cause an impression, and, consequently, to bring about the objects desired. Lord Amherst was therefore appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, and, on the 9th of February, 1816, he sailed from Spithead in the *Alceste*, commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, and accompanied by the *Lyra*, commanded by Captain Basil Hall. On the 25th of July they entered the Gulf of Petchelee, and as they were then within forty-eight hours' sail of Ta-koo, the *Lyra* was sent on with the object of announcing the embassy, for the purpose of preventing unnecessary delays, and as a mark of respect to the Chinese authorities.

Considerable doubts were entertained as to the success of the mission. The usual jealousy of the Chinese court was probably enhanced by recent disturbances, in which an attempt had been made to assassinate the emperor; and a general and possibly correct impression existed that the disturbances had been fomented by religious sectaries, amongst whom the Christians were not only included, but were regarded with peculiar suspicion and dislike. So strong was this feeling, that a catholic bishop had recently been executed in one of the provinces; while another missionary remained under sentence of death.

But even this feeling did not constitute the chief difficulty in the way of an amicable reception of the English embassy. The vanity of the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire exacted from all who approached the assumed sacred person of the emperor an act of submission so humiliating as not only to be highly offensive to the feelings of every European, but not to be thought of by a British nobleman representing his sovereign. This ceremony is called the "Ko-tou," and consists of nine distinct prostrations in the imperial presence, besides other adulatory performances. Not only does it imply the most humble submission, but is, beside,

an act of religious veneration which, though paid to the emperor, and sometimes to his picture, or the seat he has occupied, is refused even to some of the inferior deities acknowledged by the Chinese people. Lord Macartney evaded this offensive ceremony; but in 1805 a Russian embassy was dismissed from the Chinese territories in consequence of the refusal of the ambassador to submit to it. There was therefore reason to suppose that this point of etiquette—as it was regarded by the Chinese, but degrading ceremony, as it must be considered by Englishmen—would be fatal to the reception of the embassy. What made this custom of the Chinese more offensive, is the fact that they regard all states who present them gifts and adulation as tributary nations.

An express having been dispatched to Peking, on the 12th of July a fast-sailing boat arrived with a copy of the emperor's edict, in which he expressed his satisfaction at the arrival of the embassy, and his intention to honour it with a gracious reception. Messrs. Toone, Davis, Pearson, Morrison, and Manning (who were all more or less acquainted with the Chinese language), joined the embassy at Hong Kong. The total number of persons in the suite of the ambassador amounted to seventy-five.

Lord Amherst was visited on board the *Alceste* by some Mandarins, and boats were provided by them for the passage of the embassy, and the presents of which they were the bearers, to Peking. On the 9th of August they left the ship, and commenced their journey. Captains Maxwell and Hall, being for a time thus released from their duties (for their ships were not required in China before the return of the embassy to Canton), proceeded, in the *Alceste* and the *Lyra*, to the coast of Corea, the eastern boundary of the Yellow Sea, with the intention of exploring and acquiring information concerning many places there, about which little or no precise information then existed.\* Lord Amherst was saluted with three guns on reaching the small fort of Tong-koo, and three or four hundred Chinese soldiers were drawn out on the beach to do him honour. He was also visited by the Chin-chae, or imperial commissioner, who intimated, through the medium of Mr. Morrison, that at this interview he intended entirely to avoid the discussion of business,

\* An account of their proceedings and discoveries in this locality was written by Captain Basil Hall, with the title of *A Voyage of Discovery to the West*

and asserted that his sole object was to pay his respects to his lordship, and to become acquainted with him.

On arriving at the city of Tien-sing, Lord Amherst was visited by a party of Mandarins. At this place he and the immediate members of his suite were invited to an entertainment to be given them at the summer palace of the emperor, a picturesque and almost elegant building on the bank of the river. On entering the hall, a number of Mandarins were discovered in their robes of ceremony; and at about one-third of the room was a table covered with yellow silk, standing before a screen: this was an indication that some discussion was expected. After a few polite generalities, Kwang-ta-jin observed that the entertainment was commanded, and indeed given by the emperor; and that therefore the same ceremonies would be performed by them, and expected from him and his party, as if they were actually in the imperial presence. This was an artifice to induce Lord Amherst to perform the degrading Tartar ceremony of Ko-tou; but the ambassador very properly replied that he was prepared to approach his imperial majesty with the same demonstrations of respect as he would exhibit before his own sovereign. On their observing that it was requisite to go through the ceremony of Ko-tou, he declared his intention of following, in every respect, the precedent established by Lord Macartney. To this the Mandarins replied, that that nobleman *had* performed the ceremony;—a gross falsehood, which the difficulty of Lord Amherst's position prevented him from characterising as it deserved. Assuming a haughty tone, the Mandarins said they supposed it was the intention of the ambassador to please his imperial majesty; that the ceremony never was dispensed with; and that it was not becoming that they should perform a ceremony on this occasion which the ambassador refused.

On finding his lordship inflexible, the Mandarins hinted that unless the Ko-tou was performed, the embassy would not be received. Lord Amherst replied, that however mortifying it might be to his feelings, he must decline the honour intended him by the entertainment, and that on his arrival at Peking he would submit the reasons for his refusal, in writing, to the emperor. The

*Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-choo Island.* To this work we refer those of our readers who feel an interest in the subject.

Mandarins inquired, in astonishment, if he rejected the bounty of the emperor? His lordship repeated his regret and his last proposition, which they, in their turn, positively rejected. After much discussion, the Mandarins said they would not insist on the performance of the ceremony on that occasion, but that they threw the responsibility of the consequences upon Lord Amherst, and that they could not pretend to say whether the embassy or presents would be received; adding, that it would be well to consider the discredit, among other nations, which such a dismissal would reflect upon England. His lordship answered, that the consciousness of obeying his sovereign's commands would relieve him from all uneasiness; that he had intended to make a bow before the table, but that, to evince the sincerity of his disposition to conciliate, he would make as many bows, on the present occasion, as they did prostrations. This was gloomily accepted, and Lord Amherst and his suite each bowed nine times before the table covered with yellow silk, in unison with the prostrations of the Mandarins. A handsome dinner, in the Chinese style, was then served, in which birds'-nest soup, shark-fins, custards, pyramids of preserved fruits, and hot wines, were conspicuous. When dinner was over, a dramatic entertainment took place on a stage at the lower end of the hall. The dresses were very splendid, but the affair was inexplicable; the best part of it being some tumbling,—a mean amusement, in which the Chinese excel.

On the 14th of August, the party left Tien-sing and proceeded on their journey. On the 16th they were informed by Chang and Yin, two of the Mandarins, that an edict had been received from Peking, containing an expression of the emperor's displeasure at their refusal to perform the Ko-tou, and of his fixed determination not to receive the ambassador unless it was complied with. Every inducement was held out for Lord Amherst to consent to submit to degrade his king and nation before the throne of a semi-barbarous potentate, but in vain. At length he observed, that the commands of his sovereign were too precise to admit of a departure from them without some reciprocal concession; therefore he proposed, that if a Tartar Mandarin, of equal rank with himself, would perform the Ko-tou before the picture of the prince-regent, then he would comply with the emperor's wishes. This proposition the

Mandarins affected to consider as altogether inadmissible. Lord Amherst then desired them to forward a memorial upon the subject to the emperor; but they replied, that they dared not transmit any paper containing such a request. His lordship then said he would make another proposal, which was, that in return for his performing the Ko-tou, the emperor would issue an edict declaring that any Chinese ambassador who might in future be presented at the English court, should perform the Tartar obeisance before his Britannic majesty. This the Mandarins declared to be utterly impossible, and to be more objectionable than the former proposition. They added an expression of regret, and observed that they saw no alternative between compliance and return, but said they would report what occurred to his imperial majesty.

On the embassy arriving at Tong-chow, they were received with a military salute, accompanied by some hideous noises, intended for music. A body of troops, armed with matchlocks, or bows and arrows, swords, shields, and quilted breastplates, were drawn up to do them honours. At this place the Ko-tou discussion was renewed. The Mandarins observed, that the object of the embassy was to strengthen the friendly relation between the two countries, and they trusted Lord Amherst would not permit a single circumstance to prevent its attainment. They hinted, with Asiatic duplicity, that even if he complied, he could make what report he pleased on his return to England. His lordship replied, that were he base enough to falsify the account, he had seventy-four witnesses with him, who would speak the truth. On the 22nd of August, Lord Amherst was visited by Ho, a Koong-yay, or noble, of a rank corresponding to our title of duke. This person was previously described as a man of few words, and remarkable for severity and inflexibility of character. Ho received his lordship in a manner only just short of rudeness, and then informed him that he and Moo-ta-jin (another Mandarin) had been dispatched to see him perform the Tartar ceremony. The object evidently was to intimidate his lordship, who replied that he had been deputed by his sovereign to the Emperor of China, for the purpose of manifesting the sentiments of regard and veneration entertained towards his imperial majesty, and that he had been instructed to approach his imperial presence with the ceremonial which had

proved acceptable to Kien-Lung, his illustrious father. The Koong-yay answered—"What happened in the fifty-eighth year belonged to that year; the present is the affair of this embassy, and the regulations of the Celestial Empire *must* be complied with: there is no alternative." Lord Amherst observed, that he had entertained a confident hope that what had proved acceptable to Kien-Lung would not have been refused by his imperial majesty. The Koong-yay vehemently rejoined—"That as there is but one sun, there is only one Ta-whong-te; he is the universal sovereign, and all must pay him homage." Finally, he broke off the interview by saying, while his lips quivered with rage, that the ambassador must either comply with the Ko-tou, or be sent back. As he retired, Lord Amherst placed a letter in his hands, addressed to the emperor, and requested that it might be delivered to his majesty. This letter the Mandarins afterwards opened and returned, as though unexceptional, even in their eyes, in point of profound respect; it was not exactly in accordance with Chinese etiquette. They intimated, however, that with a few slight alterations, which they suggested, they would undertake to transmit it to his imperial majesty. Chang afterwards informed Mr. Morrison that the letter had been privately submitted to the emperor, who did not return any direct answer to it, but remarked, that while the ambassador professed great respect, he required an alteration in the usages of his court, and refused to perform a ceremony which he, the emperor, had witnessed from a former English ambassador to his father Kien-Lung.

Several days elapsed without Lord Amherst's receiving any official communication from the superior Mandarins concerning the embassy; his lordship therefore requested to be apprised of the emperor's determination with respect to the period of their departure. The Chinese authorities seemed unwilling that the ambassador should leave without being presented to the emperor, and humiliating himself, and the sovereign he represented, before that celestial authority; and one of the Mandarins intimated that the embassy might entertain a confidence of being received, but that compliance with the ceremony would make all the difference between an angry or a gracious receptor. It was added, that the question had come to a point of honour between the emperor and the English am-

bassador, and that, under such circumstances, it was impossible that the former could submit.

Another interview took place between Lord Amherst and the Koong-yay, which terminated by the ambassador expressing his intention of taking the subject again into consideration. In a discussion with the gentlemen associated with him in his mission, upon the expediency or otherwise of compliance, Lord Amherst expressed an opinion that, unless Sir George Staunton considered, under existing circumstances, compliance would be injurious to the interests of the East India Company, he was disposed, with a view of averting the probable evil consequences of rejection under irritated feelings, and contemplating the prospect held out of effecting the ulterior objects of the embassy, to comply with the emperor's wishes by performing the ceremony in his presence. Sir George, after consulting the gentlemen of the factory, reported that they considered compliance as highly injurious to the interests of the company, as the maintenance of the respectability, and consequent efficiency of the factory at Canton, rested entirely upon a belief entertained by the Chinese of their inflexible adherence to principles once assumed—a belief which would be at once subverted by concession in such a point on so important an occasion. Lord Amherst therefore prepared a note to the Koong-yay, stating his final and irrevocable determination not to perform the ceremony.

Scarcely was this delivered to one of the attendants of the Koong-yay, when that dignitary himself made his appearance, and requested that Lord Amherst would prepare for his instant departure to Peking, as the emperor had fixed an early day for his first audience, and ordered a house to be prepared as his residence. Lord Amherst, not quite understanding a conduct the very reverse of which he anticipated, requested an answer to his last note. The Koong-yay, bowing significantly, replied that there was no difficulty—that all was arranged, and that he knew what were the feelings of the ambassador's heart. Having said this he departed, leaving Kwang (another Mandarin) to continue the conversation. Lord Amherst stated that he trusted his last note had been thoroughly understood, as its object was to state distinctly the impossibility of his compliance with the Ko-tou; and he expressed a hope that the emperor

would receive him in the mode proposed. Kwang replied: "Both parties in the discussion had done their duty; but that now the affair was settled, and he might be perfectly easy: the ceremony would not be

again mentioned; and that we might rely upon the emperor's kindness, whose heart was truly liberal and expanded." It was now assumed that the point was conceded, and that all would go well.

#### ANGRY DISMISSION OF THE EMBASSY—THE ALCESTE FORCES THE CHINESE BATTERIES.

On the 28th of August Lord Amherst and his attendants entered the large suburbs outside the walls of Peking, or Pih-King, the modern metropolis of the Chinese empire. It consists of two contiguous cities, each surrounded by lofty walls having sixteen gates between them. Altogether it occupies an area of from twenty-five to twenty-eight square miles, though much of this space is occupied by gardens and enclosures. The southern, or Chinese city, is the seat of commerce, while the northern, or Tartar one, is the imperial city. The latter consists of three separate enclosures. The outer one, formerly appropriated to the Tartar garrison, is mostly occupied by Chinese traders. The second enclosure, Hwang-Ching, or the august city, contains many public buildings and temples, and is the residence of the great dignitaries of the empire. The inner enclosure, or forbidden city, is appropriated to the public and private palaces of the emperor, and has a magnificent temple of his imperial ancestors, pavilions, gardens, a lake, and an artificial mountain.

In the suburbs the embassy were objects of great interest to the people, many of whom carried paper lanterns to prevent their curiosity being disappointed by the darkness of the night. Lord Amherst was not conducted into the city, but taken to a country place in its neighbourhood, called Yuen-min-Yuen, where the emperor was then staying. The carriage conveying the ambassador and his suite stopped under some trees, and they were conducted to a small apartment belonging to a range of buildings in a square. Many Mandarins were in waiting, and among them several princes of the blood, who were distinguished by clear ruby buttons and round flowered badges. The subdued tone of all marked their proximity to the immediate presence of the sovereign. Scarcely had Lord Amherst taken his seat, when he was informed that the emperor desired to see him and the commissioners immediately. His lordship was surprised; he had been travelling

all night, was fatigued, in want of refreshment, and not dressed with that precision which is usual with those who represent their sovereign at a foreign court; he therefore represented the impossibility of appearing in the condition he then was. He also mentioned the indecorum and irregularity of appearing without his credentials. To this it was replied, that in the proposed audience the emperor merely wished to see the ambassador, and had no intention of entering upon business.

Lord Amherst persisted in stating that the proposition was inadmissible, and he transmitted a request to his imperial majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to wait till the morrow. On this, two of the Mandarins proposed that his lordship should go to the Koong-yay's apartments, from whence a reference might be made to the emperor. Annoyed at this unreasonable obstinacy, which amounted to persecution, the ambassador alleged illness as one of the reasons for declining the audience. This produced a visit from the Koong-yay, who after using every argument to bend him to submission, at length with some roughness, though under the pretext of friendly violence, laid hands on his lordship to take him from the room; another Mandarin instantly following his example. The ambassador shook them off with dignity, and declared that nothing but the extremest violence should induce him to quit that room for any other but the residence assigned to him; adding, that he was so overcome by fatigue and bodily illness as to require repose. Eventually a message was received stating that the emperor dispensed with the ambassador's attendance, and that he had been pleased to direct his own physician to afford his excellency every medical assistance that he might require. The physician instantly attended; and from what followed, we presume his report was to the effect, that the illness of the ambassador was assumed.

Scarcely two hours had elapsed after Lord Amherst's return to the residence assigned

to him—a pleasantly situated house, with flowers and trees near the principal apartments,—when some Mandarins arrived and announced that the emperor, incensed by the ambassador's refusal to attend him according to his commands, had given orders for his immediate departure. The Mandarins observed that the order was peremptory, and that even compliance with the ceremony of the Ko-tou would be then unavailing, though they subsequently added, that perhaps submission to it might still pacify the emperor. Little doubt can be entertained that the promise given at Tong-chow to Lord Amherst—of the emperor being satisfied by the ceremonial that his lordship might deem sufficient—was an invention and trick of the Chinese; the real object being to introduce that nobleman and his suite into the imperial presence under circumstances so inconvenient and indecorous as to make them almost indifferent what ceremony they went through, or to compel them to perform the Ko-tou during confusion and by personal violence.

Thus dismissed from the capital—dismissed, as the Chinese considered, with disgrace, and the object of the embassy altogether sacrificed, Lord Amherst had yet the proud satisfaction of knowing that he had maintained the dignity of his sovereign, and that he had not prostrated the honour of his nation at the feet of an arrogant and semi-barbarous prince. He at once set out on his return to Tong-chow, there to rejoin the boats which were to convey the embassy to Canton.

The presents brought from the prince-regent were rejected along with the embassy; but the emperor afterwards accepted a few of them, and sent some in return. His reasons were thus expressed, in an imperial edict respecting the treatment of the embassy, in which he says—"I, considering that the said nation had sent a tribute of sincere and entire devotedness from beyond a vast ocean of a distance of thousands of miles, could not bear to reject the expression of veneration and obedience; hence again, I sent down my pleasure, requiring that the most trifling articles of the tribute should be presented, and the kindness conferred of receiving them. They were maps, painted likenesses, and prints—three articles. At the same time, I conferred upon the king of the said country a white precious joo-ee, sapphire court-beads, and different-sized purses, to manifest the idea

of giving much and receiving little. The ambassador received them at Tong-chow with extreme joy and gratitude; and also rather showed, by his manner, contrition and fear. The said embassy came with the intention of offering tribute; still treat it with civility, and silently cause it to feel gratitude and awe: then the right principles of soothing and controlling will be acted on."

The joo-ee spoken of was a sceptre formed of a greenish-white stone, and symbolically expressive of contentment. Its handle was flat and carved, and not unlike that of a ladle; the top was of a circular shape, and resembled the leaf of the water-lily. There was also a Mandarin's necklace of green and red stones; a few beads of coral, with a red ornament set round with pearls, attached to it; and a few embroidered purses. On the walls of Tong-chow the members of the embassy observed copies of an imperial edict, prohibiting women from appearing in the streets, and exposing themselves to the gaze of the English ambassador and his attendants. Female curiosity was not, however, to be overcome, even by the fear of incurring the displeasure of the Son of Heaven! Lord Amherst afterwards learnt, from a Chinese, the cause of this stern and inhospitable edict. A party of Tartars, belonging to some barbarous tribes, on passing through the country on a similar occasion, violated the women of the villages on their route. All foreigners being alike despised by the Chinese, it seems they suspected the English might be guilty of a similar brutality. On returning from Peking, the members of the embassy experienced a marked difference in the treatment they received, compared with that bestowed upon them during their progress thither. To such an extent was this carried, that on a beggar standing up as Lord Amherst passed by him, the fellow was instantly ordered by a Mandarin to sit down again; the dismissed ambassador not being considered deserving of respect, even from the lowest class of society.

A few allusions to some of the most remarkable things seen by the members of the embassy (extracted from a narrative by one of them), will be fraught with interest to those who

"Love to talk with mariners that come from a far countree."

From Tong-chow, Lord Amherst and his attendants sailed onward through millet-

fields, willow-groves, and crowds of junks inhabited by half-clothed men, with little eyes and long tails, and women with prettily-dressed hair, but ugly faces. Occasionally they passed Miaos or temples, of which there are a great number in China. One was dedicated to the God of Fire: the statue of this idol was a short fat figure, seated on a throne, holding a drawn sword in one hand, and a serpentine ring in the other; near him stood two dwarf-like figures, each bearing rings. Another temple was somewhat philosophically dedicated to the Eternal Mother—that is, a personification of Nature. The figure of the goddess had a white cloth thrown over it; on her head was a crown; while in her hand she held a leaf—probably typical of her ruling all things, and producing all things. Other temples were dedicated to the Dragon King and to Kwae-sing; the latter being called by the rather inexplicable name of the Devil's Star Temple. One Miao was dedicated to four ladies, of singular chastity, who died virgins—an odd reason for making saints or goddesses of them. Chinese mythology depends much upon locality, and this singular people acknowledge almost as many gods as the Hindoos, whose deities are to be counted in thousands. We need scarcely say, that both in China and in India there exists a very general indifference to religious topics.

On the 23rd of September, the boats of the embassy entered the grand imperial canal, or Cha-kho, which runs into the Hoang-Ho, or Yellow River. A curious ceremony was here performed by the boatmen, in honour of the god of the stream. Early in the morning a cock was killed, and the bows of the boat sprinkled with its blood. The bird was afterwards roasted, and spread, with other eatables, consisting of boiled pork, salad, pickles, and a pot of sam-shoo, or spirit distilled from rice, upon the fore-castle, before a sheet of coloured paper. The master of the boat then threw two cups of the liquor, and a little of the provisions, overboard; after which some gilt paper was burnt, some crackers discharged, and the rest of the eatables consumed by the crew. Having passed through the canal and the Yellow River, the embassy entered the great Yang-tse-keang, or Son of the Sea—a name which, as the noblest of Asiatic rivers, it well merits. By the waters of this mighty stream, the city of Nankin, with its famous porcelain tower, is situated.

The jealousy of the Chinese prevented the members of the embassy from entering further than the suburbs. During his return, Lord Amherst was occasionally visited by some of the Mandarins; to one of them, a military officer named Wang, his lordship conversed concerning the Duke of Wellington, and gave him a medal containing a series of representations of the battles of that great commander. The name of the illustrious duke admits of a tolerably correct enunciation in Chinese, being merely changed to Wee-ling-tong.

Being unavoidably detained at Kan-choo-foo, the attendants of the ambassador were allowed to visit the city. The exchanges, or halls, in which the merchants met, were large and handsome buildings, in the style of the best Chinese temples; some of them contained elevated stages for theatrical representations. The hall of the Fo-kien merchants was dedicated to the goddess of navigation, who was also the tutelary deity of the province. The Englishmen, with some difficulty, obtained admission to a hall of Confucius (or, properly speaking, Koong-foo-tze.) A tablet, to the memory of the philosopher, described the spot as being the seat of the soul of the most renowned teacher of antiquity. The hall contained some sculptures, described as not being deficient in merit.

When Lord Amherst arrived within seven miles of Canton, on the 1st of January, 1817, he was met by Captain Maxwell and Sir T. Metcalfe, who came in boats in advance of the *Alceste* and *Lyra* to attend him to his residence. The ambassador, therefore, left the Chinese boat and proceeded in his own barge to the village of Ho-nan, where quarters had been prepared for him: they consisted of a Chinese temple, from which the idols were excluded for the time to afford him accommodation. A few days afterwards a letter from the emperor, enclosed in bamboo and covered with yellow silk, to the King of England, was delivered to Lord Amherst. It was written in Chinese, Tartar, and Latin, and ascribed the dismissal of the ambassador and commissioners to what it termed their pertinacious and successive refusals, under a plea of sickness, to attend the emperor. On the 20th of January Lord Amherst and his attendants re-embarked in the *Alceste* to return to England.

We must now relate the difficulty experienced by Captain Maxwell in bringing that

vessel to Canton to meet them, and the open hostilities he incurred and baffled while doing so.

When Captain Maxwell returned in the *Alceste* from his voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea, he anchored, on the 2nd of November, off the island of Lintin, and shortly afterwards some Mandarins came on board, and informed him that Lord Amherst had been dismissed from the court of Pekin in disgrace; and that the *Alceste* must not, therefore, proceed higher up the river for the purpose of procuring refreshments. The *General Hewit*, an Indian, which had brought out the presents from the King of England to the Emperor of China, was not permitted to load a cargo of tea, on the pretext that the space on board of her would be entirely occupied in carrying these rejected presents home again. It was insolently added that a British merchant ship must be held as a security for the good behaviour of the crew of the *Alceste*. Captain Maxwell, animated by the bold spirit of a sailor, and not fettered by those conventionalities which Lord Amherst, as an ambassador, was compelled to observe, desired the Chinese not to repeat this request unless they desired to be thrown overboard. He then stated that he should wait a reasonable time for a pass up the river, and that if it was not sent him in forty-eight hours, he should consider that leave had been given, and proceed accordingly.

The period expired; no answer was received; and the Chinese pilot, who had been hired to conduct the ship up the river, secretly absconded, observing that it was dangerous to have any communication with her. Captain Maxwell was in a difficult position: he was of course aware that Lord Amherst was in the power of these insolent people, and unable to say, in the event of any outbreak, how far they would respect even the person of an ambassador. He felt also that the British flag was insulted, and the safety of his vessel endangered by its being kept in an open and exposed roadstead during the winter. Tame submission, he knew, would increase the insolence of the Chinese, while open violence he considered might endanger the life of Lord Amherst. Having spent some days in consideration, he determined to weigh and run up the river. This he did on the 12th of November, as far as Mr. Mayne, the master of the *Alceste*, could carry him. As he ap-

proached the Bocca Tigris, or Tiger's Mouth, which was guarded by fortifications mounting 110 pieces of cannon, and garrisoned by 1,200 men, he observed the Chinese were prepared to attack him. Seventeen or eighteen war-junks, carrying from four to eight guns each, formed a line off Chumpee. As the *Alceste* continued silently to advance, the Mandarins sent an interpreter on board with a demand that Captain Maxwell should at once anchor his ship on pain of its being sunk. The captain ordered the boat of the messenger to be cut adrift, and then sent the man to a place of security below, with an assurance that he would first pass the batteries and then hang him at the yardarm, for daring to bring so insolent a message to a British man-of-war. The junks then fired some blank cartridges, which Captain Maxwell affected to consider as a salute, and returned with three guns unshotted.

The next day the *Alceste* passed the junks, which speedily got under weigh, and began, together with the forts, to fire on her with shot. The wind compelled Captain Maxwell to bring his vessel to anchor; but to show that he was not to be intimidated, he discharged one gun shotted at the admiral. Probably satisfied with seeing the *Alceste* anchor, the forts and junks ceased their fire. In the evening, the wind permitting her to lay the course, she weighed, and ran still higher up the river. As soon as the junks observed this they beat their gongs, fired guns, and sent up rockets to give the alarm. In reply, the batteries hung out lanterns as large as balloons, and discharged a heavy but ill-directed fire from both sides of the river. The *Alceste* steadily kept on her course, and returned the Chinese fire as fast as her guns could be brought to bear. When within half pistol-shot of the angle of the heaviest battery, and before its guns could be got to bear on the ship, the *Alceste* discharged a broadside from her long eighteens and her 32-pounder carronades. The effect was all that could be desired. The lanterns instantly disappeared as if by magic, and the fort on one side was silenced; while the fire from the other, instead of striking the ship, missed its aim, and did execution on its opposite neighbour. After a contest which lasted about an hour, the *Alceste* was permitted to ascend the river, and take up her anchorage. Not one man on board of her was hurt; the only injury she sustained was two shots in her hull, and a little

damage to her rigging. The loss met by the Chinese was carefully concealed, though it was reported that forty-seven were killed, and many others wounded. The poor Chinaman who had been sent below, under a threat of being hanged as soon as the batteries were passed, was brought trembling upon deck, where, falling prostrate, he kissed the feet of the captain, and implored for mercy. We need scarcely say it was granted to him; the execution of such a poor wretch was not called for, and would therefore have been cruelty. Captain Maxwell had vindicated the honour of the British flag after a nobler fashion.

Not a gun was fired at the *Alceste* as she passed by Tiger Island; and as the morning dawned, the vessel, with the British colours floating proudly at her mast-head, was at anchor in a good berth, and surrounded, at a very respectful distance, by the Chinese fleet. The news of this event excited considerable alarm among the English merchants at Canton; but their fears were soon dissipated by the arrival of several tea-junks

alongside the *General Hewet*, with permission for her to load her cargo immediately. It is evident that the Chinese, notwithstanding their arrogance, were by no means indifferent to the profits of their trade with England. Captain Maxwell, on remonstrating to the government at Canton on the insult offered to our flag, received for answer that it was all a mistake; that, in consequence of a delay in forwarding the pass, the Mandarins had not received notice of it, and that they had consequently but fulfilled their duty. A few days later the Chinese gazette gave a different version of the affair, which they represented as a friendly occurrence altogether, and described as a "chin-chinning," or salute between the two flags. This the Chinese not inaptly call "making face." The seasonable chastisement bestowed upon them by Captain Maxwell, had a very salutary effect; and when the frigate arrived at Whampoa, the viceroy congratulated the captain on his safe arrival, after having used every means in his power to obstruct the passage.

#### RETURN OF THE EMBASSY, AND WRECK OF THE ALCESTE.

LORD AMHERST and his company sailed homeward from Macao in the *Alceste*, on the 28th of January, 1817. Their departure was accompanied by a feeling of satisfaction that they were removed even from the waters of the Celestial Empire, and restored to the habits of independence and civilisation.\* On the 9th of February, the

*Alceste* parted company with the *Lyra*; the latter vessel being sent with despatches to India. The *Alceste* then proceeded safely on her course, until she reached the Straits of Gaspar, leading into the Java Sea. On entering the straits early on the morning of the 18th of February, although soundings were being taken on each side of the

\* Mr. Henry Ellis, one of the commissioners of the embassy, and the author of an account of its proceedings, gave the following estimate of the comparative civilisation of the Chinese:—"Many have probably been disappointed with their journey through a country that has, in my opinion, excited an undue degree of interest in Europe. Inferior by many degrees to civilised Europe in all that constitutes the real greatness of a nation, China has, however, appeared to me superior to the other countries in Asia in the arts of government and the general aspect of society. Although I am not prepared to say that the great principles of justice and morality are better understood in China than in Turkey and Persia (for these may be considered indigenous to the human mind), the laws are more generally known and more uniformly executed. Less is left to the caprice of the magistrate, and appeals to the supreme power are represented as less obstructed, and though tedious in bringing to issue, oftener attended with success. The great chain of subordination, rising from the peasant to the emperor, and displayed through the minute gradations of rank, must operate as a check upon arbitrary rule in the delegates of

the sovereign authority; or at least the diffused possession of personal privileges affords, to a certain extent, security against the sudden effects of caprice and injustice. Those examples of oppression, accompanied with infliction of barbarous punishment, which offend the eye and distress the feelings of the most hurried traveller in other Asiatic countries, are scarcely to be met with in China. The theory of government declares the law to be superior to all—thus supplying a great check to despotic power; and the practice, however it may vary in particular instances, seldom ventures openly to violate the established principles of legislation. In the appeals frequently made through the medium of the imperial edicts to the judgment of the people, however false or illusory the motive assigned in these documents, we have sufficient proofs that the emperor does not consider himself, like the Shah of Persia, wholly independent of public opinion; on the contrary, in seasons of national calamity, or under circumstances of peculiar emergency, the emperor feels called upon to guide the sentiments of his subjects by a solemn declaration of the causes that have produced, or the motives that have regulated his conduct."

vessel, and a vigilant look-out kept from the mast-head, yet she struck on a sunken reef of rocks, and remained immovable. It was soon ascertained that there was no chance of saving the ship; for the rock had completely penetrated the bottom. The pumps were useless; she filled to the orlop-deck, and nothing remained but to hoist out the boats and save the crew and passengers. The perfect self-possession of Captain Maxwell preserved order, and his commands were promptly attended to. Fortunately the wreck took place but three miles distant from the island of Pulo Leat, to which Captain Maxwell sent Lord Amherst, together with the other gentlemen of the embassy, and himself and crew remained with the vessel. Considering that a boat would reach Batavia in three days, and that, as it was impossible for all the crew to be conveyed at one time in the ship's boats, he decided on sending away a small part only, with the hope of receiving speedy and effectual assistance. Lord Amherst and his party had reached the island in safety, and on the evening of the next day they proceeded to Batavia in the barge, with a picked crew, commanded by the junior lieutenant. One of the cutters also accompanied it as a security against accidents. Batavia was 197 miles distant, and there was no probability of reaching it in less than sixty hours.

Captain Maxwell could not allow the boats more than a very small stock of provisions and water; there was but six gallons of the latter between the two boats. They left the island on the evening of the 19th, and, after great fatigue and considerable suffering from want of water, reached Batavia on the 23rd. On their arrival, they sent letters to the Dutch governor and to the English commissioners; and as the *Ternate* and *Princess Charlotte* were fortunately in the roads, both vessels were got ready for sea, and sailed the next morning to bring away Captain Maxwell and his men, who had taken refuge on the island of Pulo Leat.

The history of the wreck of the *Alceste*, and the sojourn of the crew in this desolate place, read like a romance. On the 22nd of February, the vessel was surrounded and set on fire by Malay pirates. These wretches, whose proas were continually increasing in number, completely blockaded the creek where the boats of the crew were laid up, and their hostile appearance threatened the latter with destruction. Captain Maxwell

had established himself on the top of a hill near the landing-place, where, by cutting down trees and clearing the underwood, an open space had been obtained sufficient for the accommodation of the crew and the reception of the stores and baggage. The trunks of the trees furnished materials for defences; platforms were erected at the most commanding points, and some hundred rounds of ball cartridge made up and distributed to the men with the small arms. Thus prepared, an attack from the Malay savages was an event less feared than wished for. The supply of food was husbanded with the greatest care, and a well sunk for the supply of water.

Still the position of Captain Maxwell and his brave fellows was sufficiently forlorn, and their hearts must have beat with joy when the appearance of the *Ternate*, on the 3rd of March, proclaimed that deliverance was at hand. The Malay proas, sixty in number, and carrying from eight to twelve men each, rowed precipitately away. A few mornings before, two of the pirate proas were discovered close in the cove where the ship's boats were moored. Lieutenant Hay, with the barge, cutter, and gig, dashed after them; and the former, after a short chase, succeeded in closing with them. The Malays fired at the barge, and then commenced hurling their javelins, but happily without doing any injury. The contest did not last long: one of the proas escaped, but in the other three of the pirates were shot, and a fourth stunned with a blow from the butt-end of a musket; five threw themselves into the sea and were drowned, and two were made prisoners. Their boat was taken, but sank shortly afterwards. On being brought on shore, the prisoners seemed to have no idea but that they would be speedily hanged or shot; and they sullenly awaited their fate. When their hands were unbound, food given to them, and medical attention bestowed upon one of them who had been wounded, they exhibited signs of surprise and gratitude. They were also much pleased on seeing the dead bodies of their companions (which had been washed on shore) decently buried. Captain Maxwell and his men were taken off by the *Ternate*, the *Princess Charlotte*, from inferiority of sailing, not having come up in time to render any assistance; and in the former vessel they reached Batavia on the evening of the 9th of April.

Lord Amherst and Captain Maxwell,

thinking it advisable to combine the conveyance of the embassy with that of the officers and crew of the *Alceste*, to England, the ship *Cæsar* was taken up for that purpose; and they sailed from Batavia-roads on the morning of the 12th of April.

On their return home they stopped at the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards visited St. Helena, where Lord Amherst, Captain Maxwell, and the commissioners were intro-

duced to the exiled emperor, the captive Napoleon. The fallen warrior conversed alone with Lord Amherst for more than an hour. The rest were afterwards introduced and presented. Napoleon's manners were simple and affable, without wanting dignity. Such was the unsubdued ease of his behaviour, that he could not have been more free from embarrassment and depression in the zenith of his power at the Tuileries.

#### EVENTS THAT PRODUCED THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO—INTERPOSITION OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND RUSSIA.

GREECE mourned sullenly under the iron rule of Turkey, and its people were treated with a brutal severity by their Mohammedan oppressors. Degenerate as the modern Greeks are when compared with their illustrious ancestors, and probably deserving the contemptuous description given of them as "half brigands, half pedlars," still it was impossible for them to forget the heroism and freedom of their progenitors, and sometimes to dream of rivalling the one, and realizing the other.

As early as the year 1814 a secret association of Greeks was formed, whose object was the liberation of their country. On entrance, each member solemnly dedicated himself by oath to his country, saying—"I swear by thee, my sacred and suffering country; I swear by thy long-endured tortures; I swear by the bitter tears which for so many centuries have been shed by thy unhappy children; I swear by the future liberty of my countrymen—that I consecrate myself wholly to thee; that henceforth thou shalt be the scope of my thoughts, thy name the guide of my actions, thy happiness the recompense of my labours."

The strong excitement which produced associations of this nature, would be certain ultimately to break forth into action. The first note of insurrection was sounded in 1820 by Ali Pasha, of Janini, who declared himself independent of the sultan. Early in the next year the standard of Greek revolt was unfurled by Alexander Ypsilanti: the desire for freedom spread rapidly; and before the summer arrived, a Greek senate had assembled, and a little army and fleet collected. The fierce and gifted sultan, Mahmoud, subsequently the stern destroyer of the turbulent Janizaries, retaliated by the commencement of a war of extermina-

tion against the rebels to his authority. In his fury he caused the patriarch of the Greek church at Constantinople to be hanged before the portals of the edifice in which he had preached the doctrines of Christ; an act of wanton cruelty, which was followed by a massacre of all the Greek clergy wherever they could be found. The latter were thus driven to be the chief promoters of the insurrection; and the Greeks, goaded to madness by oppression, and excited almost to a frantic enthusiasm by the combined influences of patriotism and religion, obtained several victories over the Turkish forces, and compelled them to retire into the chief towns and fortified places. The Morea and the greater part of Northern Greece remained in the hands of the insurgents; but it was unproductive and desolate: it had been blasted by the consuming breath of war, scathed and rendered black and barren by the firebrands of the Mussulman troops.

On the 1st of January, 1822, the Greek congress issued a declaration of independence! "The Greek nation," said this document, "wearied by the dreadful weight of Ottoman oppression, and resolved to break its yoke, though at the price of the greatest sacrifices, proclaims to-day, before God and men, by the organ of its lawful representatives, met in national assembly, its independence!" Accordingly, M. Mavrocordato, who has since distinguished himself as an able statesman, was chosen president of the executive body, and M. Negris chief secretary of state; and Corinth, having been taken by the Greeks, was declared to be the seat of government. In the meantime the war was carried on with hideous ferocity: instances of revolting cruelty occurred; and the Turks, with a view of striking terror into the patriots, devastated

whole districts, and utterly depopulated the fine island of Scio, where it was estimated that not less than 50,000 unhappy persons were put to death, and as many women and children carried away, and sold as slaves, for shameful and revolting purposes. This frightful massacre, and its terrible consequences, has been justly branded as one of the most atrocious acts of Turkish vengeance and cruelty recorded in history. By some mischance or neglect, the Greek fleet did not proceed to the relief of Scio until it was too late to render assistance.

Narrations of horror spread to surrounding states, and the people of Italy, Switzerland, France, and England, listened with shuddering. The lethargic German wondered, and even the stern Muscovite pitied the unhappy Greeks, and ground his teeth as he cursed their Mussulman oppressors. The Greek struggle had attracted the attention of the great governing powers of Europe. Russia, in accordance with its secret policy of ruining the Ottoman power and possessing itself of Constantinople, was favourably disposed towards the Greeks; but the czar Alexander only made demonstrations in their favour; and as they did not seek a Muscovite instead of an Ottoman master, left them to fight their own battles. The courts of Austria and Prussia, ever true to the interests of despotism, trampled pity beneath the iron heel of a delusive expediency, and issued a declaration, in which they denounced the Greeks as rebels to the legitimate Turkish government, and their conduct as an evil example to all nations. France, not yet recovered from the terrible losses and humiliations of the late war, was too much distracted with her own affairs to interfere; but in England there existed a general and generous feeling in favour of the Greeks, and many of the admirers of liberty in this country were eager that the government should declare war against Turkey; and some even went so far as to propose to drive the Mohammedans out of Europe—a sentence of transportation, it was observed, more easily pronounced than carried into execution. The subject was brought before both houses of parliament, but the ministry declined to enter on a course of action which would have added to the formidable and constantly increasing power of Russia. This conduct, though undoubtedly prudent and judicious, yet, for lack of generosity and lofty purpose, procured them much unpopularity at the time.

During the campaign of 1823, the Greeks were almost uniformly successful; but their good fortunes were counteracted by their private dissensions and want of unanimity. On the 5th of January, 1824, their hopes were raised by the arrival from England of the poet Lord Byron, who, in his idolatrous admiration of the classic shores of Greece, and profound sympathy for its unhappy sons, had enthusiastically embraced their cause; but the excitement of the struggle was too much for his debilitated frame, and he expired the following April. During the year the results of the war were so uniformly in favour of the Greeks, that out of an immense fleet equipped by the Ottomans, only five vessels returned to the Turkish waters. The struggle was carried on with varied success during 1825: the Turks took Navarino, and thus became possessed of the key to the entire western coast of the Morea; but the Turkish fleet was subsequently defeated and dispersed by a Greek squadron. Still the ravages of the Turkish troops, who, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, laid waste the country wherever they went, induced the Greeks to apply for succour to the great powers of Europe.

Several foreign agents were carrying on intrigues with the Greek leaders. France offered 12,000 troops, on condition that a son of the Duke of Orleans should be made king of Greece; but this proposition was declined. The wily czar of Russia also offered his protection, but on terms which the Greeks rejected as disgraceful. The Greek government then addressed itself to England, in which lay its chief hope; for it trusted that the free would help the brave, when heroically struggling for freedom. Mr. Canning replied, in terms of cold and measured sympathy—"The rights of Greece, as a belligerent power, have been invariably respected. The provisional government may depend on the continuance of this neutrality. It may be assured that Great Britain will take no part in any attempt to impose on it, by force, a plan for the re-establishment of peace contrary to its wishes, if such a peace should ever be proposed: but should the Greeks ever think it advisable to ask our mediation, we will offer it to the Porte; and if it is accepted, we will neglect nothing to make it effectual, in concert with the other powers whose intervention would facilitate the arrangement."

The taking of Missolonghi by the Turks in 1826, and the horrors which followed that

event, at length induced some of the great European powers to contemplate an interference. Undoubtedly they could long before have terminated the struggle; but they had a deep repugnance to aid in the severance of a subject state from the empire to which it was considered to belong. The high aristocratic or despotic feeling can listen with more complacency to terrible details of violated mothers and slaughtered babes than to relations of resistance to regal or imperial authority. It was urged that the tyranny or injustice of the Ottoman Porte towards its Greek subjects, could not be made the ground of interference, without setting it up as a principle, that every sovereign had a right to take care that his neighbour exercised his authority according to his notions of humanity and principle. France or England, it was contended, had no more right, in point of principle, to quarrel with the sultan for leading into captivity the dishonoured matrons of Missolonghi, than for tying up in sacks and throwing into the sea of Marmora the matrons of Constantinople who talked of forbidden things.\* Notwithstanding this doctrine, subscriptions in behalf of the Greeks poured in from every capital of Europe, and even from some of its courts; for princes are often better than their principles. The King of Bavaria alone transmitted upwards of £5,000 for the purchase of the Greek women and children from slavery.

In 1827, the prospects of the Greeks became extremely gloomy; a political darkness enveloped them, and the holy stars of hope seemed hidden from their longing eyes. Athens was besieged by the Turks, and compelled to capitulate. Lord Cochrane, who had arrived in Greece, was made commander-in-chief of the fleet of that nation, and in conjunction with Colonel Church, on whom the rank of generalissimo of the land forces was bestowed, endeavoured, though in vain, to relieve Athens. Notwithstanding some successes of the Greeks (the unhealthy fruits of desperation), they were reduced to a most painful position, and almost plunged into despair, by the fall of Athens. Yet who shall pronounce dogmati-

\* It was not so that England's lion-hearted protector Oliver Cromwell reasoned, when he learnt the awful details of the massacre of the poor and simple protestant Waldenses, in the valleys of Piedmont and Lucerne, by the catholic troops of the reigning Duke of Savoy, at the pious suggestion of the pope. The first act of the illustrious defender of religious

cally on the future? When least expected, help was at hand; and when the darkness was the most profound, the sun of hope shed its cheering rays upon the Greeks. Three of the great European powers were at length induced to interfere, and on the 6th of July, 1827, a treaty was signed at London by the representatives of England, France, and Russia, for putting an end to the sanguinary contest, which had been found at length to offer serious impediments to commerce, to increase piracy, and render necessary to other states burdensome measures of repression and protection. Thus the assistance which humanity could not elicit was yielded to the pleadings of interest.

The contracting powers offered their mediation to the sultan, by whom it was instantly and haughtily declined. The ambassadors of the three powers again presented a joint note to the Turkish government, and demanded an answer within fifteen days. They said—"It was their duty not to conceal from the Reis Effendi, that a new refusal, an evasive or insufficient answer—even a total silence on the part of his government, would place the allied courts under the necessity of recurring to such measures as they should judge most efficacious for putting an end to that state of things which was become incompatible even with the true interests of the Sublime Porte, with the security of commerce in general, and with the perfect tranquillity of Europe." A verbal answer was returned, reiterating the decided refusal of the sultan to admit the interference of foreign powers. On this the ambassadors stated that their sovereigns would then take the necessary measures to carry the treaty into execution, and enforce a suspension of hostilities, but without interrupting the friendly relations between them and the Turkish government.

Taking advantage of the delay caused by these negotiations, the sultan dispatched a powerful Turco-Egyptian fleet, consisting of ninety-two vessels, under the command of Ibrahim Pasha, to the Morea, with instructions to prosecute his operations with all possible speed. It appeared at Navarino at the end of August; but notwithstanding his liberty, on hearing the awful details (and they are indeed such as make humanity sicken), was to burst into tears; his second, to interfere in the behalf of the Waldenses, and protect them by the terrors of his name; his third, to commence an active subscription in England to supply the wants of the homeless, desolate, and afflicted survivors.

dispatch. Ibrahim found there an allied fleet of English, French, and Russian vessels, under the chief direction of Admiral Codrington; the French and Russian fleets being respectively commanded by Admiral de Rigny and Count Heiden. Admiral Codrington informed the Turkish commander of the negotiations for the production of peace then being carried forward, and offered him a safe conduct back, or permission to enter the harbour of Navarino, assuring him at the same time, that if any of the vessels ventured out, they would be driven back again. The Turks accepted these terms, and entered the harbour.

It was not long, however, before they sought an excuse for evasion. On the 19th of September a division of the Turkish fleet sailed out, falsely stating, as a reason for their conduct, that Lord Cochrane had made a descent on Patras, and that it was necessary to beat him off. This time an expostulation with Ibrahim produced the desired effect; but the Turks, on again venturing out of the harbour, were met by the English admiral, and driven back by force. Thus disappointed, Ibrahim revenged himself by ravaging the country;

and the progress of his troops was marked everywhere by desolation and blood. Captain Hamilton, who had been sent in the *Cambrian*, accompanied by a Russian ship, to observe the proceedings of the pasha, thus reported to Sir Edward Codrington:—"On entering the gulf, we observed, by clouds of fire and smoke, that the work of devastation was still going on. The ships were anchored off the pass of Ancyro, and a joint letter from myself and the Russian captain was dispatched to the Turkish commander. The bearers of it were not allowed to proceed to head-quarters, nor have we, as yet, received any answer. In the afternoon we went on shore to the Greek quarters, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The distress of the inhabitants driven from the plain, is shocking; women and children dying every moment of absolute starvation, and hardly any having better food than boiled grass. I have promised to send a small quantity of bread to the caves in the mountains, where these unfortunate wretches have taken refuge. It is supposed that if Ibrahim remain in Greece, more than a third of its inhabitants will die of starvation."

#### BATTLE OF NAVARINO, AND ITS RESULTS.

THE allied admirals, revolted at these details, resolved, if possible, to put a stop to a state of things which could not be contemplated without sensations of shuddering, sickness, and horror. They agreed that the only certain means of putting an end to these ravages, and effectually to blockade the port, would be to take their squadrons in, and moor them among the thickest of their enemies. This movement, calculated to terrify Ibrahim into a more complying mood, they accomplished on the 20th of October, to the astonishment of the Turks and the joy of the unhappy Greeks. As Sir Edward Codrington's ship the *Asia* passed the battery, the admiral received a message to signify that Ibrahim had not given any permission for the allied fleet to enter the port. Sir Edward's proud reply was—"That he had not come to receive orders, but to give them; that if any shot were fired at the allied fleet, that of the Turks would be destroyed, and that he would not be sorry should such an opportunity be given him."

The combined squadrons passed the batteries and took up their positions: this they were permitted to do without hostility, although preparations for action were observed in all the Turkish vessels. Strict orders had been given by Admiral Codrington that no gun should be fired unless the Turks began the contest. An immediate action was not apprehended, or indeed any engagement intended; but it must be seen that the state of feeling on both sides was such, that it required but a trivial event to fan the smouldering bitterness into flames, and lead to a hostile collision. That event soon occurred: a boat sent from the *Dartmouth* to one of the fireships was opened upon with musketry by the Turks, and Lieutenant Fitzroy and several of the crew were killed. As may be supposed, the *Dartmouth* replied with another fire of musketry, to vindicate her honour and protect her boat: shot produced shot; and in a short time a general engagement had commenced. Moharem Bey, the Turkish admiral, sent to Sir Edward Codrington to say that he

would not fire, and the latter returned a pilot to interpret his desire of avoiding bloodshed. The messenger, while in the boat, was shot by Moharem's men, and immediately afterwards the *Asia* itself was fired upon by them. Further hesitation would have led to the imputation of dishonourable submission, and the *Asia* opened a broadside with double-shotted guns. Apparently from some accident, Moharem was unable to bring his broadside to bear fully upon his opponent, while the fire to which he was subjected was so severe that he slipped or cut his cable, and went to leeward a mere wreck. The *Asia* then became exposed to a raking fire from vessels in the second and third line of the Turkish fleet: this carried away her mizenmast, disabled some of her guns, and killed and wounded several of her crew.

The battle lasted, with unabated fury, for about four hours; the proceedings of the other vessels resembling those of the *Asia*. The Turks fought desperately, but they were unable to cope successfully with their powerful adversaries; and as each of their vessels became disabled, such of the crew as could escape, set them on fire; and one after the other their burning and blackened fragments were blown into the lurid air. It is wonderful how the ships of the allies avoided the effects of the numerous and terrible explosions. As the dense clouds of smoke cleared away, a scene of extraordinary wreck and devastation was revealed. Of the Turkish and Egyptian fleets nothing remained, with the exception of some vessels which had escaped into the inner harbour, but burning, shapeless hulls and floating fragments, mingled with blackened, mangled, and blood-bespattered wretches, clinging to some fragment of wreck, or wildly struggling to avoid a grave beneath the waters.

The British ships had borne the brunt of the action. The allies had 626 killed and wounded; of whom the greatest part were English. Sir Edward Codrington's son was killed in this action, and the admiral himself had several remarkable escapes: a musket-ball passed through the sleeve of his coat at the wrist; his watch was smashed by a splinter; a cannon-ball whistled harshly through a rolled-up awning, under which he was standing, and just cleared his hat; he was twisted round several times, and his coat torn in many places by splinters. Amongst the killed were Captain Omaney, of the *Albion*, and Captain Bathurst,

of the *Genoa*. The loss of the Turks was enormous; and though not exactly ascertained, was estimated as amounting to about one-third of their force. Six hundred and fifty were killed on board the vessel of the Turkish admiral alone!

The results of the action were curious;—the allies had gained a brilliant victory over the fleet of a power with whom they were all nominally on terms of amity! In his despatches, Sir Edward Codrington had to apologise to his government for the serious responsibility he had assumed; though, however unfortunate the remote consequences of that action have certainly been, it is difficult to see how he could have done otherwise, without sully the honour of his national flag. "When I contemplate," said he, "as I do with extreme sorrow, the extent of our loss, I console myself with the reflection, that the measure which produced the battle was absolutely necessary for obtaining the results contemplated by the treaty, and that it was brought on entirely by our opponents. When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to refrain, and refrain I did; and I can assure his royal highness that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if other means had been open to me." To the whole of the officers and men under his command, Sir Edward bore his unqualified testimony of admiration; and he wrote to Admiral Rigny and Count Heiden, expressing the pleasure he felt at the excellent management of the ships under their direction.

Subsequent to the battle, the allied admirals sent the following note to the authorities of Navarino:—"As the squadrons of the allied powers did not enter Navarino with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the commanders of the Turkish fleet propositions which were to the advantage of the grand seignior, it is not our intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy may yet remain, now that so signal a vengeance has been taken for the first cannon-shot which has been ventured to be fired on the allied flags. We send, therefore, one of the Turkish captains, fallen into our hands as a prisoner, to make known to Ibrahim Pasha, Moharem Bey, Tahir Pasha, and Capitana Bey, as well as to all the other

Turkish chiefs, that if one single musket or cannon-shot be again fired on a ship or boat of the allied powers, we shall immediately destroy all the remaining vessels, as well as the forts of Navarino; and that we shall consider such new act of hostility as a formal declaration of the Porte against the three allied powers, and the grand seigniors and his pashas must suffer the terrible consequences. But if the Turkish chiefs acknowledge the aggression they committed by commencing the firing, and abstain from any act of hostility, we shall resume those terms of good understanding which they have themselves interrupted. In this case they will have the white flag hoisted on all the forts by the end of the day. We demand a categorical answer, without evasion, before sunset."

The Turks, who attribute every calamity to an inexorable destiny, wisely submitted at once in a case where eventual submission was inevitable; and the work of destruction was not renewed. The Greeks themselves made no important movement during these transactions, the result of which they hailed with enthusiastic joy. News of the battle was hurriedly sent to the ambassadors of the three powers at Constantinople, who received it before it had reached the Turkish government. Addressing themselves to the Reis Effendi, they broke the matter to him cautiously, by asking in what light the Porte would consider hostilities, if occasioned by the refusal of Ibrahim to comply with the declared will of the allied courts? He replied—"We hope that no hostilities have taken place; and we do not feel disposed to declare now what we would do, or not do, in certain cases. People do not give a name to a child before it is born, and its sex known." The following day the news reached the Porte, when the Reis Effendi, sending for the ambassadors, asked whether or not the sultan was at war with the three powers? In reply, the ambassadors asserted their conviction that the destruction of the Turkish fleet resulted entirely from the conduct of its commander.

The Porte behaved with an equanimity that had not been anticipated. English merchants and travellers were not slaughtered or detained, nor their goods seized, nor were the ambassadors dismissed. It, however, laid an embargo upon all vessels in the harbour of Constantinople, the avowed object being to protect the city in case of an attack. After frequent meetings of the

Divan, the Turkish government made a demand that the allied courts should desist from all interference in the affairs of Greece; that the Porte should receive an indemnity for the loss of its navy, and that satisfaction should be made for the insult offered to the sultan by its destruction. The ambassadors replied, that in consequence of the treaty into which the allies had entered, they could not abandon Greece; that the Porte had no claim to an indemnity, as the battle was caused by the conduct of its own fleet; and that it had the less reason to expect satisfaction, because it had been informed, in due time, that such an event might occur. On the 8th of December the ambassadors left Constantinople; and the sultan, whose calmness was merely assumed for the purpose of gaining time, prepared for war. During this period, the thoughts of the czar Nicholas often reverted to Constantinople; and the dark labyrinths of his subtle brain were filled with visions of conquest, aggrandisement, and glory—remote, indeed, but yet he fondly conceived they would become inevitable.

When Admiral Codrington's despatches, announcing the victory of Navarino, arrived in England, a shout of joy burst from the great majority of the people; for, animated by generous feelings of pity and a love of freedom, they hailed the event as decisive of the independence of Greece. A minority, however, condemned the action as not only rash, useless, and impolitic, but calculated to strengthen the already gigantic and threatening power of Russia in the east of Europe. It was not without anxiety that the questions were asked—Would Turkey make war on us in revenge for her fleet? or, from the loss of it, would not Russia devour Turkey? These doubts and anxieties were shared by the government. The speech from the throne, on the opening of parliament in January, 1828, contained the following passage:—"Notwithstanding the valour displayed by the combined fleet, his majesty deeply laments that this conflict should have occurred with the naval force of an ancient ally; but he still entertains a confident hope that the untoward event will not be followed by further hostilities, and will not impede that amicable adjustment of the existing differences between the Porte and the Greeks, to which it is so manifestly their common interest to accede."

Long debates followed in both houses of parliament: the tory and government party





THE BATTLE OF NAVARINO.

spoke of the battle in terms of reprehension; while the liberal party were loud in terms of approval and congratulation. The term "untoward event" was much reprobated by them. Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, in the course of an eloquent speech, observed—"Against one paragraph of that address he was most anxious to record at once his unqualified dissent; having at the same time the fullest and firmest conviction that that dissent would be re-echoed from one end of the kingdom to the other. He meant to allude to the manner in which the late glorious, brilliant, decisive, and immortal achievement at Navarino was described as being a matter to be lamented. This was the first time he had ever seen men anxious to come forward and refuse credit where it had been so justly and generally called for, and set at nought the most splendid achievement of their arms. It had been reserved for some of the men of these times, to triumph and to be afraid—to conquer and to repine—to fight, as heroes did, the contest of freedom, and still to tremble like slaves—to act gloriously and to repine bitterly—to win by brave men the battle of liberty in the east, and in the west to pluck from the valiant brow the laurels which it had so nobly earned, and plant the cypress in their stead, because the conqueror fought for religion and liberty." Notwithstanding the adverse feelings of the ministry, Admiral Codrington was promoted; but the thanks of parliament were denied him. It was felt that to have given them would have been equivalent to a sanction of the battle, and likely to be extremely irritating to the Turkish government.

We cannot see that Admiral Codrington could have acted otherwise than he did, notwithstanding the censure that was then and has recently been cast upon the event. The blow struck was in favour of an oppressed and suffering people: it was the necessary and almost inevitable result of the atrocities perpetrated by the Turks towards a Christian state: the interests of humanity demanded it; and had not the European powers checked the haughty barbarity of the Ottoman, it would have seemed that the might of Europe bowed in submission or reverence before the arrogance of Asia; for it would have permitted the tyranny or caprice of the sultan to disturb the commerce of Europe, endanger its peace, and outrage its feelings. The battle of Navarino was assuredly a just achievement,

whatever might have been its inexpediency. Nor was it just alone; it was *necessary to sustain the dignity of European states when insulted by the semi-barbarism of Asia.* Nor, indeed, was it to be avoided; for it proceeded from the eternal laws of natural retribution. Nature will not permit tyranny to reign unchecked for ever: she has implanted feelings in the breast of man which in time supply its antidotes. Policy cannot avoid this natural law: it is "unshunnable as death," universal and inevitable. That by destroying the fleet of Turkey the allies encouraged the designs of Russia upon the great empire of the East, and thus indirectly led to the great war against Russian aggression in these days, is indisputable. It is, however, equally certain that the blow Turkey had received, led the czar Nicholas prematurely to attempt his scheme of conquest, and thus brought about that glorious alliance between France and England by which Russian power has been shaken until it trembles to its vast foundation, and its savage, grasping spirit awed into a dread of again carrying forward its dark designs. Terrible as are the horrors by which they are sometimes accompanied, the events of history roll forward in a tumultuous stream, which in its inexplicability yet seems to tend towards the amelioration of the world, and the triumph of national liberty.

"There is some soul of goodness in things evil,  
Would men observingly distil it out."

The battle of Navarino was *right* in its own day; and it is difficult for any noble spirit much to lament it. If an error, it was one its perpetrators might yet be proud of; nor can it be regarded as producing unmixed evil. Turkey, in its time of power, was the dread of Europe, and arrogantly overshadowed neighbouring states: it is better that it should not possess more strength than is sufficient to ensure its own existence and respectability as an empire. As Turkey declined, Russia rose; but the Muscovite, no more than the Ottoman, can be allowed to sit in haughty eminence, with prostrate Europe beneath its sway. Whenever aggression becomes intolerable, it is certain to be checked; because an indignant world rises in awakened power to rebuke or smite it. Had the aggressions of Russia been less insidious and more open, she would have aroused Germany also, and her humiliation would have been complete and utter. Even as matters stood, France and

England, the greatest military and greatest naval powers of the world, needed not the Ottoman navy to assist them in teaching Russia to know herself and the states by whom she is surrounded. The world long stood in a false fear of Russia: she had strength and statesmanship, but her ambition misled her. Her imperial visions of glorious conquest and gorgeous dominion intoxicated her: she was dazzled with too much gazing on the sun; and while plotting the fall and enslavement of surrounding nations, she was too engrossed to observe the seeds of decay accumulating within herself. She, as well as Turkey, contains within herself the elements which will destroy her. Her race has been that of the riotous prodigal, who, on seeking his couch of down after a bacchanalian orgy, rises the next morning and learns, while still reeling, weak, and dizzy, that he is ruined. Russia has conquered too fast; and if, in future times, she renews her career of political dissoluteness, outraged Europe, banded in one common league against her, will strip her of all the territorial possessions she has unjustly acquired, and leave her, like the prodigal, "naked, bare, to every storm that blows."

We will endeavour, in a few words, to trace the immediate consequences of the battle of Navarino. Though the Sultan Mahmoud appeared to bear his defeat with a dignified composure, he really burned to avenge it, and secretly prepared for war. A copy of a manifesto, issued by the Reis Effendi, and addressed to the pashas of the provinces, fell, by accident or treachery, into the hands of the allies. This document urged the pashas to prepare energetically for war—a holy war in defence of Islamism. Russia, it said, especially hated their religion, and was the principal enemy of the Sublime Porte. "Let all the faithful, then," concluded this strange appeal, "rich and poor, high and low, recollect that to fight for us is a duty. Let them have no thought of their arrears, or of pay of any kind. Let us sacrifice willingly our properties and our persons; and struggle, body and soul, for the support of our religion. The Mussulmans have no other means of working out salvation in this world and the next. We hope that the Most High will deign to confound and scatter everywhere the infidels."

Russia eagerly grasped at this document as a pretext for making war with Turkey,—

a matter she had previously resolved upon. On the 7th of May, 1828, a Russian army, consisting of 115,000 men, invaded the Turkish empire, and a war commenced which produced the most serious disasters to Turkey. Shumla and Varna were besieged and taken, though the Russians, at first, were beaten and driven back from Silistria. The Turks also experienced great reverses in Asia; but the Russians purchased their triumphs with tremendous losses. The following year the famous Count Diebitsch was appointed by the czar to the command of the Russian army; and after a series of successes, accomplished as usual at the price of enormous losses, Adrianople was surrendered by the appalled Turks without firing a shot. The Sultan Mahmoud, who had obstinately struggled to the last, fearing that the Russian army would next march upon Constantinople, entered into the memorable treaty of Adrianople, by which peace was restored, but the Black Sea, in effect, consigned to the Russians. Greece was not forgotten, and the Porte was compelled to enter into arrangements by which that state was eventually erected into an independent nation.

In the meantime Ibrahim Pasha had entered into a stipulation with Admiral Codrington to abandon the Morea, in which his troops had been effectually blockaded. This he did on the 4th of October, 1828, having embarked his army on board the vessels which escaped destruction at Navarino, and departed for Egypt. Ibrahim, however, was permitted to leave a garrison in each of six fortresses; but from these his forces were expelled by the French, who undertook an expedition to the Morea for that purpose; and by the November of that year the Greeks of the Morea breathed freely, for they were entirely delivered from the withering presence of Turkish power. They drove the Turkish forces from northern Greece by their own efforts.

Independent, though scarcely regenerated, Greece was governed for some time by a president and national assembly; but the representatives of England, France, and Russia, assembled at London, resolved upon erecting it into a separate kingdom. Having decided on the limits of the new state, the allied powers proceeded to the selection of a king to govern it. To avoid grounds of mutual jealousy, it was laid down as an indispensable condition that the person elected should not be a member of

any of the royal families of England, France, or Russia. The allies first offered the crown to Prince John of Saxony, but he declined accepting the uncertain and perilous gift. Prince Leopold took it, but afterwards repented and declined, partly on account of the turbulent condition of the Greek people, and partly because the island of Candia was not included in the proffered dominions. At length, in 1832, Otho, the youngest son of the King of Bavaria, was fixed upon as a fitting sovereign, and crowned the following year. The new monarchy was at first almost absolute; but the revolution of September, 1843, introduced a constitution and a government moulded on those of France and England. It is to be regretted that in recent events the Greeks have not had the gratitude to remember that it was to England and France, but chiefly to England, that they owed the resurrection of their country, and their deliverance from a thralldom which was as galling and humiliating as it was terrible. Blinded by a hatred of their late oppressors, they are desirous of Russian rule.

"Such," says Alison, while reflecting on the events we have related, "was the resurrection of Greece; thus did old Hellas rise from the grave of nations. Scorched by fire, riddled by shot, baptized in blood, she emerged victorious from the contest: she achieved her independence because she proved herself worthy of it: she was trained to manhood in the only school of real improvement, the school of suffering. Twenty-five years have elapsed since her independence was sealed by the battle of Navarino, and already the warmest hopes of her friends have been realised. Her capital, Athens, now contains 30,000 inhabitants, quadruple what it did when the contest

terminated: its commerce has doubled, and all the signs of rapidly advancing prosperity are to be seen on the land. The inhabitants have increased fifty per cent.: they are now above 700,000; but the fatal chasms produced by the war, especially in the male population, are still in a great measure unsupplied, and vast tracts of fertile land, spread with the bones of its defenders, await in every part of the country the robust arm of industry for their cultivation. The Greeks, indeed, have not all the virtues of freemen; perhaps they are never destined to exhibit them. Like the Muscovites, and from the same cause, they are often cunning, fraudulent, deceitful: slaves always are such; and a nation is not crushed by a thousand years of Byzantine despotism, and four hundred of Mohammedan aggression, without having some of the features of the servile character impressed upon it. But they exhibit also the cheering symptoms of social improvement: they have proved they still possess the qualities to which their ancestors' greatness was owing. They are lively, ardent, and persevering; passionately desirous of knowledge, and indefatigable in the pursuit of it. The whole life which yet animates the Ottoman empire is owing to their intelligence and activity. The stagnation of despotism is unknown among them: if the union of civilisation is unhappily equally unknown, that is a virtue of the manhood, and not to be looked for in the infancy of nations. The consciousness of deficiencies is the first step to their removal; the pride of barbarism, the self-sufficiency of ignorance, is the real bar to improvement; and a nation which is capable of making the efforts for improvement which the Greeks are doing, if not in possession of political greatness, is on the road to it."

## WAR WITH CHINA—THE OPIUM DISPUTE.

AFTER the dismissal, in 1817, of Lord Amherst's embassy from China, sources of irritation between the English residents and the Chinese authorities were of constant occurrence, and these at length terminated in open hostilities. The time was at hand when the power and resources of the Celestial Empire were, for the first time, to be weighed in the balance against one of the great states of Europe. The trial exhibited an amount of weakness, on the part of the

Chinese, singularly in contrast with the offensively arrogant tone they had invariably adopted in their intercourse with other states. Before the roar of the British cannon, the inflated impotence of this decrepit Eastern empire fell prostrate and helpless. In past ages the barbarous hordes of Asia were the scourge and terror of Europe; the latter continent is now retaliating, and the armies of civilisation are beginning to reduce the millions of the East

to the dominion of the West. England has laid a hand of iron on the vast peninsula of India, and it is far from improbable that eventually the tricolour of France may wave beneath imperial rule over the sunlit domes and minarets of Constantinople. From events now proceeding in China, it is also probable that that ancient and worn-out empire may be approaching its dissolution; and if so, it is certain the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to rule the feeble millions of that vast and interesting land.

It is not to be denied that the Chinese authorities had a legitimate cause of complaint against the English traders; but their conduct was of so arrogant and violent a nature, and in such open defiance of the laws which all civilised nations have bound themselves to observe in their intercourse with each other, that the retaliatory proceedings taken against them by the British government became not only justifiable, but unavoidable. A nation like England cannot, and must not, passively submit to outrage and insult from the rulers of a semi-barbarous state.

A considerable amount of opium was annually imported into China by the East India merchants. The Chinese government objected to the practice of smoking opium (which appears to have been on the increase among that people), as an immoral and enervating habit. The Chinese authorities had several times complained of the contraband importation of the drug, and at length they resolved on its utter suppression. To promote this end, they condemned some unfortunate Chinese, engaged in the trade, to death; and caused them to be executed in front of the British factories. This offensive exhibition produced expostulations, which were replied to in a Chinese proclamation by Admiral Chin, composed in the inflated and arrogant style usual with that people. "You foreigners," said he in this state paper, "give no heed to the laws of the heavenly dynasty,—are every day furiously rambling about; you never let us rest a moment from your visits. We would like to ask you, if our Chinese ships were to take a commodity prohibited in your country, and go on forcing it into consumption, if you would bear it patiently or not?" This document ordered all British ships to quit the Chinese coast; adding, that if the mandate was disobeyed, the vessels of war brought to compel them to do so, "would be as numerous as the stars, and disposed

in array like a chess-board. At the first call they will immediately respond. One cannot resist a host; and when the admiral of the fleet, and the commander of the garrison, should unite their forces, thick as the congregated clouds, you foreigners will not be able to sustain their attack. We naval and military commanders, however, do not wish to kill you in cold-blood without warning you of the consequences of your present line of conduct; and if you have any wisdom, you will immediately return to your own homes and escape the danger." With respect to the executions, the English were told in another edict that the factories belonged to the Celestial Empire, and were merely granted by the great emperor as a favour. "What," it asked, "have you foreigners to do with the question, whether convicted persons shall be executed in front of the factories or not? Do you say the ground is used as a place of exercise by all the foreigners? Is it not, then, a place of concourse also for the people, the natives of the land? No daring presumption, no absurd complaint, can exceed these complaints. They are execrable in the extreme." In addition to this offensive edict, a threat was held out that many more executions should take place on the same spot.

The English traders at Canton denied that the opium trade was the true cause of the complaints made by the Chinese authorities, and declared, that even if it had been, it would be as impossible to prevent the smoking of opium in China, as to put an end to the drinking of malt liquor in England. They attributed the true cause of dissatisfaction to the circumstances that the increasing imports of the English had led to a balance in their favour, and that the silver was leaving the Celestial Empire. In the year 1838, the teas, silks, and other articles purchased by the English, amounted in value to £3,147,481, while the opium, metals, and cotton sold by them realised £5,637,052; giving a balance in favour of the British, of £2,489,571. This apparent evil, the Chinese, altogether ignorant of political economy, regarded as a real one, and they acted in reference to it with a tyrannical insolence which greatly disgusted the English residents, and disposed them to dispute and resist the conditions attempted to be imposed. To such an extent had the Chinese officials carried their arrogance, that they not only spoke of themselves as a superior race, but described the

English as brutes, destitute of reason, and strangers to honesty. The foolish falsehoods of these Chinese officers would have been ridiculous, had they not in effect proved highly injurious. The very money, it was said, of these "devils" was nearly worthless. "It is," said Keshen, viceroy of Petcherli, in a memorial to the emperor on the subject, "all boiled with and reduced by quicksilver. If you wrap it up and put it by for several years without touching it, it will become moths and corroding insects, and their silver cups will change into feathers or wings. Their money is all of this species; and if we leave it for four or five hundred years, I am sure I do not know what it will turn into at last." This strange idea was probably founded on a literal interpretation of the saying, which he might have heard from some missionary, that "riches make to themselves wings, and fly away."

Early in 1838, a "fire express" arrived at Canton from the imperial court at Peking, announcing that Lin Tsihseun, the governor of Hookwang, was directed to investigate the affairs of the seaports of the province. On the same day, Tong, the governor of Canton, received a despatch from the emperor's council, calling on him to co-operate with Lin in "scrubbing and washing away the filth;" these offensive epithets being applied to the English and other Europeans. Lin, the imperial commissioner, did not arrive until March; and after a week of investigation, he demanded that every particle of opium on board the ships should be delivered up to the government, that it might be burned and destroyed. A bond was also required, in the English and Chinese languages, which should bind the English never again to bring opium to China under the penalty of death. The foreigners signing the bond were also to declare, that if they infringed its conditions they would willingly submit to the punishment denounced. Lin threatened that if his requisitions were not complied with, the English would be overwhelmed by numbers and sacrificed; at the same time, some vague promises of reward were made to such as obeyed. To have signed the bond required, would have been for the English to place their lives at the discretion or caprice of the Chinese Mandarins.

At the same time, Commissioner Lin required that Mr. Dent, one of the principal English merchants, should appear

before his tribunal; the supplies of the English were cut off; their native servants removed; and the factories blockaded by an arc of boats, filled with armed men, the extremes of which touched the east and west banks of the river in front of those buildings, while the rear was occupied in strong force. Submission appeared inevitable; and the chief superintendent, Captain Ellice, desired his countrymen to deliver up all the opium then in their possession on the Chinese coast. On the 3rd of September, 20,283 chests of opium were surrendered to Commissioner Lin, and forthwith destroyed. The blockade then ceased, and the English, with the exception of sixteen persons, received permission to quit; the others being ultimately allowed to depart, under an injunction from the government never to return. Captain Elliot wrote to Lord Auckland, governor-general of India, informing him of these circumstances, and requesting as many ships of war, for the protection of life and property, as could be detached from the Indian station.

Towards the close of 1838, Commissioner Lin followed up his hostile behaviour by the issue of an edict prohibiting the importation of any British goods whatever, and ordaining that a bond should be required from any foreign vessel entering the port, declaring that it did not contain any British property, and consenting to the confiscation of the ship and cargo should any be discovered in it. On this, Captain Elliot addressed a petition to Commissioner Lin, promising a respectful submission to the statutes of the empire, and requesting, in terms of an almost supplicatory character, that the trade might be resumed. Some time previously, an affray had occurred at Macao between a party of English sailors and some Chinese villagers, in which one of the latter had been killed. Lin had demanded that the homicide should be delivered up that he might be put to death, a demand which was very properly refused. To this circumstance Lin referred in his reply, in which, after enumerating all the offences he affirmed the English had been guilty of, he declared, that until the murderer of the Chinese peasant was given up, there could be no intercourse between the two nations.

Notwithstanding this peremptory decision, Lin relaxed so far as to permit the English to carry on commerce below the Bocca Tigris. He still, however, insisted that the captains of all vessels trading at

Canton should sign the bond we have referred to; which provided, that any infraction of the laws laid down with regard to the opium trade should be punished with death. One person, of a slavish or selfish nature (Mr. Warner, master of the ship *Thomas Coultts*), signed the bond, in violation of the injunction of Captain Elliot; an act which excited the disgust and indignation of the British merchants. The result was that Lin broke off the arrangements he had so recently come to, and demanded that all British ships should enter the river on the same terms as the *Thomas Coultts*, or leave the Chinese coast within a period of three days, under the penalty of total destruction if they remained.

Even this was not the extent of Chinese caprice and arrogance. A fleet of war-junks, under Admiral Kwan, and consisting of twenty-nine sail, assumed so menacing an attitude, that Captain Elliot sent for two English frigates, the *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, and then prepared a moderate but firm remonstrance to the imperial commissioner. On the 3rd of November the Chinese squadron approached the British vessels, and having cast anchor close to them, peremptorily demanded that an Englishman should be delivered up to be put to death, as an equivalent for the life of the Chinese villager who had been accidentally slain. Captain Smith, who was commanding the English vessels, resolved to resent this effort at intimidation, and compel the Chinese junks to return to their former anchorage. As nothing but force would effect this object, Captain Smith gave the signal for engagement, and the *Volage* and *Hyacinth*

ran down the Chinese line, and poured in a destructive fire as they passed. The lateral direction of the wind enabled them to perform the same evolution from the other extreme of the line, running up again with their larboard broadsides bearing. The Chinese returned the fire with much spirit; but it was soon evident that their frail vessels could not contend successfully with our men-of-war. One war-junk blew up, three were sunk, and several others water-logged. In less than three-quarters of an hour, Admiral Kwan and his squadron returned to their former anchorage, in by no means so defiant a mood as they left it. Though many of their junks were much shattered and distressed, they had the effrontery to report that they had obtained a victory. This, probably, was in consequence of Captain Smith presenting no obstacle to their retreat, and afterwards making sail for Macao, for the purpose of covering the embarkation of the English who desired to leave that place, and of providing for the safety of the merchant ships. There is very little doubt that the emperor was made to believe that his junks had obtained a victory; for few persons dare to tell unpalatable truths to despotic sovereigns; and they are thus usually left in ignorance of the real state of their affairs until the latter are frequently past remedy. The conflict, however, was highly important; for the English, who had previously been confident of success in the event of hostilities taking place, now felt assured that no force the Emperor of China could bring against them would be able to withstand their attack.

#### CAPTURE OF CHUSAN.

THE conduct of the Chinese, and the nature of the dispute between them and our merchants, was debated during four nights in the House of Commons, and it was concluded that a powerful fleet should be sent to China to vindicate the character of England and to demand reparation for the opium which had been destroyed. Some members considered that a war with China would be not only dangerous but unjust, as the government of that country had a right to make what regulations they pleased respecting the importation of opium. Others argued that the way in which they had

interfered was in opposition to the laws of nations, and too insolently offensive to be tolerated by a proud and powerful state like England. They added, that not only were the commercial interests of our merchants at stake, but that it must be borne in mind that our empire in the East was founded on the force of opinion; and, therefore, if we submitted to the degrading insults of China, the time would not be far distant when our political ascendancy in India would perish.

In March, 1840, Admiral Elliot, then at the Cape, received his appointment to the command of the China fleet, consisting of

ten men-of-war, of which two were steamers, and a number of transports. These were in addition to the *Druid*, *Volage*, and *Hycinth*, already in the Canton river. Commodore Sir J. Gordon Bremer was second in command to Admiral Elliot, and Major-general Burrell commanded the military force.

In the meantime the Chinese had been conducting themselves more like a horde of savages than a rational people. After issuing an edict, warning all foreign vessels from anchoring near the English ships, they sent eighteen fire-rafts, chained together, two and two, to burn the latter; an expedient which, perhaps, even more fortunately for themselves than the English, proved unsuccessful. They even proceeded to a still more tyrannical and atrocious expedient, and actually sent a boat-load of poisoned tea, packed in small parcels, to be sold to the English sailors. The intended effects of this infamous act were frustrated in a remarkable manner: the boat was captured by Chinese pirates, and her cargo sold by them to their own countrymen, many of whom died in consequence of partaking of it. One Chinese functionary proposed that expert divers should be employed to swim to the English ships during the night, board them in the darkness, and massacre every individual they found. After the manifestation of such treacherous and murderous schemes on the part of the Chinese, it resembles maudlin sentimentality to talk about the cruelty and immorality of our going to war with this miserable people to compel them to receive smuggled opium into their territory. The proceedings taken against them were imperatively demanded for the purpose of humbling barbaric insolence, compelling the Chinese to observe the common laws of nations, to abandon vindictive and illegal proceedings against our merchants, and to respect the British flag. Senile weakness may sometimes be admitted as an excuse for insolence; but it cannot be allowed to cover glaring acts of oppression and cruelty.

The British fleet arrived in the Canton waters during the month of June, 1840; and Commodore Bremer announced that on and after the 28th, a blockade of the river and port of Canton would be established, and that the anchorage of rendezvous for such British and foreign merchant ships as might resort to the coast of China, in ignorance of the blockade, should be Capsing-

moon and the Macao-roads. Thus, in excluding the English merchants from Canton, the Chinese had unintentionally annihilated the trade of the city altogether. They had, however, been so flattered by the representatives of European states submitting to their arrogant pretensions, that it seems never to have occurred to them that either England or any other power dare offer any resistance to the imperial will of the Son of Heaven! The Chinese, pursuing their absurd pretensions, issued a proclamation well calculated to raise a smile of mingled mirth and contempt on English lips: it stated, that whoever should capture an English man-of-war carrying eighty guns, and deliver the same to the Mandarins, should receive a reward of 20,000 Spanish dollars. At the same time a scale of rewards was offered for the assassination of English officers and men.

Having secured the blockade of Canton, Commodore Bremer, with a part of the fleet, left the mouth of the river, and sailed northward in the direction of Chusan. Admiral Elliot arrived at Macao, in the *Melville*, a 74, on the 28th of June; and after taking Captain Elliot, the superintendent, on board, followed the commodore. On the 2nd of July another proclamation was issued by the Chinese, in which the people were called upon to unite with the government in opposing the barbarians; fishermen and seafaring persons were commanded to go out and destroy the English ships; and were informed that their families would be maintained at the public expense while they were thus engaged: and a still higher scale of rewards was offered to any enterprising Chinese who should seize alive any *head thieves* (by which name they designated the captains and officers of the British ships.) These terrible measures, instead of striking terror into the "barbarians," as was confidently expected by the Mandarins, elicited only laughter and contempt.

Actual hostilities were not commenced until the 4th of July, when the *Wellesley*, *Conway*, and *Alligator* took up a position in Chusan harbour, and summoned the place to surrender. The Chinese admiral, accompanied by several persons of naval and military rank, went on board the *Wellesley*, and had a conference of some length with Sir Gordon Bremer. That officer explained to them, through the medium of an interpreter, that insult and aggression on the part of their officers, to an extent no longer

bearable, had obliged her Britannic majesty to seek redress; that his orders were to take military possession of the island and its dependencies; and that, as the force he had with him for that purpose precluded all chance of successful resistance, he earnestly entreated them to spare the great effusion of blood which would otherwise take place, by yielding at once. The Chinese authorities left in the evening, with an assurance that they would endeavour to prevent any delay in replying to the summons. During the night gongs were sounded, and other warlike demonstrations made; but no answer was returned. When the day dawned, the quays and shores were discovered lined with troops in considerable force. From the mast-heads of the vessels other forces could be seen on the plain beyond, and on the city walls. Three guns had been placed in position on a neighbouring hill, twenty-one were in line on the different wharves, and five were on a round tower of solid masonry. The war-junks were hauled up on shore in line, and presented thirty-four guns, and forty-five large gingals. Commodore Bremer delayed hostilities until half-past two, in the hope that when the Chinese saw the troops preparing to land in full force, they would negotiate. As they did not, he concluded that further forbearance would be useless, and he therefore ordered a shot to be fired at the round tower, as an earnest of his intention. It was instantly answered by the whole line of the Chinese defence. The work of war thus begun, broadside after broadside roared out from the British fleet, and a terrific destruction ensued. The cannonade lasted only seven or eight minutes before the Chinese guns were silenced. Then the dense cloud of smoke rolled slowly away, and revealed a scene of wreck and ruin. The Chinese troops had fled, their battery was destroyed, four junks were shattered to pieces, and the town appeared deserted. That so much pride as the Chinese exhibited should have grown upon such miserable weakness, and that they should have been so ill-prepared to back their extravagant pretensions, seemed almost impossible.

The British troops landed, and the national flag was speedily seen floating proudly over the first military position conquered in the Chinese empire by the arms of England.

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After taking possession of a hill about fifteen hundred yards from Ting-hae-heen, the capital of the island, the troops advanced upon the city. Its dilapidated walls, on which the Chinese flags were flying, were surrounded on three sides by a deep canal about twenty-five feet wide, and a continued flat of inundated boggy land. Despite of an impotent fire which was opened upon them from the walls, and continued at intervals until nearly midnight, the English took up their position with the intention of commencing the attack next day. With the first dull gray light of the 6th, ten guns were placed in position within 400 yards of the walls. As no sound was heard within the city, and no Chinese were to be seen, the British at length suspected it had been abandoned. A party having been sent to reconnoitre, scaled the wall, and discovered the supposition to be correct. There were only a few miserable Chinese, who appeared unarmed above the gate, and hung a placard over the wall with the inscription, "Save us, for the sake of our wives and children." The city was then taken possession of, and the British flag hoisted upon its principal gate. The walls are about six miles in circumference, and though built of brick and granite of an inferior quality, the place, if garrisoned with disciplined troops, would have been capable of making a good defence.

The capture of Chusan made some impression on Chinese pride. Negotiations were resumed and protracted until the 15th of September, when Admiral Elliot consented to transfer them from the island the British then occupied to Canton, where all details were to be settled, and where the Chinese government promised to arrange everything to the satisfaction of the British. This was an error on the part of the admiral; as while the British forces remained at Chusan, they inspired the Chinese with greater terror, in consequence of their comparative proximity to Peking, than when the threatened danger was removed to Canton. The emperor, dissatisfied with the efforts of Lin as imperial commissioner, appointed Keshen to take his place. This functionary represented himself as being invested with full powers to treat with the English, and adjust the quarrel between them and the Chinese government.

## DEFEAT OF THE CHINESE; AND DESTRUCTION OF THEIR WAR-JUNKS IN ANSON'S BAY.

THE subjects of the Celestial Empire had actively employed themselves in making use of the time which Keshen had gained by dilatory negotiations. They had erected new batteries at the Bogue; barricaded the bars in the river by sinking boats laden with stones; thrown up breastworks near Canton; and levied fresh troops. As it was evident from these hostile indications that they did not intend to come to a pacific arrangement, Commodore Bremer determined to give them another lesson on the subject of the relative strength of the Chinese and British empires. On the 7th of January, 1841, he opened a fire on the Bogue forts; over two of which he soon was enabled to unfurl the English standard.

Simultaneously with the attack on the forts, three regiments of troops, under the command of Major Pratt, were landed, attended by parties of seamen to drag the guns. After a two hours' march they reached the summit of a ridge, and were greeted with a loud shout of defiance from the Chinese, who occupied an entrenched camp at no great distance, with a hill fort, below which was a strongly palisaded breastwork, and a deep, broad, dry ditch. On each side of the camp two field batteries had been established; while, in a valley to the right, was a second fort, a large mound surmounted by three guns, and a flanking battery containing three others. The position was one of considerable strength, had it been held by European soldiers and defended by skilful military engineers. The Chinese waved their flags, sounded their gongs, and opened an ineffectual fire upon the advancing British. The latter pressed forward to the tower on the summit of the hill; and despite their bravado, the Chinese fled from it precipitately at the first fire from their approaching foes. In their confusion, a considerable body of them came full upon a party of marines and sepoy, whose well-directed volleys committed great havoc amongst them. Some of the fugitives ran back into the fort, and succeeded in closing the gates. They were, however, soon blown open, and the troops rushed in; a party of sailors scaling the wall at the same time in another direction. A considerable slaughter of the Chinese followed, though those who called for quarter received it. Many of these miserable wretches fought with desperate

obstinacy, from the mistaken idea that the English never spared the conquered; and as no signs could make them understand that submission would purchase safety, no alternative remained but to bayonet or shoot them. In one spot the dead lay in a heap three and four deep; it was behind a rock with a steep slope, over which the wretches had fallen in their attempt to escape. Leenshing, a commander who had risen from the ranks, and had gained the distinction of a blue button and a peacock's feather for his former services, was shot through the heart while vainly trying to rally his men. His son, who was fighting by his side, on seeing his father expire, made for the water, into which he sprang, and was seen no more. Altogether, it is supposed that the Chinese had not less than 600 killed in this encounter—for battle it cannot be called. The English had about thirty-eight wounded, but not one man killed; of the former, many owed their injuries to the explosion of a magazine.

Such a result might have inspired feelings of pity for the Chinese, whose incapacity in war was almost as great as their arrogant insolence in peace, but for their recent most inhuman conduct towards an English lady and a few other persons who were wrecked near their coast, and thus fell into the hands of these barbarians. These poor people were bastinadoed above the knees to prevent them from escaping, kept almost without food, had chains put round their necks, and, in this wretched condition, were dragged through the streets of several towns, amid the hootings and howlings of the ignorant and malicious savages. They were then carried about like animals in wooden cages, which, for several days and nights, they were not permitted to quit for any purpose whatever; and, finally, they were confined in a dark, dirty prison. What made all this disgusting outrage the more revolting was, that the Chinese reported, and perhaps believed, that Mrs. Noble, the unfortunate lady who fell into their hands, was sister to the Queen of England. With a nation so callous to every feeling of decency and humanity,—not to speak of generous sympathy for the unfortunate,—so meanly malicious and savage in their revenge, nothing remained but to chastise them into a better observance of those prin-

principles of humanity which all nations, except the most barbarous of savages, intuitively respect. It was necessary to coerce and awe the Chinese into habits of a less repulsive and more human character.

We have not yet detailed all the reverses this arrogant and infatuated people experienced on that, to them, fatal 7th of January. No sooner were the defenders of the forts disposed of, than Captain Belcher proceeded in the East India Company's war-steamer *Nemesis*, accompanied by the boats of the *Sulphur*, *Calliope*, *Larne*, and *Starling*, to attack the war-junks which were then lying at anchor in Anson's Bay. The combat which followed was another illustration of the miserable weakness of the Chinese in war, and of the wild absurdity of those high pretensions which Europe had for ages treated with respect, and believed might be backed by a power which could maintain them. Scarcely had the engagement began, and while the thunder of our first broadside reverberated from the high lands of the neighbouring shore, a rocket from the *Nemesis* hissed sharply through the air, and ploughed its fiery way through the side of a junk into its magazine. A tremendous explosion followed; a mighty column of flame, and mingled black and white smoke, rose high into the air, and the fragments of the junk were heaved up, and then fell, together with the mangled, burnt, and blackened bodies of the crew, into the waters. Not one of the latter were saved; if any were not killed by the explosion, they sunk, stunned and senseless, beneath the waves, and never rose again. In a

short time the whole flotilla was sunk or totally destroyed. Even two junks, which had run into a creek hard by for safety, were carried off by the *Nemesis*, without opposition. The awe-struck Chinese looked on in passive bewilderment, hardly believing what they saw; for they thought so large a ship could not have ventured into such shallow water.

The next morning, when Commodore Bremer was about to attack the principal fort of Aminghoy, after having subdued the minor Bogue batteries, a flag of truce was sent by the Chinese, and hostilities were again suspended. Keshen, terrified at the wonderful strength of the "barbarians," offered to adjust matters without any further delay, and preliminary arrangements were entered into between him and Captain Elliot, involving the following conditions:—First, the cession of the harbour and island of Hong Kong to the British crown; secondly, an indemnity to the British government of six million of dollars, in six instalments; thirdly, direct official intercourse between the two nations, upon an equal footing; fourthly, the opening the trade of the port of Canton within ten days after the Chinese new year; the trade to be carried on at Whampoa until further arrangements. This decided on, Keshen reported to the Celestial emperor that the English barbarians were now obedient to orders; that they desired the imperial favour, and that it was therefore no longer necessary to stop their trade, or cut off their supplies of provisions. Imbecile arrogance could scarcely go farther than this.

#### CANTON SAVED BY RANSOM—DUPLICITY OF THE CHINESE

WHEN the preliminaries agreed to by Captain Elliot, the superintendent, arrived in England, they were disapproved of by the government, and Sir Henry Pottinger appointed plenipotentiary in his stead. It soon became evident, also, that the Chinese were insincere in their professions; and when Captain Elliot applied for the release of Mrs. Noble and the other ill-treated shipwrecked persons detained as prisoners, he was met with an excuse, that they could not be set at liberty without an order from Pekin. Ultimately the emperor contumeliously rejected the preliminaries of the treaty which Keshen had agreed to, and issued an imperial edict, expressing his de-

termination to inflict a severe punishment on the English. The resumption of hostilities became inevitable. The island of Chusan was abandoned on account of its unhealthiness, and the British then took possession of Hong Kong. Wang-tong was afterwards taken without the loss of a single man. The Chinese admiral, Kwan, was killed, and 1,300 Chinese surrendered as prisoners. On the 27th of March a new attack was made on the junks and batteries on the left bank of the river near Whampoa Reach. When the troops landed, the Chinese fled; and the British ships of war then approached the walls of Canton. Alternating negotiations and hostilities, during

which the English destroyed all the forts in advance of Canton, took place until the latter end of May. It was observed, that the more yielding the British appeared, the more insolent and violent did the Chinese become. The emperor desired utterly to destroy the invaders; but, fortunately, he lacked the power to do so. Had he prevailed, there is little doubt that the whole of the English would have been massacred. He commanded that several line-of-battle ships should be constructed on the model of the barbarians; but the head naval constructor, in despair of being able to comply with this peremptory order, escaped from the difficulty by suicide. The Chinese next attempted to cast some enormous cannon, sufficient, they conjectured, to sink the English ships at one discharge; but on proving the first they made, it burst and killed three persons who were engaged in the operation, after which they could not prevail upon any one to test the rest. A considerable number of fresh troops were also collected; but they soon became mutinous, and deserted for want of pay.

It was resolved to check these warlike efforts; and, at the end of May, General Gough and Sir Le Fleming Senhouse resolved to take possession of the factories of Canton, and at the same time attack its river defences. The Chinese had formed a strongly intrenched camp, and arranged other formidable means of resistance; but they were utterly dispirited, and scarcely dared to face the foe. They at once gave way at all points: their magazines were destroyed; and the English commander made preparations for the storming of Canton. General Gough, after reconnoitring the walls and gates, resolved on taking the city by assault before the panic of the Chinese subsided. He was not, however, able to carry this intention into execution, as a rugged hill and some wet paddy-fields prevented his men from getting up more than a few of the lightest pieces of ordnance, and a very small portion of ammunition. The assault, therefore, was deferred until the following day; but the next morning, May the 26th, the Chinese hung out a flag of truce, and on an interpreter being sent to ascertain the cause, a Mandarin replied that they wished for peace. General Gough consented to an armistice of two hours' duration; but stated, that if he had not a satisfactory interview with the Chinese general by the expiration of that period, he

should cause the white flag to be struck. That functionary would not, by making his appearance, acknowledge a defeat, and the emblem of peace was hauled down. The attack, however, was not renewed; for several parleys took place between the Chinese and the pacific Captain Elliot (whose recall had not yet reached him), and he wrote to General Gough, desiring him to suspend hostilities, as he (Captain Elliot) was employed in negotiations for peace upon the following terms:—First, the Chinese commissioner and troops to quit the city within six days, and remove to a distance exceeding sixty miles; secondly, six million dollars to be paid within one week for the use of the crown of England; thirdly, the British troops to remain in their positions until the whole sum was paid, when they were to retire beyond the Bocca Tigris; and fourthly, all losses occasioned by the destruction of the factories to be paid within one week. General Gough did not approve of this arrangement, but he felt it his duty to fall in with it. Consequently, on the 27th of May, the British flag was lowered from the captured forts, and the troops and brigade of seamen marched out and went to Ting-hae.

Notwithstanding this agreement, the conduct of the Chinese was so suspicious,—bodies of them advancing stealthily, apparently in hope of surprising the English in their camp,—that Sir Hugh Gough deemed it necessary to disperse them; and several skirmishes ensued. A few unfortunate English soldiers, who straggled from the camp, were waylaid and murdered for the sake of the price that had been set upon them. On these they pounced with the ferocity of savages, less from any patriotic feeling of love for their country, than from the hope of reward. However, as five of the six million of dollars, which were exacted for the ransom of the city, were paid on the 1st of June, and security was given for the remainder, the English troops were withdrawn. They had been in tolerable good health on the heights; but sickness prevailed amongst them to an alarming extent when they reached Hong Kong.

In a report of these transactions, made to the emperor by his nephew Yilushan, the Chinese troops were said to have fought most bravely against the barbarians; but the ships of the latter being strong and numerous, they could not beat them back. He admitted that the British landed, that

the city of Canton was in danger of being reduced to ashes, and that he had consented to give them the ransom demanded, to beguile them out of the Bogue; after which, he said, the forts could be repaired, and the Chinese again prepare to attack and

exterminate the intruders. The emperor approved of this treacherous suggestion; and, speaking of the English in language of assumed contempt, again signified his celestial pleasure that they should be utterly destroyed.

#### CAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF AMOY, CHIN-HAE, AND NING-PO.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER arrived at China in August, 1841, to take the place of Captain Elliot as plenipotentiary; as the English government very justly considered that the proceedings of the latter had not been characterised by sufficient determination. After having haughtily declined seeing Kwang-chow-foo, a Mandarin who was sent to negotiate, Sir Henry sailed with the squadron commanded by Sir William Parker to Hong Kong, the appointed rendezvous for the ships intended for the northward expedition. On the 21st of August the squadron left the island, and on the evening of the 25th, anchored in the harbour of Amoy. This was an extensive city, not much less than ten miles in circumference, possessing an excellent harbour, and a strongly built citadel, containing five arsenals. The population of Amoy was said to amount to 70,000, and the army garrisoning it consisted of about 10,000 Chinese troops. The fortifications and defences of the place were so formidable that the Chinese believed them to be impregnable. Several small islands rise from the sea at the entrance of the harbour, and batteries were placed on them all. The "long battery" extended more than half a mile, and mounted seventy-six guns, having a space of forty feet between each. It is built of solid granite-work, fifteen feet thick at the bottom, and nine at the top, and was about fifteen feet in height. Excepting at the embrasures for the guns, it was faced with a coating of mud two feet thick. The masonry of the work was admirable; and those who beheld it declared that they had never seen anything so strong or so well built. At the end furthest from the town stood a strong granite wall, half a mile in length, with loopholes at the top for the Chinese matchlocks: it was intended to protect their flank from our troops. In the middle of the wall were two semicircular batteries, and one larger one at the end nearest the town. The entire number of guns by which the place was defended amounted to above 500.

The Chinese officials viewed the approach of the English with amazement, at what they regarded as the reckless audacity of barbarians; and early on the morning of the 26th, they sent an officer of low rank, under a flag of truce, with a message from the Mandarins, inquiring what so large a force wanted in the inner waters; and directing, if it were not for trade, that they should loose sails and go away immediately, "ere the celestial wrath should be kindled against them." A written reply was sent, signed by Sir Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary; Sir William Parker, rear-admiral; and Sir Hugh Gough, commander of the forces. It stated—"There being certain differences subsisting between the two nations of Great Britain and China, which have not been cleared up, the plenipotentiary and the commanders-in-chief have received instructions from their sovereign, that unless these be completely removed, and secure arrangements made by accession to the demands last year presented at Tientsin, they shall regard it as their duty to resort to hostile measures for the enforcement of their demands. But the plenipotentiary and commanders-in-chief, moved by compassionate feelings, and averse to causing the death of so many officers and soldiers as in that case must perish, urgently request the admiral commanding in this province, forthwith to deliver the town, and all the fortifications of Amoy, into the hands of the British forces, to be held for the present by them. Upon his so doing, all the officers and troops therein will be allowed to retire with their personal arms and baggage, and the people shall receive no hurt; and whenever these difficulties shall be settled, and the demands of Great Britain fully granted, the whole shall be restored to the hands of the Chinese. If these terms be acceded to, let a white flag be displayed from the fortifications."

As might be expected, the Chinese did not accede to this demand; their only reply to it being an active preparation for re-

sistance. The plenipotentiary and commanders-in-chief, after reconnoitring the place, gave orders for an immediate attack. The *Modeste*, *Blonde*, and *Druid* stood in and took up their positions before the batteries at the entrance of the harbour. The line-of-battle ships, with the *Sesostris*, *Queen*, and *Bentinck*, were directed to attack the long batteries, while the *Nemesis* and *Phlegethon*, filled with troops, and covered by the remaining ships, were to keep ready for disembarking them when ordered. About one o'clock the port division led in, exchanged a few broadsides with the island batteries as they passed, and then approached to within pistol-shot of the principal ones. In consequence of the shallowness of the water the *Blonde* grounded, but, fortunately, with her broadside to the forts. For some time the fire was well sustained on both sides, the Chinese standing to their guns with more resolution than might have been anticipated from their previous spiritless and feeble conduct. The marines were then landed, followed by a detachment of the 26th. On seeing this, numbers of the fainthearted Chinese fled, while others came down from the fort, spitting at their assailants in impotent fury, and picking up stones to hurl at them. On receiving a volley, they also turned and fled after their less daring brethren. It was not long before the British colours were waving over their position. The *Modeste* then ran into the inner harbour, where she engaged five or six batteries, and speedily drove the men from their guns. In the harbour were found twenty-six war-junks, mounting altogether 128 guns, and deserted by their timid and incapable crews. The *Modeste* was followed into the harbour by the *Algérine*, and also by the *Blonde*, as soon as that vessel got afloat. The *Sesostris* and *Queen* had been for some time sustaining the fire of the formidable long battery, where the Tartars stood to their guns remarkably well. At length they were aided by the *Wellesley* and *Blenheim*, and finally silenced, after they had sustained a bombardment of three hours. Some troops who landed having succeeded in attacking them in the rear, several of the garrison were bayoneted at their guns. A party of seamen and marines, who were landed under the command of Commodore Fletcher, charged right up to the embrasures of the fort; and entering by these apertures, followed their fleeing foes through the suburb into an open sandy

plain, where the Chinese attempted a slight resistance, but were again routed and driven to seek refuge in a confined pass in the hills which separated the city from the suburbs. A large body of the Chinese, led by mounted Mandarins, was pursued towards that point by the general and his troops. The marines and seamen were so stationed as to be able to open a cross-fire on the fleeing enemy: the result was, that three of the Mandarins and about thirty of their men fell, and the rest broke up and ran precipitately in all directions. Within four hours after the firing of the first shot, all the positions of this supposed impregnable fortress were carried, and the British troops were then bivouacked for the night on the heights between the chief city and suburbs. The loss of life in this brilliant affair was but trifling: not more than 150 of the Chinese were killed; while the casualties of the English amounted only to a few wounds, inflicted by the arrows of their Asiatic foes. On the landing of the British troops, the Mandarin who was second in command, rushed despairingly into the sea, and was drowned; another was seen to cut his throat, and fall in front of the soldiers as they advanced. The poor wretches probably feared some dreadful doom from the lips of the emperor, for not having obeyed his orders for the extermination of his foes. A few days after Amoy was captured the British troops were withdrawn from the city, but they took possession of one of the neighbouring islands.

Unfavourable weather relaxed the efforts of the British; but on the 21st of September, the squadron approached Chusan harbour. There the troops were disembarked, and Ting-hae, which had been abandoned, was retaken, with a loss of only two killed and twenty-four wounded. On the 7th of October the squadron sailed for Ning-po, and on the evening of the 9th it anchored off the city of Chin-hae, a place of considerable strength, at the mouth of the Ning-po river. Chin-hae, and its defences, was thus described by Admiral Parker:—"It is enclosed by a wall thirty-seven feet in thickness and twenty-two feet high, with an embrasured parapet of four feet high, and nearly two miles in circumference, and is situated at the foot of a commanding peninsula height, which forms the entrance of the Tahee river, on its left or north bank. On the summit is the citadel, which, from its strong position, is considered the

key to Chin-hae, and the large and opulent city of Ning-po, about fifteen miles up the river; and it is so important as a military post, that I trust I may be excused for attempting to describe it. It stands about 250 feet above the sea, and is encircled by a strong wall, with iron-plated gates at the east and west ends. The north and south sides of the heights are exceedingly steep; the former accessible only from the sea by a narrow winding path from the rocks at its base, the south side and eastern end being nearly precipitous. At the east end of the citadel, outside its wall, twenty-one guns were mounted in three batteries of masonry and sand-bags, to defend the entrance to the river. The only communication between the citadel and city is on the west side, by a steep but regular causeway, to a barrier-gate at the bottom of the hill, where a wooden bridge over a wet ditch connects it with the isthmus and the gates of the city, the whole of which are covered with iron plates, and strongly secured. The space on the isthmus between the citadel hill and the city wall is filled up towards the sea with a battery of five guns, having a row of strong piles driven in a little beach in front of it, to prevent a descent in that quarter; and on the river side of the isthmus are two batteries adjoining the suburbs, and mounting twenty-two and nineteen guns, for flanking the entrance; twenty-eight guns of different sizes, and numberless gingals, were also planted on the city walls, principally towards the sea."

The British troops were landed early on the 10th of October, the operations being protected by the ships of war, which, in performing this important duty, sustained but very little damage from the fire of the enemy. Shortly after eleven, most of the Chinese batteries were carried, and their terrified defenders fleeing in every direction. Another quarter of an hour of furious bombardment, and the wall of the citadel was breached by the iron tempest hurled against it. On this point the Chinese had hitherto worked their guns with considerable firmness, but they abandoned them on seeing their defences reduced to a ruinous condition, and retreated precipitately towards the city. Not a moment was allowed them to recover from the shock they had sustained; the battalion of seamen and marines were landed, together with the detachments of artillery and sappers; and the whole force advanced to the assault with startling rapidity

and decision. The explosion of a magazine within the citadel burst open the gate, and the remnant of the garrison fled as the British rushed impetuously in. No sooner were they within the walls than another explosion occurred, probably from design, but without injuring any of our men. This post secured, the troops were re-formed, and again pushed onwards towards the city. The Chinese still occupied its walls and two adjacent batteries in considerable force; but their hearts failed them before the terrible foe they had to encounter, and they also fled after a few volleys of musketry. The city wall was then scaled in two places; the Chinese, in terror and confusion, made their escape by the western gate, and the British colours were upraised over the walls of Chin-hae.

The loss sustained by the British in this affair was very slight, but great numbers of the Chinese perished. Many were shot, others drowned in their attempts to escape, and a great number of prisoners were taken, besides many pieces of cannon. The prisoners were deprived of their arms, and liberated on the following day. Some were subjected, before their departure, to the indignity of losing their much-valued long plaited tails—a fitting punishment for their arrogance, and one they regarded as an extreme humiliation. Sir Hugh Gough, on hearing this, gave orders that the Chinese should be spared this affront; but the command was not received until our rough barbers had completed their operations.

Having left a garrison in Chin-hae, the expedition proceeded up the river to the city of Ning-po, before which they made their appearance on the 13th. Its walls were nearly five miles in circumference, and it contained a population of 300,000 persons. As the British vessels grimly took up their positions, no soldiers made their appearance, though the inhabitants were collected in clusters on both banks of the river, and densely thronged the bridge of boats which extended across it. On the British landing, they found the town undefended, although the gate was barricaded. The walls, however, were soon scaled; the Chinese themselves assisting in removing the obstructions and in opening the gate. These poor people all appeared anxious to throw themselves on British protection, saying that their Mandarins had deserted them, and that their own soldiers were unable to defend them. Sir Hugh Gough assembled some of the

most respectable of the commercial class who had remained in the city, and assured them of his desire to afford them all the protection consistent with his instructions to press the Chinese government. He also issued a proclamation calling upon the people to reopen their shops, promising that they should not be molested. This they did to some extent; and every precaution was taken to prevent the troops from plundering, though the conduct of the latter was so gratifying in this respect, that it elicited the warmest commendation of the commander-in-chief. A strict search, however, was instituted to discover any public treasure that might have been preserved

there, but no great amount of bullion was found. Several extensive stores of money were reported, but they were affirmed not to belong to the government, but to the merchants and bankers of the city. These statements were naturally received with much suspicion; but ultimately a compromise was made, and the holders were compelled to pay a per-centage for the security, which the British authority extended to the remainder. In the public granaries an enormous quantity of rice and corn was found. This was disposed of to the Chinese, each of whom were allowed to take away as much as he could carry for a dollar. Thus the distress caused by the war was partially alleviated.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR—CAPTURE OF THE CITIES OF CHAPOO AND CHIN-KIANG-FOO—SCENES OF HORROR ENACTED AT THE LATTER.

IT might be supposed that the severe lessons the Chinese had received, and their repeatedly proved incompetency to resist the English, would have taught them to abate their arrogant tone, and induce them to seek for peace. Such, however, was not the case; and the vaunting impotence of the imperial decrees became even more insolent than before. Instead of speaking of the English as an equal and powerful enemy, the celestial emperor described them as "rebels," who had dared to act contemptuously towards his dynasty; and at length proceeded to the absurd extent of decreeing their utter annihilation. "I, the emperor," said he, in an imperial edict, "now order Meenfang, and the great minister Hoo, to lead forth the army of 50,000 men, and most decidedly make a thorough extermination of the English rebels, in order to tranquillise the hearts of our people. But if you dare to be cowardly, and privately, of your own accord, proceed to make peace, most certainly will you be put to death. Let the two words 'make peace,' for ever after this find no place in your hearts, nor ever give them form by writing them out. If you both (Meenfang and Hoo) do not tremblingly carry out my imperial design, then are you not the son and minister of our realm. And should you dare to become tardy in your duties, and listen to their pretensions to make peace, I, the emperor, will place myself at the head of a mighty force, and most uncompromisingly make an end of English guilt. All the troops of Keelin,

Woolung, and Solun, will also hasten to assemble at the capital, that we may altogether advance and exterminate—not allowing so much as a bit of broken plank of the English to return: then will be laid aside my imperial resentment."

Other edicts followed, all expressing the impotent fury of the emperor, who declared that the indignation of both gods and men was aroused against the English barbarians: that he would treat all their solicitations for peace with utter scorn, and, collecting a great army, destroy their nests and dens (in England and India), and thus cut them off, both root and branch, allowing them not one foot of ground, in order that his imperial wrath might be appeased. Unable to wreak his vengeance on his foes, this eastern despot visited his own subjects with brutal and vindictive punishments. Keshen, the unfortunate Mandarin who had negotiated with the English, was accused of receiving bribes from them, and the emperor ordered him to be cut in sunder at the waist. The imperial savage also commanded all who officially attended Keshen, whether great or small, his relations, and all who appertained unto him, to be decapitated indiscriminately. He doomed another unhappy wretch, accused of traitorously combining with the English, to be put to death, by having his flesh cut from his bones in small bits; his native place also was to be laid waste, and his relatives sentenced to the penalty of transportation. The emperor also degraded

many of his Mandarins, and deprived every officer of the province of Canton of his official button, until they should make good their delinquencies by efficiency of effort.

The hostile operations against the Chinese were continued; but minutely to follow the movements against them would weary the reader, from its monotonous repetition of details of advance and particulars of flight. The exclusive system so long pursued by those who sway the destinies of the Chinese empire, of shutting out all whom they termed barbarians, together with the knowledge they had acquired and the discoveries they had made, now recoiled upon those who had pursued so senseless and suicidal a policy. China, uninfluenced by the knowledge and progress of more enlightened nations, ignorant of its own weakness, and holding, with a superstitious reverence, to ancient modes of art and warfare long since abandoned by more active-minded states, was, in the hour of trial, found to be almost defenceless. Pompous boastings and threats which they supposed their enemies would regard as awful, soon appeared in the light of amusing absurdities, when opposed to the bold movements of European warfare. The Chinese concluded that the preposterous language they had for ages considered to be appropriate in all their communications with representatives of the western world, had actually secured to their empire the omnipotence it assumed. More frankness and resolution on the part of the foreign ambassadors, might have undeceived the tea-growers and their government half a century sooner, and spared them the bitter mortification which they had now to experience. Their air-built castles and vanity-bred day-dreams of universal authority, were soon to burst and vanish like gaudy sun-painted bubbles blown by sportive children on a summer's day.

Urged forward to action by a fear of incurring the merciless anger of their emperor, the Chinese made a desperate effort to recover both Chin-hae and Ning-po, but with the usual result—repulse and considerable slaughter on their side, and comparative immunity from loss on that of the English. Attempts were then made to cut off the supplies of the latter, and thus reduce them by starvation. It was ascertained that a body of from three to four thousand men were encamped at a town called Tse-kee, about ten or eleven miles' distance from Ning-po. On the 15th of March, 1842,

General Gough sent a force of 1,500 men to disperse them. The Chinese were discovered drawn up in a position of some strength, and when they were attacked, displayed more determination than was usual with them. They were, however, defeated with a loss of five or six hundred men; while that of the English amounted but to three killed and twenty wounded,—a powerful instance, if any were needed, to show that the antiquated tactics of these Asiatic conservatives could never compete with the strength and science of European troops. It was understood that the force thus encountered was the *élite* of the Chinese army, and had been sent, under Commander Yih King, to "exterminate the barbarians."

As nothing was to be gained by remaining at Ning-po, the expedition abandoned it on the 7th of May, and sailed for the river Tséentang, in order to attack the city of Chapoo. On the 18th the fleet opened a fire upon the place, and its defenders, though 10,000 strong, were soon overpowered. The town was carried with but little loss, and, as usual, the Chinese sought for safety in precipitate flight. A body of Tartar troops, consisting of about 300 men, on finding their retreat intercepted, threw themselves into a joss-house, and there fought desperately until the building, riddled by British bullets, fell in upon them. Forty of them surrendered, and seven were made prisoners; the rest perished miserably by bullet and bayonet. The squadron, after destroying the batteries, magazines, foundries, barracks, and other public buildings of Chapoo, sailed towards that part of the great Yank-tse-keang river where it is joined by the Woo-sung.

The astonishment and perplexity of the Chinese authorities were extreme as the unwelcome truth came with irresistible evidence upon their obtuse minds, that they were unable to crush the powerful foes whose anger they had so arrogantly provoked. The troops of the Celestial Empire were scattered in disgraceful flight before the forces of a distant, and, as they supposed, or affected to suppose, obscure nation; its cities were captured, and the edicts of the Son of Heaven set at defiance! The Chinese had already taxed their invention and resources to the uttermost, but without effect. The English captured some large pieces of cannon, which had received names indicative of the service they were intended to perform. One was called "the terror

and subduer of the barbarians;" while another was itself somewhat sportively termed "the barbarian." These engines were found to be as inefficient in extirpating the foe as the troops and war-junks of the empire had been; and some of the Mandarins who had been disposed to negotiate instead of to fight, were restored to the offices of which they had been angrily deprived. Elepoo, an old Mandarin, who had been superseded and disgraced for his mildness, was again entrusted with office, and sent to the scene of action. Some communications passed between him and the English officers in command of the expedition, with a view of terminating the quarrel without further hostilities: but Chinese arrogance was not yet sufficiently humbled; the conferences produced no result; and Sir Henry Pottinger, General Gough, and Admiral Parker, resolved to strike another blow, by taking possession of the great cities of Chin-Kiang-foo and Nankin.

It was felt by the English commanders that a blow must be struck at once, of a character so severe as to terminate the prevarication of the Chinese, and compel them to sue for peace. The combined armament now consisted of upwards of seventy sail, and carried 12,000 fighting men, of whom 9,000, including marines, were in the highest state of discipline. The naval brigade also comprehended 3,000 seamen, two-thirds of whom, when required, were available for land service. The fleet sailed from the anchorage off Woo-sung on the 6th of July, destroying some batteries at Sayshan on the 14th, and appeared in the river Yang-tse-keang, before Chin-Kiang-foo, on the 20th. This city stands about half a mile from the river. The northern and eastern sides face upon a range of steep hills, the western and southern on low ground, and the grand imperial canal serves in some measure as a wet ditch to these faces. To the westward, the suburb through which the canal passes extends to the river, and terminates under a precipitous hill, opposite to which, and within one thousand yards, is the island of Kinshan. It is not more than a few hundred yards in circumference, and by no means calculated for a military position; indeed, though called an island, it is a mere rock rising abruptly from the water. A small seven-storied pagoda crowns its summit, and a few temples and imperial pavilions, interspersed with trees and partly in ruins, occupied

only by Chinese priests, run round its base and up its sides.

On the morning of the 21st of July, the whole of the British troops were landed in brigades: the first under Major-general Lord Saltoun, the second under Major-general Bartley, and the third under Major-general Schoedde. The Chinese encampments in front of the city were soon attacked and destroyed by Lord Saltoun's men, who drove the enemy before them over the hills. Sir Hugh Gough then directed General Bartley to advance his troops against the south gate. The command was instantly obeyed, and the gate blown open by the explosion of bags of gunpowder attached to it. The men, however, on rushing in, found, after traversing a long archway, that the gate did not lead into the city, but only to an outwork of considerable extent. Fortunately, General Schoedde had previously taken possession of the inner gateway by scaling the city walls at the north angle, and having cleared the whole line of the ramparts to the westward, carried the inner gateway after an obstinate resistance. The Tartars fought with the fury of desperation; and the heat of the sun was so overpowering, that several of the English soldiers dropped dead from its effects. In consequence of this, the advance of the troops into the town was suspended until the evening, when the fierce heat and blinding rays of the sun had declined. The British pushed forward into the streets, and at almost every step terrible spectacles presented themselves. The city was nearly deserted; for all the respectable inhabitants and local authorities had fled. The streets and houses were encumbered with the ghastly burdens of the corpses of a vast number of men, women, and children; some of the latter, drowned or strangled, glared hideously with the fixed and sightless eyes of death, from the bottom of wells; for many of the Tartars, after destroying their wives and families, had committed suicide. Night prevented a close inspection of the city; and the poisonous odours, arising like a deathladen mist, from such numbers of corpses already fast decomposing from the effects of the sun, were so offensive, that General Schoedde and his troops, who were left to occupy the city, were compelled to retire to the adjoining heights commanding it.

The morrow dawned upon a frightful scene of desolation and misery. The rosy light of the unconscious sun revealed a

multitude of tragedies combined into one climax of revolting horror. The lately flourishing city was a spectacle of ruin; its blackened ramparts and blood-bedabbled streets covered with the bodies of the dying and the dead; the tramp of English soldiers mingled with the wails and moanings of those who yet lived; many of the finest buildings destroyed; and the main street of shops and the dwelling-houses near the gates were gutted by a horde of native marauders, who had commenced plundering even before the fierce tumult of the fight had ceased. These wretches, who during the night had carried off an enormous amount of property, must have made their escape, under cover of the darkness, through a gateway opening upon the south-east, at which a guard was not placed until the morning. Shortly after daybreak, armed parties were sent out to patrol the Tartar quarter in search of concealed soldiers, and to destroy the arsenals and depôts of military stores. Fatigue detachments were also employed in the gloomy but necessary duty of burying the dead, from whose remains the most offensive and dangerous exhalations were arising. The scenes witnessed by these men were of an appalling description. In the houses were seen whole families lying dead in groups, and stiffened in pools of congealed blood. The bodies of the little children, who had been sacrificed in the insane despair of their parents, were usually found lying in the chambers of the women, as if each father had assembled the whole of his family before consummating the shocking massacre. Many corpses of boys were lying grimly in the streets, amongst those of horses and soldiers; as if an alarm had been spread, and they had been stabbed while attempting to escape from their ruthless parents. In a few instances these poor little sufferers were found still breathing the morning after the assault, the tide of life ebbing slowly away as they lay writhing in the agony of a broken spine—a mode of destruction so cruel, that but for the most certain evidence of its reality, the shocked listener would refuse credence to the relation.

“In one of the houses,” wrote Major Ochterlony, himself a spectator of what he describes, “the bodies of seven dead and dying persons were found in one room, forming a group which, for loathsome horror, was perhaps unequalled. The house (evidently the abode of a man of some rank

and consideration), and the delicate forms and features of the sufferers, denoted them as belonging to the highest order of Tartars. On the floor, essaying in vain to put food with a spoon into the mouths of two young children extended on a mattress, writhing in the agonies of death, caused by the dislocation of their spines, sat an old decrepit man, weeping bitterly as he listened to the piteous moans and convulsive breathings of the poor infants, while his eye wandered over the ghastly relics of mortality around him. On a bed, near the dying children, lay the body of a beautiful young woman, her limbs and apparel arranged as if in sleep. She was cold, and had been long dead. One arm clasped her neck, over which a silk scarf was thrown, to conceal the gash in her throat which had destroyed her life. Near her lay the corpse of a woman somewhat more advanced in years, stretched on a silk coverlet, her features distorted, and her eyes open and fixed, as if she had died by poison or strangulation. There was no wound upon the body, nor any blood upon her person or clothes. A dead child, stabbed through the neck, lay near her; and in the veranda adjoining the room were the corpses of two more women, suspended from the rafters by twisted clothes wound round their necks. They were both young; one quite a girl, and her features, in spite of the hideous distortion produced by the mode of her death, retained traces of their original beauty, sufficient to show the lovely mould in which they had been cast. From the old man, who appeared, by his humble garb, to have been a servant or retainer of the family thus awfully swept away, nothing could be elicited as to the mode or authors of their death,—nothing but unintelligible signs of poignant distress. He was made to comprehend the object of the interring party, and at once testified the utmost satisfaction and gratitude for their humane interposition, assisting to carry the bodies down from the staircase into the court, where a shallow grave having been excavated beneath the pavement, he tenderly placed them in their sad resting-place; and having covered them with clothes, the stone slabs were replaced over their remains. The two dying children shortly afterwards breathed their last, and were interred beside the grave of their hopeless relatives. The old man remained in the now silent abode of his last chief, and was seen no more.” This is but one of

many scenes of horror enacted by the despairing Chinese, to save their wives and children from what they regarded as the profaning touch of the victors.

For some time the English were unable to ascertain what had become of Hailing, the Chinese general. Search had been made for him among the killed and wounded, but in vain. At length Mr. Morrison, the English interpreter, met with a man who had acted as secretary to the Tartar chief, and who informed him that Hailing, having harangued his troops, and then led them against the enemy, returned to his house after the day was irretrievably lost, and calling for his secretary, desired him to bring his official papers into a small room adjoining an inner court of the building, where deliberately seating himself, and causing the papers, with a quantity of wood, to be piled up around him, he dismissed the secretary, set fire to the funeral pile, and perished in the flames. The tale was evidenced by the discovery of the apartment in which this strange example of barbarian and unavailing heroism had been enacted. The skull and partly-calcined bones of the general yet lay, amidst charred fragments of wood, on the paved flooring.

Leaving the desolate city of Chin-Kiang-foo, which had become rather a great graveyard, or charnel-house, than a dwelling-place for human beings, the squadron proceeded up the river Yang-tse-keang towards Nankin, off which city it anchored on the 9th of August. Nankin, or rather Nanking, which signifies "court of the south," is the ancient capital of China, and its popula-

tion is estimated at 400,000 persons. Its ancient walls can be traced, over hill and dale, for thirty-five miles; but since the transference of the seat of empire to Peking in the thirteenth century, the city has much declined, and the modern walls enclose scarcely more than an eighth part of the extent confined within the ancient ones. The famous porcelain tower, of which travellers have spoken so much, consists of seven stories, is 200 feet in height, and was built at a cost, it is said, of from seven to eight hundred thousand pounds. Nankin is the centre of a very extensive trade, and contains some important manufactures of crape, satin of the finest quality, paper, artificial flowers, Indian ink, and nankeen—from which latter substance it derives its name.

The city of Nankin appeared destined to become a prey to the horrors which had so recently devastated Chin-Kiang-foo. Every preparation had been made by the English for the attack; the ships were in position, and the troops ready to land. Happily for themselves, the Chinese succeeded in averting the blow; their pride was humbled, and they felt convinced of their inability to compete with those terrible invaders who seemed to them to be armed with almost superhuman powers. On the 17th of August, General Gough and Admiral Parker received a letter from Sir Henry Pottinger, the plenipotentiary, desiring them to suspend hostilities, as he was engaged negotiating with Keying, Elepoo, and Newkéén, Chinese officers of high rank, who had been appointed by the emperor as commissioners to treat for peace.

#### PEACE WITH CHINA, AND CONCILIATORY PROCEEDINGS.

THE British plenipotentiary claimed from the Chinese government a large sum of money to cover the expenses of the hostile measures that had been taken against it, and to reimburse the English merchants for the confiscated opium. He also demanded that certain ports should be open to British commerce, and a territorial concession granted in addition. It taxed the powers of the chief Chinese commissioner to invent language of a character that should render these demands even endurable to the emperor; but he got over this difficulty with much ingenuity. He represented that the barbarians at first *begged* for 30,000,000

dollars, but that he had achieved a great diplomatic victory in beating the stipulated sum down to 21,000,000. He added, that if they were soon enabled to order the men-of-war to retire, the advantages to China would be very great indeed. We quote the conclusion of the report of Keying to the emperor, as being one of the most unintentionally amusing state papers perhaps ever written:—"I, your servant, have examined and found what are the unwarrantable demands of the said barbarians, which they so importunately urge, and they are deserving of the utmost hatred. But, considering that they have already attacked

and laid in ruins Kingkow (and it is proved that not only the rivers, but Chinkeang it will be difficult to recover speedily), but I am apprehensive we shall be blocked up both on the north and south, which will be the heaviest calamity. The ships which formerly blockaded the entrances were far different from these, and great expense is unavoidable. As yet, our reputation is not lost. As to the extorted 21,000,000 dollars, they are to be reckoned at seven mace each of Sycee silver, which will amount to upwards of 11,700,000 taels. The Hong debts are 3,000,000 dollars, weighing 2,100,000 taels, which must be recovered from the Hong merchants of Canton, when a clear examination has been made. There still remains 12,600,000 taels. This year the first payment of 6,000,000 dollars has been made, equal to 4,200,000 taels. Now, 1,000,000 has already been carried to the account of the people and merchants of Keangsoo, which the officers must pay in the first instance; and, in time, money may be looked for for the purchase of honours (buttons and peacock's feathers.) The remainder is to be cleared off in three years; not requiring 3,000,000 taels for each year. Moreover, the duties that the said nation will pay should be taken into account, which will shift the expenditure from the imperial family, and disputes will be prevented. Comparing one year's expenses of the army with the sum paid to the English, it is as three to ten; *and there is only the name of fighting, without the hope of victory.* It is better to adopt plans in accordance with circumstances, and put an everlasting stop to war. If we prepare our armies to regain the places already in their hands, it is a difficult matter to engage with them on the waters. Though near to each other, we have been idle (there has not been any fighting) for many days; and as to those places which they have taken and keep possession of, will it not be allowed them to return to us our territory, and allow them to trade, since they are willing respectfully to pay the duties? Just now they are sensible, and repent of their errors, and are as obedient as if driven by the wind; and when again united in mutual friendship, benevolence, and truth, all things will go on well. And since they will guard their own market, and surround and protect the sea boundaries, there will not be any necessity for recourse to our interference, which will be to the advantage of our country."

Or the 29th of August, 1842, a treaty of peace was concluded between her majesty the Queen of England and the Emperor of China,—a treaty memorable as being the first in which the celestial potentate ever authorised his ministers to meet those of England, or of any other western nation, on a footing of equality. It consisted of twelve articles, the most important of which were the following:—That British subjects shall be allowed to reside, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint, at the cities and towns of Canton, Amoy, Foo-chow-foo, Ning-po, and Shanghai: that the emperor of China pay to her Britannic majesty's officers and subjects the sum of 12,000,000 dollars on account of expenses incurred by the war, from which any sum received by her majesty's combined forces, as ransoms for cities and towns in China, were to be deducted: that the total amount of 21,000,000 dollars claimed by the British, should be paid in instalments on stated dates, and that interest at the rate of five per cent. should be paid on any portion of the instalments not discharged at the periods fixed: that her Britannic majesty's chief high officer in China shall correspond with the Chinese high officers, under the term "communication;" the subordinate British officers, and Chinese high officers in the provinces, under the terms "statements," on the part of the former, and on the part of the latter, "declaration;" and the subordinates of both countries on a footing of perfect equality. This item was far more important than it seemed, as it set at rest the vexed question of superiority claimed by the Chinese in their intercourse with the British, and for ever settled all claim for the performance of such offensive ceremonies as the Ko-tou.\* The last article guaranteed the retirement of the British forces from Nankin and the grand canal as soon as the Emperor of China gave his assent to the treaty, and the first instalment of the money was paid. All military posts were to be withdrawn, with the exceptions of the islands of Koolangsoo and Chusan, which were to be retained by the British forces until the money payments and the arrangements for opening the ports to British merchants were completed. For a long time afterwards the relations of Great Britain with the Chinese Empire continued to be friendly, while the commerce greatly increased, to the satisfaction of all.

## THE DISPUTE BETWEEN TURKEY AND EGYPT.

WHILE the events just related were proceeding in China, the English government became implicated in a dispute in which the balance of power in Europe was concerned, and which led to her making another warlike demonstration in the East; the theatre of operations being, in this instance, Syria and Egypt.

The latter country, presumed to be the earliest civilised state in the world, had for ages degenerated from its ancient grandeur and power; and after 2,000 years of foreign domination, it was subjected by the Turks in the 16th century, and became a province of the Ottoman empire. Since the decline of Turkish power, it not unfrequently happened that the pasha of an extensive province felt himself strong enough to rule independently of the Sublime Porte, and even to set it at defiance. We have now to relate an incident of this kind, which not only led to the interference of England, but even threatened to plunge Europe into a general war.

The resolute and talented sultan, Mahmoud the Second, regarded Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, with suspicion and dislike. To show that he had solid grounds for doing so, we will briefly trace the principal events of the strangely romantic career of that distinguished man. Mehemet Ali was born in 1769, at Cavallo in Roumelia, of poor and obscure parents. While yet young he left them, and began his career as a dealer in tobacco; but as commerce was not the field most fitted for an ambitious and subtle nature, he soon abandoned it, and entered the army. When the French invaded Egypt, Ali was sent to that country at the head of a body of Albanians; and after the evacuation of the French, he made himself extremely useful to Kourschid Pasha, the governor of Egypt. Kourschid was unpopular with the Mamelukes, and disliked by his own soldiers; and the scheming and capable Mehemet soon began to see an opening for himself. The pasha became jealous, and endeavoured to get rid of his over-active servant. It was too late; Mehemet had gained over his countrymen to his interest, and soon contrived, with the assistance of the Mamelukes, to depose the pasha, and assume that dignity himself. Though many efforts were made to remove the adventurer, his own talents and the

weakness of the Turkish government, enabled him to keep his position. Apparently the most submissive of pashas, he yet always contrived to gain his point in any controversy with the Porte; and every effort to displace him only left him more powerful than before. In 1811, he contrived a treacherous massacre of the Mamelukes—a savage act, but one by which he seated himself more firmly in his hitherto insecure position. Shortly afterwards, with the assistance of a French officer, he set to work to raise an army, and discipline it on the European model; a task which, with his usual energy, he accomplished in the face of enormous difficulties. He contrived to win the favour of the sultan by subduing the Wahabees, a reforming sect of military Arabs, who had captured Mecca and Medina, plundered the caravans, and put a stop to the pilgrimages of the faithful. In the several campaigns which he undertook against these wild warriors, his two sons, Tousson and Ibrahim, greatly distinguished themselves. The sultan acknowledged this service by bestowing upon Ibrahim the pashalic of the holy cities; but the restless Mehemet Ali pushed his arms further, and contrived to get possession of the most valuable parts of the coast of Arabia. In 1824, he again assisted the sultan by sending a powerful army and fleet, under his son Ibrahim, to Greece, to assist in crushing the insurrection there; but, as we have related, the great European powers interfered, his fleet was destroyed at the battle of Navarino, and not more than half his army returned to Egypt. The Turkish government endeavoured to console Mehemet for this reverse, by conferring upon him the government of Candia.

From that period until 1831, the far-seeing pasha occupied himself in the improvement of his country, in the execution of public works, and in carrying out numerous reforms. His endeavour to restore the ancient grandeur of Egypt, and raise it to a considerable military and naval power, led him to set on foot many stern and tyrannical conscriptions. This, and his haughty disregard of the feelings and interests of his subjects on all other matters where his own desires were concerned, induced many of them to abandon their country and take refuge in Syria, where they were received

into the protection of Abdallah Pasha. Though under considerable obligations to Mehemet Ali, this man disregarded all his remonstrances, and the active Ali, in November, 1831, dispatched a well-appointed army of 40,000 men, with a squadron of five sail of the line and several frigates, to Acre, or St. Jean d'Acre, a fortified city and seaport of Syria. This expedition was under the command of his son Ibrahim, who crossed the desert, laid siege to Acre, and after a period of six months, took it by storm. Abdallah Pasha was made prisoner and sent to Egypt, where, however, he was honourably treated, and, by this conquest, the power of Mehemet extended into Syria.

The jealousy of the sultan was aroused; he commanded Mehemet to withdraw his troops from Syria, and raised an army to enforce his mandate, in the probable event of its being disputed. Mehemet would not submit: his ambition had been fostered by success; and he resolved not only to retain Acre, but to extend his authority over Syria. Ibrahim defeated the troops of the sultan in several encounters, and the latter became seriously alarmed for the stability of his throne. In this emergency Russia, ever ready to interpose in the affairs of Turkey, offered assistance to the sultan, and Ibrahim considered it wise to enter into a treaty, which, although it saved the Turkish empire from destruction, surrendered the pashalic of Adona and the whole of Syria to Mehemet Ali and his son.\*

In 1838, the powerful Mehemet Ali resolved to free himself altogether from allegiance to the sultan, and refused any longer to pay tribute to the Porte. Mahmoud would not resign his provinces without another struggle, and he made an effort to reduce Mehemet to obedience, and to recover Syria by threatening that district with a large army, assembled on the eastern bank of the Euphrates. Mehemet directed his

son Ibrahim to concentrate his forces near Aleppo, but at the same time to guard against venturing upon any aggressive movement.

The European powers viewed this state of affairs with much uneasiness. France and England anticipated the probable defeat of the sultan's forces; and fearing that a Russian army would be sent to protect the Turkish government—a service for which Russia would exact an usurious territorial payment when the time came,—the ministers of each of these powers sent instructions to their ambassadors to do everything within their means to prevent hostilities between the Porte and Egypt. Mehemet Ali acted with a real or assumed moderation; but the fiery sultan expressed his determination to punish his rebellious vassal, and issued a manifesto, which declared that Mehemet, the viceroy of Egypt, and his son Ibrahim, were deprived of all their dignities; and Hafiz Pasha, the generalissimo of the Turkish army, was named as the successor of Mehemet in the government of Egypt. This sentence of deposition was followed by a formal declaration of war, and a fleet of thirty-five sail was sent to act against the refractory viceroy. The fleet departed for Egypt; and the Turkish army, consisting of from thirty to forty thousand men, crossed the Euphrates and encountered Ibrahim Pasha, who had a force of about equal power, on the 24th of June, 1839. The battle of Nezib followed. Hafiz Pasha was utterly defeated; 6,000 Turks were killed or wounded in the sanguinary struggle, and 10,000 remained prisoners in the hands of the victorious Ibrahim; the *matériel* of the Ottoman army, including 104 pieces of artillery, became the spoil of the Egyptians; and the residue of the host of the sultan retreated, and recrossed the borders. The stern, impetuous, and revengeful Mahmoud, was spared the profound humiliation which

\* Sir Charles Napier (who presently figures in this narrative) had an interview with Mehemet Ali at Alexandria, in the year 1840, and he gave the following description of this remarkable personage:—"On entering the reception-room of Mehemet Ali, which is in the old palace, we were most graciously received. The pasha, in a short dress, was standing surrounded by his officers, and free admission seems to have been given to Franks of all description. After a few compliments on both sides, the pasha walked to a corner of the room, and seated himself on his divan. Pipes and coffee were called for, and we smoked away for a considerable time, as if we had been the best friends in the world. . . . The pasha is a man of low stature, is a good deal

marked with the smallpox, his complexion sallow, his eyes quick and penetrating. He wears a fine white beard; and when in good humour, has a most fascinating manner; but when out of temper, his eyes sparkle, he raises himself up in his corner, and soon convinces you he is much easier led than driven. He is easy of access, and indeed fond of gossiping; and seems to be informed of everything that is either said or done in Alexandria. He has many friends among the Franks; and when he takes a liking, the man's fortune is made. He has built a very handsome palace, and furnished it with taste. Opposite the palace is the harem, where his wife resides; but the old gentleman has given up visits to that establishment."

the news of this event would have forced upon him. His health had been declining for some time, and he was no longer numbered among the living when the fatal news reached Constantinople. He died on the 1st of July, 1839, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and was succeeded on his

shaken throne by his son Abdul-Medjid Khan, afterwards sultan, then a retiring youth, only seventeen years of age. A relation of these particulars, which we have briefly and rapidly run over, are necessary, that the part which England took in this eastern dispute may be understood.

#### INTERFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

THE young sultan appointed Kosrew Pasha as grand vizier, and, not yet having been informed of the battle of Nezib, sent orders to suspend the march of the imperial army, and forwarded to Mehemet Ali an offer of pardon, with the hereditary possession of the province of Egypt, if he would return to dutiful obedience. Before the latter message could reach Alexandria, Achmet, the Capitan Pasha, or Turkish admiral, treacherously carried over the fleet under his command to Mehemet Ali, asserting, as a cover for his traitorous conduct, that Kosrew, the new vizier, had poisoned the late sultan at the instigation of Russia, and that he had applied to Mehemet for assistance to revenge so foul a transaction. By this defection, the wily Egyptian viceroy was placed in an unexpectedly favourable position, and the young sultan left comparatively helpless. With his customary cunning, Mehemet forwarded a letter of congratulation and submission to Abdul-Medjid, but he laid claim to all the dominions then in his possession, and required that they should be secured to his posterity. He also assured the European ambassadors at Alexandria that he had no intention of using the Turkish fleet against the Porte, but that he would restore it if the conditions he proposed were accepted.

The young sultan was disposed to comply with the demands of the powerful pasha, when the five great powers of Europe interfered. They announced to the Ottoman government that they had agreed to discuss together and settle the question, and they invited the Divan to suspend its decision, and confide in the benevolent disposition of the mediating powers. Unfortunately, a difference of opinion on the subject existed between the great powers themselves. England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia thought it desirable to support the authority of the sultan; while France, influenced by M. Thiers, was inclined to support Mehemet

Ali in his aggressive conduct towards the Porte. M. Thiers, animated by a bitter animosity towards England, declared that any attempt to coerce the pasha would produce from France an immediate declaration of war. All the great powers were of opinion that it was desirable to maintain the integrity and independence of the Turkish empire, but they were not unanimous as to the means to be adopted for securing that object. The other great powers intimated to France that if she found it impossible to act with them, it must not give her surprise if they took upon themselves to act without her. This heightened the unhappy irritation of the French people against England, and M. Thiers seriously contemplated hostilities with this country, with the view of "trampling upon the treaties of 1814."

After much wearisome discussion, a memorial in the name of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, was addressed to Mehemet Ali on the 19th of August, 1840. It was composed on the prudent consideration that if war was once kindled, it was impossible to say to what point it would not ultimately extend; and the pasha was therefore earnestly dissuaded from provoking that interference on their part which might lead to hostilities. This document is of so interesting a character, and throws so much light upon a rather intricate question, that we shall quote a considerable portion of it:—"What can be more glorious for the pasha than to create a new line of succession; to see it acknowledged by his sovereign, and by all Europe?—what a consolation would it be to be able to say, at the close of a brilliant career, 'What I have created will descend to my posterity, to my children, from whom no one can take it away!' In our days, it is no longer the territorial extent, nor even the material force of a state which constitutes its happiness and security; it is the more solid guarantees of treaties

which establish its integrity, by causing it to enter into the political system of Europe. It is thus, that casting our eyes on the map, many small states, without resources, are there found bordering upon the most powerful empires; they have no injustice nor oppression to dread; all Europe watches over their honour and their security. Such guarantees once obtained, of what importance is it to Mehemet Ali, or to his descendants, to acquire some districts more, which have hitherto been of no use to him, and the possession of which has not only exhausted their own resources, but, in addition, the greater part of the resources of Egypt? The viceroy knows better than any body, the sacrifices in men and money which the occupation of Syria and Arabia has cost him. This is not all. In the place of the differences which have unhappily existed between the Ottoman Porte and his highness, there would be sincere friendship and union, founded upon the identity of their political interests and of their creed. The Mussulman nation would regain its former strength and prosperity; if at any time (which God forbid!) the integrity of the Ottoman empire were threatened from without, Turkey might reckon upon the support of Egypt, and Egypt upon that of Turkey, for the defence of the common country. The personal interest of Mehemet Ali, and that of his family, the fate of the inhabitants of Egypt, and that of the Mussulman nation, the wishes for the integrity and prosperity of the Ottoman empire, of which he has always declared himself the most zealous defender,—all, in a word, enjoin the viceroy to accept most honourable conditions, and which are more advantageous than would be a mere extension of territory, precarious and expensive to maintain. Mehemet Ali would still have before him a very glorious and brilliant career: being entirely at ease with regard to the fate of his possessions, he would be able to devote all his energies and all his efforts to the consolidation of the noble institutions established by him in Egypt. The rich countries of Nubia, of Soudan, and of Senaar, present a wide field for the triumphs of science and civilisation. It is thus that Mehemet Ali would acquire the name of regenerator of Egypt, the ancient cradle of knowledge. Let us turn to the other alternative, that of a refusal to accept the conditions of the convention. One immediate consequence of such a refusal would

be the employment of coercive measures. The viceroy is too enlightened, and too well acquainted with the means and resources which the four powers have at their disposal, to flatter himself for one moment that he could, by his feeble means, offer resistance to one or other of them. To reckon upon foreign support, under the present circumstances, would be but to cherish a vain hope. Who could stay the decisions of the four great powers?—who would dare to brave them? Who would be willing to sacrifice his own interests for those of another—to compromise his own safety, out of pure sympathy for Mehemet Ali? Besides, what real advantage could result therefrom? It would provoke a general struggle, in which the viceroy would be the first sacrifice, and in which he must inevitably fall; far from being of advantage to him, such an interference in his favour would only hasten his downfall, which would then have become certain. The four great powers will put forth forces more than sufficient to combat every opposition which may be made to the execution of the convention. On Mehemet Ali alone would rest all the responsibility of a war; he would have been the cause of the intervention, and of the presence of European troops in Egypt and in Asia. The Mussulman people will know that he is the author of the evils of a war undertaken purely for his personal interests. Mehemet Ali has threatened to spill much blood before giving way. The European powers, on the contrary, are desirous to spare as much as possible the blood of the Mussulmans, and that of the Christians arrayed under the banners of the Sublime Porte. Forces sufficient to render all resistance impossible, and to annihilate it at one blow, will be directed to the quarter where there shall be occasion for them. Can there be a doubt that the viceroy will be overcome, and will it be with glory? No! for there is no glory in falling through one's own fault, in consequence of blind rashness, and by engaging in a desperate struggle. But there would be glory and wisdom in yielding to necessity, and in bending to the force of circumstances. And if Mehemet Ali is overcome, will his name descend to posterity? No! for his conquests have not thrown the world into confusion, like those of Ghengis Khan, of Tamerlane, of Alexander, and of Napoleon. History will say, 'There was, under the sultan Mahmoud, a pasha of Egypt, a man of striking

character, of genius, and of courage; he was successful against his sovereign. The young successor of Mahmoud, immediately on ascending the throne of his ancestors, stretched forth his hand to Mehemet Ali, in order to offer him the first honours of the empire, as well as peace and harmony. The pasha rejected these offers with disdain; it was then that Europe declared herself against Mehemet Ali; he fell; his name will be lost among those of so many other rebel and vanquished pashas who preceded him.' In refusing to accept the convention, Mehemet Ali might, perhaps, flatter himself with the chimerical hope, that the powers will not employ with vigour and energy the measures necessary for carrying into execution the convention of the 15th of July. Even admitting this, which is impossible, what would follow from it? Could the viceroy flatter himself thus

to obtain the continuance of the *status quo*? But what state is there which, with the sword of the great powers constantly suspended over it, its commerce annihilated, and its communications cut off, would be able to support such a state of things? Mehemet Ali may sacrifice his own interests and those of his family to inordinate self-love, to destructive views, and to boundless ambition. He may carry fire and sword into the heart of Asia Minor, desolation throughout the Mussulman nation; he may menace the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and thus provoke the intervention of foreign troops; but he will not do so with impunity. Should Ibrahim Pasha advance, his retreat will be for ever cut off; he will find certain defeat, perhaps a tomb, in Anatolia, and will involve, in his fall, that of Mehemet Ali and all his family."

#### HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE EGYPTIANS—STORMING OF ST. JEAN D'ACRE, AND RESTORATION OF PEACE.

ON the 15th of July a convention was signed at London by the ministers of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, without the concurrence of France. At this meeting it was resolved to offer the following *ultimatum* to Mehemet Ali—namely, that the pashalic of St. Jean d'Acre should be secured to him for life, in addition to the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, on his restoring the Turkish fleet, and surrendering Syria to the sultan. It was added, that if he failed to give his assent to this arrangement within ten days, the sovereignty of Egypt alone would be conceded to him; and that if he still held out, force would be used to subdue his opposition. Mehemet hesitated, and the offended sultan pronounced his formal deposition. On this the pasha, who was prepared for the struggle, came to the conclusion to resist to the utmost; but, with his usual air of moderation, declared, that though he would repel force by force, he would not be the aggressor.

The European powers at once resolved to restrain the turbulent pasha. An allied English and Austrian fleet, under the command of Sir Robert Stopford and Admiral Banderia, consisting of three English ships of the line, a frigate and two steamers, besides two Austrian frigates and a schooner, were dispatched to Alexandria in the sum-

mer of 1840, and the ports of Syria and Egypt declared to be in a state of blockade. On the 12th of August the squadron anchored at Beyrout, a small town on the Syrian coast, surrounded by a wall, with a few weak turrets mouldering to ruins, and mounting only a few guns. Two forts added to the defence of the town, and served as magazines for arms, ammunition, and provisions. On the 11th of September, the allied admirals, whose squadron was much augmented by British vessels, demanded the surrender of the town, and desired Souliman Pasha, the Egyptian general, to withdraw his troops from it. As that officer would not give an immediate reply, a heavy fire was opened on the forts; but the town was spared as much as possible. The following morning, Souliman addressed a letter to the allied admirals, in which he observed:—"For the sake of killing five of my soldiers, you have ruined and brought families into desolation; you have killed women, a tender infant and its mother, an old man, two unfortunate peasants, and doubtless many others whose names have not reached me; and, far from slackening the fire of your ships, when my soldiers (who did not once fire) fell back on the town across the inhabited country of Beyrout, your fire became more vigorous,

and also more destructive to the unfortunate peasants than to my soldiers. You appear decided to make yourselves masters of the town, notwithstanding that the question would remain as before. If the fortune of war prove adverse to me, Beyrout shall only fall into your power when reduced to cinders. Mehemet Ali alone can give you an answer." Not wishing to proceed to extremities, the squadron was withdrawn on the 16th, with the exception of the *Edinburgh* and the *Hastings*, which ships occasionally kept up a fire on the town.

A force landed from the ships, headed by Commodore Napier, intrenched themselves at D'Jounie, where being joined by 3,000 Syrian mountaineers, they presented a force of 12,000 men. With these the city of Sidon was taken by storm on the 26th of September, and the Egyptian garrison of the castle, consisting of nearly 3,000 men, made prisoners. The loss of the allies was very trifling. Though some disorder took place, Sidon was not subjected to those barbarities which usually occur after a town is taken by storm. The conduct of the English marines, the Austrians, and the Turks, is described as admirable. The day before Sidon was taken, Captain Houston Stewart, with the *Benbow*, *Carysfort*, and *Zebra*, attacked Tortosa; but though his officers and men displayed great gallantry, they experienced a severe loss, and were beaten off in consequence of the boats grounding upon an unknown reef. On the 10th of October, this trifling reverse was immeasurably repaid. Ibrahim Pasha, with an army of 14,000 Egyptians, engaged the allies, under Commodore Napier, at Boharsof, at the foot of Mount Lebanon. Ibrahim's troops were completely routed and dispersed in all directions, leaving their baggage, ammunition, and provisions behind, besides about 600 prisoners. Ibrahim himself was swept along in the dense mass of terror-stricken soldiers, and night alone put an end to the pursuit.

The Egyptians felt that they were engaged in a struggle with an enemy with whom they were unable to compete. Before the end of October, the Egyptian force at Tripoli, consisting of about 4,000 men, blew up the magazine in the castle, and abandoned the city. It was soon afterwards taken possession of by the Syrian mountaineers, and the Egyptians retired by the road of Balbeck, destroying the villages in their retreat. Almost at the same time

Latakia and the passes of Adana were abandoned, and the garrisons retired on Aleppo. Ibrahim had collected his discomfited troops at Zachle and Damascus; but, as far as he was concerned, all chance of active operations seemed at an end.

It was the intention of the allies to attack the famous fortress of St. Jean d'Acre; but during a lull in the proceedings of the admirals, Commodore Napier paid a visit to the Emir Becher, grand prince of Lebanon. The old man, who was seated cross-legged in an apartment of his chateau, smoking his pipe, rose and embraced the commodore, whom he addressed as his friend and protector, for coming to release the mountaineers from the oppression of Mehemet Ali. On leaving, a painful incident occurred, which we will relate in the language of the commodore:—"A sad accident clouded our otherwise pleasant journey. The mountaineers are good horsemen, and fond of showing off whenever a little flat ground allows them to exhibit their dexterity in firing their muskets and pistols, and throwing the *d'jerred* at full gallop, reloading in an incredible short time. The young prince and several of his attendants, seeing an opportunity for display, set off at full gallop; one of his men, close behind him, amused himself by throwing his musket in the air, to show his dexterity in catching it; it unexpectedly went off, and shot out both the prince's eyes. The poor lad fell instantly from his horse, and when we came up, he was indeed in a most pitiable condition; his eyes hanging out of their sockets, and streaming with blood; he himself, unconscious of what had happened, was pulling them out with his fingers, and it was with great difficulty that I could persuade him to desist, and allow them to be bandaged. What an awful visitation was this! A few minutes before, this youth was full of life and spirits, the heir to the ruling prince,—in one moment plunged into eternal darkness. His poor attendant, who had accidentally done the deed, hung over him more dead than alive; the poor fellow seemed to suffer more than the prince himself, who was nearly unconscious. We were three leagues from the first village, and with great difficulty succeeded in getting him there, carried in one of our cloaks. I rode on to Beyrout, and dispatched an English surgeon to his assistance. His sight, as I expected, proved to be gone for ever; but youth, and the strength of his constitution, in a few

months healed his wounds, and otherwise restored him to perfect health."

On returning to Beyrout, Sir Charles Napier found a steamer had arrived from England, bringing with it orders for the attack of Acre. This ancient and famous fortress was, for a length of time, deemed impregnable; and in 1799, the greatest soldier of the age (Napoleon) laid siege to it in vain. When the distinguished Egyptian general, Ibrahim Pasha, laid siege to it in 1831, it held out for six months, during which time 20,000 shells and 200,000 shots were thrown into the town, and the garrison ultimately surrendered, only in consequence of a want of water. When it had fallen into the hands of the Egyptians, Mehemet Ali employed vast numbers of labourers to make it a fortress of the first order towards the land side; but much remained to be done when the British and Austrian squadron arrived before it.

On the 2nd of November, the allies anchored at some distance from the fortress towards Mount Carmel. The English fleet consisted of the *Gorgon*, *Stromboli*, *Phoenix*, and *Vesuvius*, which were war-steamers (this being the first time these terrible floating fortresses had been used in warfare), seven line-of-battle ships—namely, the *Princess Charlotte* (bearing Admiral Stopford's flag), the *Powerful* (bearing the broad blue pennant of Sir Charles Napier, who commanded on this occasion), the *Bellerophon*, the *Revenge*, the *Thunderer*, the *Edinburgh*, and *Benbow*, together with the *Castor*, *Pique*, *Carysfort*, *Talbot*, *Wasp*, and *Hazard*.

The bombardment began on the following day, the 3rd of November. About one o'clock the *Powerful*, followed by the *Princess Charlotte*, *Thunderer*, *Bellerophon*, and *Pique*, bore up and ran along shore towards the north angle of the fortress, the bow guns of the *Powerful* being fired to prevent the Egyptians from pointing their cannon with accuracy. Captain Collier, of the *Castor*, at the same time led the southern division of the attacking vessels into position. The Egyptians opened fire, but they had not the range, and their shot passed considerably over their foes. The British vessels passed the circular redoubt, and anchored about 700 yards from the sea-wall, which was defended by forty guns. As each ship anchored, she opened a terrific fire against the fortress. "The shot," said Sir Charles Napier, "were so well directed, that the bravest men of the bravest nation in the

world could not have resisted; no wonder, then, that the Egyptians were soon thrown into disorder." Only five of their guns were well served, and these, from being pointed too high, did little more than damage the spars and rigging of the attacking vessels. While a fearful storm of fire and iron was poured against the west face of the fortress, Captain Collier, supported by the Austrian and Turkish vessels, rained down destruction on the south. The Turkish admiral even ran inside of all the squadron, and took up a dangerous position in front of a new and very strong work. The Egyptians exhibited considerable resolution, and for two hours the thunder of both ships and fortress roared incessantly; but then came the incident that decided the fortune of the day. An awful crash took place, which seemed to shake both earth and heaven, and for a time suspended the wild conflict. Men stood motionless at their guns, and, as the dense clouds of smoke rolled heavily away, gazed eagerly at each other, as if mutely to inquire what had happened. The grand magazine of the fortress had blown up, and the consequences were most appalling. Men, guns, and huge fragments of masonry were hurled upwards, and many a poor mangled wretch expired in the air. Others were buried in the casemates or beneath the ruins, and if not at once crushed to death, perished slowly from starvation or gradual suffocation. It is supposed that not less than from 1,200 to 2,000 persons perished by this explosion.

The appalled Egyptian garrison still continued the struggle, though with diminished heart and means. The five guns, to which we before alluded, sustained their fire with spirit to the last. At dusk a signal was made to discontinue the engagement, but an occasional firing was kept up until a considerable time after dark, to prevent the Egyptians remanning their guns. This they were either not in a position or humour to do; for, shortly after midnight, the governor abandoned the town, and took the greatest part of the garrison with him. The walls were not breached; and it is the opinion of the assailants that the struggle might have been protracted considerably. The number of the Egyptians who left the town was unknown, nor was their loss ascertained. It must have been great, as a whole battalion, which was formed near the magazine, ready to resist any attempt to storm, was

entirely destroyed. The town itself was almost beaten to pieces, and in most parts of it lay mournful numbers of sick and wounded wretches, quite neglected, and dying in dreary, unsoothed misery, for want of a little attention. On the morning of the 4th, the town and fortress were taken possession of by the allied forces in the name of the sultan. Seven hundred Egyptians and two officers also came in with their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition was found in the fortress. The entire loss of the allies did not amount to more than 18 killed and 41 wounded.

Mehemet Ali soon became convinced that his dreams of conquest were impracticable. Garrison after garrison surrendered; and his disheartened troops deserted in such numbers, that his army, lately 76,000 strong, was soon reduced to 25,000 men. The Syrian tribes, and the garrison and inhab-

itants of Jerusalem, returned to their allegiance to the sultan. At the desire of Mehemet Ali a suspension of hostilities was granted, and the English government recommended that if the Egyptian viceroy would make his submission to the sultan, restore the Turkish fleet, and withdraw his troops from Syria, that the sultan should not only reinstate him as pasha, but make that dignity hereditary in his family. Mehemet Ali, being not without fear that Alexandria might share the fate of Acre, was willing to accept these conditions. A treaty to that effect was signed on the 27th of November, 1840. The pasha hastened to accept and to fulfil the conditions thus imposed, declaring that he was ready to sacrifice all he possessed to obtain the good graces of the sultan, and owning that it was through the intervention of the allies that he had been restored to the favour of his sovereign.



H.B.M. FRIGATE CASTOR.

# ENGLAND'S BATTLES AND VICTORIES BY LAND

IN THE

EARLY TIMES AND THE MIDDLE AGES,

UNDER

ROMANS, SAXONS, DANES, NORMANS, PLANTAGENETS, AND TUDORS,  
IN ENGLAND, FRANCE, PALESTINE, ETC.

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## THE ROMAN WARS IN BRITAIN.

THE first authentic history of our ancestors—(for in disproof of all the idle tales of the modern English deriving their descent from Saxon stocks, sufficient evidence is in existence in the customs, manners, and language of our country, to prove that we are indebted for our origin to the aborigines whom the Romans found in possession of the island at the time of their invasion)—is derivable from Cæsar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*. According to his chronology, the Romans first invaded Albion,\* or Britain, fifty-five years before the Christian era.

Cæsar had two motives for his invasion—one alleged, the other secret. The alleged motive was, that as the subjugation of Gaul could not be effectually secured but by the suppression of Druidism (the national religion), and that as Britain was the famous sacred island of the Druids, to effectuate the suppression of the superstition, it was

\* England derived its name of Albion from the Latin word *Albus*, and which was given to it by the Romans on account of its white cliffs. Britain was its original name. The appellation "England" is derived from the Angles, one of the Saxon tribes who invaded the island. All ancient authors agree that the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of Celtic Gauls, who had migrated from the opposite shore. Their sole property was their arms and cattle. According to the honourable testimony of Diodorus Siculus, they were distinguished for the observance of the moral virtues. "There is a simplicity of manners among the Britons," says the Roman annalist, "which is very different from the craft and wickedness which mankind now exhibit. As an uncivilised nation, they excelled in military knowledge, and were singularly dexterous in the management of their war-chariots, driving them down declivities at full speed, and, while rushing

to be crushed at its fountain-head. His secret motive was, that he might be enabled to continue in command of the army beyond the period allowed by law, in order to enable him to further his views against the liberties of the Roman people. Another motive was, the aid which the Gauls had received from their British auxiliaries; and Cæsar had had sufficient opportunities to appreciate British courage and endurance in his combats with the armies of the Gallic nation. Influenced by these motives, he marched his troops to the sea-coast between Calais and Boulogne, and began to collect ships at the neighbouring ports.

The Britons having been warned of the approaching invasion, by the traders of Gaul who were accustomed to traffic with them, dispatched ambassadors to the Roman general, with offers of hostages and submission. Cæsar having politically dismissed the envoys with a gracious answer, em-

forward on their enemies, would rapidly run along the poles, or descend from them, to attack all opponents. To infuse fear into their enemies, their skins bore the figures of animals, and were painted of a bluish or greenish cast. Like some other tribes of Celtic and Teutonic origin, they formed themselves into matrimonial clubs; twelve or fourteen men marrying as many wives, each wife being common to the whole club, but the children belonging to the original husband." The controversies of antiquarians, both English and foreign, respecting the origin of the people of England, have been as various as they are fanciful and contradictory. Numerous have been the conjectures on the subject, and the contradictions have been as numerous. But disregarding the dogmatism and tenacity with which they have been maintained, there can be but little doubt that the original and primæval stock of our ancestors was as above stated.

barked, on August 25th (fifty-five years B.C.), the seventh and tenth legions, amounting to about 12,000 men, on board of eighty galleys or transports, and set sail from the port of Iccius, or Ixius; but, on reaching the British coast near Dover, observing the cliffs and beach covered with armed men, he set sail lower down till he reached the neighbourhood of the strait between Walmer Castle and Sandwich, and finding the coast favourable for debarkation, he made preparations for landing. The Britons who inhabited the maritime parts of the country followed the movement of the fleet, and rushing into the water, so fiercely encountered the legionaries in their attempt to gain the shore, as to render their situation so perilous, that flight alone seemed the only means of their preservation. In this dilemma, the standard-bearer of the tenth legion, inviting his fellow-soldiers to follow him, plunged into the sea with the eagle of the legion, and rushed into the thickest of the conflict. His example so inspired his hesitating countrymen, that they charged the Britons with irresistible violence. The assailants being mailed and heavily armed, readily repulsed their opponents, whose bodies were partly naked, and their arms cumbersome and inefficient. This attack, aided by the missiles projected from the war-engines upon their galleys, decided the conflict, and compelled the Britons to retire from the unequal contest; but as Cæsar's cavalry had not put to sea, on account of contrary winds, the Roman general was unable to follow up his success by pursuit of the fugitives.

The Britons, now unable for the present to make head against the invaders, dispatched Cæsar's envoy Comius (whom they had seized and imprisoned when they found his professions of amity were feigned) with offers of submission to the conqueror; which was conceded on condition of a number of hostages being given to ensure their obedience. But on the night of the ratification of the peace, a high spring-tide arose, which swamped the Roman galleys that were drawn up on the beach, and dashed to pieces the larger vessels which lay at anchor. While the Romans were busily employed in patching up the wrecks of their fleet, the island chiefs were secretly and rapidly mustering their forces, in hopes of crushing their enemies at a blow. The Romans were now straitened for provisions. Until the return of the galleys

which had been sent to Gaul for supplies, the seventh legion was sent out to forage. The Britons having gained intelligence of their intention, laid in ambush for them. No sooner had they begun to cut down the grain, than a powerful body of the enemy started from among the crop, whilst others burst from the neighbouring roads. A host of horse, foot, and chariots had surrounded and almost overpowered the legion, when Cæsar, observing from his fortified camp a cloud of dust in the distance, and suspecting the cause, hurried, at the head of two cohorts (1,200 men) to the rescue of his troops, and by great exertions of skill and valour, at length succeeded in withdrawing the legion. The Britons closely followed their retreat, and for several days surrounded the Roman camp, in the hope of carrying it by storm. But Cæsar, waiting the point and moment favourable for the onset, read them a memorable lesson of the effects of Roman strategy. He burst unexpectedly on them, and breaking their lower ranks asunder, pursued them with fearful slaughter, until his soldiers were exhausted with the chase and the havoc. The Britons again sued for peace, which Cæsar, being impatient to return to Gaul, granted, on condition of hostages being given.

The Britons having neglected to send the hostages to Gaul, Cæsar, in the spring of the following year, embarked five legions (about 30,000 men) and 2,000 cavalry on board 800 vessels, at the port of Iccius, and reaching the English coast, disembarked his forces at Sandwich. The Britons retreated at his appearance on the coast, and took post on some rising ground behind the river Stour, near Canterbury. Cæsar pursued; and as soon as he came up with them, after a gallant resistance, the Britons retreated; but while Cæsar was on the point of pursuing them, intelligence reached him that the whole of his fleet had been driven by a storm on shore, and the greater part wrecked. He immediately retraced his steps to the coast. Having repaired his damaged ships, for their future security he drew them up on shore, and enclosed them within the defences of his camp.

The British tribes, being convinced that their enemy was indebted for his success to the want of union and concert among themselves, came to the resolution to elect a chief or generalissimo. Their choice fell

on Cassibelan, or, according to Roman terminology, Cassivelaunus, king or chief of a tribe of the interior of the island, and who had acquired a high reputation for military talent in the course of the contests between the native chiefs. Assuming the offensive, he made an attack on the Roman camp, and though repulsed, retreated with so great skill and spirit, that Cæsar acknowledges Cassibelan faced about and resisted his pursuers. The Britons, now aware of their inability to cope with their enemies in pitched battles, had recourse to surprisals. On one occasion they issued unexpectedly from the woods on two cohorts who were foraging, and nearly destroyed the whole, in sight of the Roman army. Having retreated to their fastnesses, Cæsar supposing the opportunity favourable for foraging, dispatched half his army for the purpose. The Britons, encouraged by their recent success, sallied from their concealments and attacked the Romans. But they were unequal to the combat. Impetuously charged by horse and foot at the same instant, they were routed with great slaughter. The confederated chiefs, disheartened by their discomfiture, broke up the coalition, and retreated with their followers to their own districts. Cassibelan, convinced of his inability to contend single-handed with his powerful opponent, fell back with the forces which still adhered to him, for the defence of his own territories beyond the Thames. Cæsar immediately pursued. Cassibelan, having forded the river at Canvey Island, near Chertsey, and planting stakes in the ford, took post on its banks to resist the enemy's passage. The Romans having pulled up the stakes, crossed the river and attacked the Britons, who, after an obstinate resistance, were put to the rout. From this period, the efforts of Cassibelan were confined to desultory warfare; but even in his noble efforts of patriotic devotion, he was thwarted by the jealousies and treachery of the confederated chiefs who had seceded from the coalition. They gave intelligence to Cæsar how to track him through the intricate passes of the country, and attack him in his stronghold, which is supposed to have been near St. Alban's. After a brave resistance and great slaughter, the gallant Cassibelan was obliged to yield to necessity and submit to his opponent, who, desirous of returning to Gaul to suppress the revolts which were becoming formidable, granted easy terms to his heroic enemy.

When the scanty weapons and the imperfect discipline of our brave ancestors are compared with the mailed armour, the skilful tactics and strategics, and the formidable military array of the Romans, it is impossible to entertain too lofty an admiration of their indomitable valour and exalted patriotism. In his victories over his barbarian island opponents, Cæsar had not many of the *veni, vidi, vici* metaphorical flourishes to bandy about and boast of: his contests with them were stern and desperate, and his victories were gained with great difficulty, and often followed by serious checks. His own countrymen, the poets Lucan and Horace, hint that on more than one occasion he turned his back on the Britons; and he himself bears testimony to their dogged courage, by the admission that during pursuit they would face about and contend with their pursuers. How faithfully and undiminishedly has the gallant instinct run for a series of generations through the veins of their descendants! This circumstance alone is a proof of the descent of the modern English, and ought to put to silence the advocates of Saxon origin, and disabuse and disenchant their minds of their unfounded assertions—their injustice and ingratitude to the memory of their brave ancestors.

After the departure of Cæsar from Britain, no further attempt at invasion was made by the Romans till nearly half a century after the commencement of the Christian era. The stern and heroic resistance they had met with from the imperfectly disciplined warriors of Britain in Cæsar's two invasions, however it may have been misrepresented and glossed over in the lays of venal Roman laureates, and the servile flattery of court parasites, was well understood and appreciated at Rome. Though each successive emperor was, by his parasitical courtiers and court laureates, hailed as the future conqueror of Britain, the difficulties of the conquest had been sufficiently proved in Cæsar's two invasions. At length, however, Caligula, inflated with pride and vanity, determined to gratify Roman propensity for universal domination. He marched the legions to Boulogne for the purpose, but from the information he received of the preparations of the Britons for his reception, he realised his views of conquest by carrying back to Rome heaps of cockle-shells, which—having previously sounded a charge as if an enemy were pre-

sent—he had commanded the soldiers to gather on the sea-shore as spoils of victory. Roman concupiscence of conquest being unsated until the rebellious tribes of Britain should be reduced to subjection, in the forty-third year of the Christian era, the Emperor Claudius dispatched Aulus Plautius with an army amounting to 50,000 men, composed of four legions, and a large force of German barbarian\* auxiliaries, to achieve the object of Roman ambition. The auxiliary troops, being lightly armed, were selected as better adapted for the flying and desultory warfare of a woody country; and to the adoption of that species of warfare the Romans were principally indebted for their subsequent success.

It is now the business of the military historian to narrate the Caractacan, the Boadicean, and the Galgacan wars with the masters of imperial Rome and the conquerors of the whole known world. Though the issues of those desperate and bloody conflicts were eventually unpropitious to the brave tribes and their heroic leaders, they have shed a halo of splendour and renown over British prowess and patriotism, and have proved that military aptitude and aspiration, love of military honour and glory, and consummate military achievement and exploit are inherent in the British character, and inseparable from it.

The disunion which had favoured the operations of Cæsar still existing when the expedition under Plautius appeared on the coast of Britain, it not only effected its disembarkation, but advanced into the country without opposition. At length, however, Caractacus† and Togadumnus, chiefs of the Trinobantes—a tribe of the Silures who occupied that part of the island which now constitutes Hertfordshire and some of the adjacent counties,—succeeded in rousing the respective tribes and leading them against the invaders. In consequence of the defeat which ensued, several of the tribes seceded from the confederacy and submitted to the Romans. Caractacus and his brother, unequal to contend with their powerful adversaries, retreated eastward towards the Thames, and taking position in the marshes

and woods favourable for desultory warfare, they were again attacked by Plautius; but the Romans were so severely handled, and lost so many of their troops in the morasses, that Plautius drew off his army to a safer position, to wait the reinforcements with which the Emperor Claudius was on his passage to Britain.

A new instrument of warfare was now about to be employed against the intrepid and simple-notioned Britons. With the force which Claudius, A.D. 49, brought with him, were elephants completely harnessed, for the purpose of striking the stout hearts of the Britons with that dismay and terror which it was found the Roman arms could not do. Though the country of the Trinobantes was now overrun, the heroic Caractacus maintained a gallant warfare for nine years against the enemies of his country, and had given them many a bloody check. His name had now not only become the great rallying word of every British clan, but resounded over all parts of Italy; and it was the fashion to compare the British hero to Hannibal and Mithridates, the most dreaded enemies whom Rome had ever encountered.

The Roman affairs having, by the daring and energetic enterprises of the British chief, become desperate, Ostorius Scapula was (A.D. 50) dispatched to Britain with considerable reinforcements. In the campaign which ensued, he recovered all the ground from which the Romans had been expelled by the skill and enterprise of Caractacus, and secured its possession by a line of forts on the Severn and the Neve. Having re-established the Roman power, he advanced forward, fortifying each new acquisition till all the more civilised parts of the island were enclosed within his defences. He had been indebted for his success to the disunion of the British tribes, and the want of concert and general principle among their chiefs. In the midst, however, of the Roman prefect or proprætor's successes, Caractacus, whose martial deeds and prowess were the theme of every hut and hovel throughout the island, having been selected as leader against the aggressors,

\* The Romans, like the Greeks, indiscriminately termed all nations whom they had not reduced to subjection under the title of provincials, *barbarians*—ever the Egyptians, the Phœnicians, the Babylonians, and the Carthaginians, though these nations had long preceded both the Greeks and the Romans in civilisation.

† The British chief, in the dialect of the country, was called Caradawg; Caractacus is the Roman terminology. So Gallwag was the name of the Caledonian chief whom Tacitus calls Galgacus. Boadicea is Latinised according to the Roman method of orthography: her name in British terminology was Bouduca

reappeared to oppose Scapula. But so powerful were the resources of the Romans, and so strong their defences, that he was obliged to retreat before their overpowering numbers. He fell back on North Wales, where he was joined by those who preferred death to bondage; and there he determined to make a final stand for national independence. He skilfully selected his position, which was defended on its flanks by natural intrenchments of steep rugged hills, and he secured his front by a rampart of huge stones piled one upon another.

As soon as the Roman legions appeared in his front he prepared for battle. Riding from rank to rank, he told his adherents that the hour was now come which was to decide whether they were to be freemen or slaves; and he adjured them by the memory of their brave ancestors, who had baffled the efforts of Cæsar, and by the love they bore for their homes, their wives, and their children, to exert themselves to the uttermost on the approaching eventful battle. This spirit-stirring appeal was answered with the enthusiastic shouts of his followers, who were eager for the encounter. In the battle which ensued, all that brave men could do was done by the Britons: but the struggle was hopeless. Superiority of numbers, dense and well-arranged ranks, and bodies covered with mail, prevailed over scanty numbers, loose groups, and inefficiently armed and naked bodies; and the consequence was, that the British tribes were broken and routed with great slaughter. Caractacus escaped the carnage; but though baffled, was unsubdued. His brave spirit still inspiring him with the hopes of eventually saving his country from slavery, he fled for temporary refuge to his step-mother, Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, the greatest, most powerful, and most ancient of the British tribes; and who occupied the whole extent of that part of the island, from sea to sea, which now comprises the counties of York, Durham, Lancaster, Westmoreland, and Cumberland; but that unnatural, faithless, and unpatriotic woman threw him into chains, and delivered him up to the enemies of his country. The heroic Caractacus was sent prisoner to Rome, to grace the conqueror's triumph; and, after his humiliation, to be strangled in a dungeon, according to Roman notions of the treatment of captives. His wife, brothers, and daughters, who had been taken even after the battle, were sent with him.

Could anything have soothed the wounded feelings of the British hero, and mitigated the sense of his disaster, it was the sensation of the popular triumph which he experienced in the very capital of the enemies of his country, while he was being led by them through the city. Not only the millions of the vast metropolis, but crowds from every part of Italy were assembled to gaze on the far-famed captive who had so long and so bravely defied the power and hostility of imperial Rome. While being led in the triumphal procession which was to precede his execution, the intrepid Caractacus moved as proudly along in his fetters as if he had been still leading his troops to victory; and while the splendid buildings and magnificence of the city everywhere met his eye, he exclaimed—"Alas! could a people who inhabit such palaces and enjoy such magnificence, envy Caractacus a hut and poverty in Britain?" Before the tribunal of the emperor, he had displayed, in the course of his defence, the same lofty dignity, employing neither supplications nor tears, but justified his defence of his country against the aggressions of the Romans. His magnanimous bearing had so powerful an effect, that his chains were ordered to be struck off, and himself and his kindred dismissed, with the solicitation of his friendship towards Rome. From the occurrence of this incident history is silent about Caractacus; the Roman historians appearing apprehensive of destroying the dramatic effect of the circumstance in the portraying of which they had employed all the power and resources of rhetorical eloquence.

Though Rome had succeeded in detaching Caractacus from British interests, she was still far from having effected the subjugation of the brave Silures. They were again in the field, and assuming the aggressive, routed the Roman detachments in several sanguinary skirmishes, and prevented their country from being bridled by lines of fortresses, as had been the case with the districts of the subdued tribes. The progress of Roman conquest was now so slow and discouraging, that Nero, who succeeded Claudius as emperor of Rome, had at one time determined to abandon the attempt as hopeless, and recall the Roman legions to Italy, for the protection of the frontiers from the insults and aggressions of the barbarians—as the Romans termed the Gothic and Vandal tribes—who

were now beginning to indicate the intention of those irruptions on the sacred territory of Rome, which finally ended in the extinction of the empire. Resuming, however, the intention of accomplishing the conquest of Britain, Suetonius Paulinus was (A. D. 59) dispatched with a strong force to Britain. That general, aware that the British tribes were combined, and animated in their resistance to the Romans by their priests the Druids, determined to extirpate them, and raze the foundation of their sacred residence or chief college in the island of Mona, as Anglesey was then called; as thereby he hoped he would strike a mortal blow at the very heart of British independence. The Roman legions, therefore, were put in march for the sacred island, and crossing the narrow strait of Menai, landed without opposition. As the island was manned with bold refugees from every tribe determined to die in defence of their altars, and were animated by the presence of their priests, who, stretching their arms to heaven, with horrid incantations devoted their enemies to perdition, the contest was stern and stubborn. But discipline and numbers prevailed over frenzied, undisciplined courage, and desultory but devoted patriotism. The Roman legions cut down the armed Britons, together with the Druids and priestesses of the fane, or threw them into the sacrificial fires which they had kindled for the purpose of consuming the Romans, should they be taken prisoners; and the sacred territory was converted into a Roman station.

But this violation of the prudential measures of Roman republicanism—never to violate or offend the religious superstitions and practices of the conquered—being likely to cause a reaction and reanimate the various tribes to a re-coalition, the Romans determined to break the spirit of the inhabitants of the conquered provinces by oppression and military license. For that purpose heavy taxes were levied, and swarms of tax-gatherers appointed for their collection. The broken-hearted Britons, unable to support the fiscal exactions, and the unbridled insolence and arrogance of their conquerors, broke out in all parts into open insurrection. Thus was the Boadicean war occasioned, which nearly cost the Romans the whole of their hardily-won conquests.

The origin of this terrible revolt was—Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, a tribe which

occupied that portion of the island now known as the shires of Norfolk, Cambridge, and Suffolk, conceiving that by making a voluntary surrender of part of his territories to the Romans, the remainder would be safely insured to his wife and daughters, accordingly made a will to that effect. But the event proved he had formed too favourable an opinion of the Roman character. On his death, they took possession of the whole of his kingdom and private property; and when his queen, Boadicea, remonstrated with the Roman officers on the injustice of the act, she was ignominiously scourged with rods, and her daughters were violated in her presence. This last flagrant outrage of honour and morality was intolerable in the opinion of a people smarting under the infliction of numerous injuries, and was peculiarly so to the Britons, who were famed for their respectful devotedness to women, and threw them into a universal ferment and desire for vengeance. Boadicea availed herself of the opportunity for avenging her wrongs, and those of her daughters. Aided by the natural energy of her character, and her indignant representations of the injuries offered to herself and children, she rallied the dispersed tribes, and drew them into closer union than they had ever been. The moment, too, was propitious for the noble retaliation. The Romans were, throughout the conquered districts, enjoying themselves in luxury and repose amidst their subdued vassals. In this fancied security the explosion took place: the colony of Camulodunum (Maldon) was attacked, and the legion employed for its defence annihilated. The host of insurgents then marched onwards towards Londinium (London), at that time the principal station and settlement of the Romans, and distinguished for its extent and wealth. Suetonius, who was with the chief strength of the army in the isle of Anglesey, immediately on receiving intelligence of the insurrection, pressed forward to the defence of London; but on arriving in its neighbourhood, finding his force inadequate to that of the insurgents, and unable to protect the city, he determined to withdraw the garrison and leave the place to its fate. Scarcely had the Romans cleared the town at one extremity, than the Britons appeared at the other, and taking possession of it, massacred the inhabitants without mercy. Marching to Verulamium (St. Alban's), they inflicted the like vengeance on it. as

well as on all the colonists who fell into their hands on the line of march. Seventy thousand Romans and Roman allies are said to have perished in this frightful massacre.

Suetonius having in the meantime collected 10,000 veterans under his standard, determined to resist the progress of the enemy. Having skilfully selected his position, he calmly awaited the advance of the Britons, who are said by flippant historians to have amounted to hundreds of thousands. Both armies being now in presence of each other, Boadicea, with her long golden hair streaming to her feet, mounted her war-chariot, and, having her injured daughters seated at her feet, drove through the British ranks. Her appearance, as described by the Roman historian, resembled the personification of barbaric heroism—the Bellona of the ancient Britons. She harangued her troops on the wrongs she had suffered; entreated them to avenge her and vindicate the honour of their common country; earnestly beseeching them to fight manfully; at the same time availing herself of a practical and impressive figure of speech, she let slip a live hare, which she had concealed in her robe, and exclaimed—"In like manner the enemy will flee before you!"<sup>1</sup> But this patriotic augury was not destined to be fulfilled. The host of brave spirits who charged at her signal, and rushed furiously on the swords and spears of the enemy, were steadily received. After a desperate combat, in which naked bodies, inefficient weapons, and undisciplined throngs of raw levies were opposed to mailed armour, efficient arms, and disciplined phalanxes, the Britons were driven back, and getting entangled among the lanes of cars and waggons which they had drawn up for their defence in the rear, an unresisted massacre of the confused and encumbered crowd ensued. On this fatal occasion, 80,000 Britons—men, women, and children (for the two last-mentioned description of non-combatants, incited by national and kindred feeling, had accompanied the fighting men)—were slaughtered without regard to age or sex. Boadicea, who had escaped the carnage, unable to survive her defeat, and fearful of Roman vengeance, drank poison and expired, A.D. 61.

But such was the enduring spirit, and the unconquerable love of liberty of the ancestors of the British race, that this terrible overthrow, though followed by

famine and pestilence, was not sufficient to break their spirit, or subdue their innate passion for freedom. For many years they availed themselves of every opportunity of the probability of successful resistance to their oppressors: the consequence was, that Roman conquest remained stationary in Britain till the arrival of Agricola, the prætor of Vespasian, in the year 78, A.D. That best of Roman governors whom Britain ever saw, while possessing the highest talents for war, was no less gifted with those for wise and beneficent civil government. Just, humane, and conciliating, his progress was an uninterrupted course of success, while his treatment of the tribes whom he subdued, was mild, generous, and winning. He exerted all his talents for the improvement and the amelioration of the condition of his subjects. He persuaded them to forsake their roving and unsettled mode of life for the security of civilisation, to build commodious houses, and adopt the domestic comforts which were in use among the Romans. Sensible of the advantages derived from this change of habits and customs, the Britons adopted the dress, and studied the language and sciences of the Romans, who, from conquerors, had, by Agricola's wisdom and humanity, become their benefactors; and having thus acquired a taste for civilisation, gradually lost the ancient characteristics of their race, and became Roman provincials. It was by this wise policy that the subjugation of Britain was accomplished. Succeeding governors found it easy to carry on the system which Agricola had commenced, and a few generations sufficed to revolutionise the external appearance, as well as the internal character, of the province. But the subjugation of the northern, or Caledonian tribes, was necessary for the security and prosperity of the southern population of the island.

To reduce to subjection the northern tribes, Agricola entered Caledonia (Scotland), A.D. 80; and as no enemy appeared to oppose him, he advanced, without molestation, as far as the Tay. The Caledonians, who were equally as firm, as brave, and as strongly devoted to freedom as the tribes of the south, imagined that the invasion would only be temporary, as their barren plains and rugged mountains could afford the enemy no supplies. But they were unconscious of the skill and resources of the Roman general. Upon the ground he had secured he built forts, and stored and gar-

risoned them for the ensuing winter. With the returning spring, he reappeared on the field, advanced in the same cautious manner, and protected his conquests by additional defences; so that in A.D. 81, he had built a line of forts across the narrow neck of land which separates the Frith of Forth from that of the Clyde; and in the course of the two summers following he continued advancing, attended by a large fleet conveying stores and co-operating with the movements of the troops. All the efforts of the Caledonians to destroy the fortresses which he erected were fruitless: at the end of each campaign, they found themselves driven further and further, and still nearer to the sea, which could be easily commanded by the Roman fleet. Still they were not dismayed; wherever an opportunity presented itself, they boldly attacked the Roman detachments: in a single attack on the ninth legion, in its fortified camp, their assault was so furious, that had not Agricola opportunely come up with reinforcements, they would have cut the legion to pieces.

This exploit was but the prelude to a more important event. The Caledonians, sensible, at length, of the inefficiency of desultory and unconnected operations, determined to unite the forces of their various tribes, and make a grand simultaneous attack on their invaders. Having entered into a general alliance, and confirmed it by the most solemn sacrifices, they selected as their leader Galgacus, the most celebrated and warlike of their chieftains. With 30,000 warriors he encamped upon the skirts of the Grampian Hills (probably on the site now called Fortingale.) Having selected his position with great military skill, he awaited the attack of the enemy. It was not long before the Roman army—consisting, besides its well-appointed and veteran legions, of barbarian auxiliaries from Holland and Belgium, and several bodies of provincial Britons, who, like all enslaved people, were most ready to fight gallantly to reduce other nations to the same condition—appeared in sight. No sooner had Agricola taken up his ground than he proceeded to the marshalment of his army. His centre was composed of the auxiliaries, flanked on the wings by cavalry; the legionary soldiers were drawn up in a second line on the rear of the front line, as a reserve and to be ready to support the first line, should it require aid or be repulsed. The battle, which was to seal the fate of

the freedom of Caledonia, being now on the eve of commencement, Galgacus, seated in his war-chariot, drove through the ranks of the confederates, exhorting them, in his harangue, which Tacitus has translated into his majestic Latin, to fight bravely for their country, their wives, and their children. The eloquent and spirit-stirring speech of their chief was enthusiastically responded to with songs of triumph, and loud outcries of heroic eagerness for battle.

The contest commenced by discharges of missiles, in which the Caledonians had the advantage. To remedy the disadvantage under which the Romans laboured, from their missiles having been turned off by the basket-plaited targets of the enemy, Agricola advanced at the head of five cohorts of Batavians and Tungrians, to encounter the enemy hand-to-hand. The unwieldy broadswords of the Caledonians, being unfit for close *mêlée*, their ranks were speedily disordered; when the auxiliaries, aided by a fresh reinforcement, rushing in, bore down all before them with their massive spiked bucklers and short stabbing swords. At the same moment the horses of the Caledonian war-chariots, being frightened by the din of battle, turned, and galloping through the Caledonian ranks, overturned all in their flight, and thus increased the confusion already but too prevalent in the patriot ranks. In the midst, however, of this disorder and confusion, the battle was almost retrieved by a body of Caledonians stationed on the summit of a hill (Mons Grampius) in the rear of the army. That gallant band, seeing the distress of their countrymen, descended by a compass of route, with the intention of falling on the rear of the pursuers; but Agricola, discovering the design, attacked and defeated them with his reserves of cavalry. The Caledonians, nowise disheartened, rallied on the skirts of a neighbouring wood, and, wheeling suddenly round, assailed their opponents, and threw them into temporary disorder. But Agricola coming up at the critical moment, rallied his men, and directed the pursuit to be continued in large bodies. A complete dispersion of the Caledonians ensued. In despair, after this signal defeat, they slew their wives and children, to save them from slavery and dishonour, and burned their houses to the ground. From that moment, the country, for a great extent of circumference, became a scene of universal silence and desolation. From this period Galgacus disappears from

the scene; the Roman historians of the period not being desirous to violate or weaken the dramatic effect which they had imparted to his deeds, by his reappearance in the drama of future military exploits.

After his victory, Agricola built a wall from Solway Frith, on the western coast, to the mouth of the Tyne, on the eastern coast, and fortified it with castles and ramparts, to prevent the inroads of the Caledonian tribes into the Roman conquests in the south. In the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, the Caledonians stormed and demolished that line, and recovered all the territory which had been wrested from them north of the Tyne and Solway. Hadrian ordered (A.D. 121) a stronger rampart to be raised between the Solway Frith and the German Ocean. But "the northern barbarians," as the Romans termed the Caledonian tribes, breaking through the barrier, and extending their excursions southwards, the Roman prætor of Antoninus Pius (Lollius Urbicus) drove them back, and resumed the old line of Agricola, constructing on it a wall, extending about thirty-one miles, and fortified with towers at proper intervals. This barrier was finished A.D. 140, and is still popularly remembered under the appellation of Græme's or Graham's Dyke, from the supposition that it was first passed by a Scottish warrior of that name. But this barrier was not sufficient to restrain the incursions of the daring Caledonians: they broke through it, and ravaged the whole country which lay between it and the wall of Hadrian. To restrain their ravages, the Emperor Severus came to Britain A.D. 207, and repelling the enemy, in the course of two years built a stone wall twelve feet high and eight feet thick, fortified with towers, castles, and stations, having a military road, communicating with all parts, at the distance of a few paces from Hadrian's wall, and nearly parallel with it. From this time the mention of the Caledonians disappears from the page of history, so imperfect are the annals of the early ages of British history. Their place is to be supplied by the Scots and Picts, the former of whom are said to have emigrated from Ireland; the latter were aboriginal Britons, who had retreated northwards to escape Roman subjugation. The Picts inhabited the eastern coasts of Caledonia, from the Frith of Forth to Caithness; the Scots, the other parts of the country.

About this period the Roman generals in Britain, availing themselves of the disorgan-

sation of the affairs of the Roman capital, occasioned by the dissensions of its various parties, and the irruptions of the barbarians on the sacred territory, began to aspire to the imperial purple. Availing themselves of the caprices of the Prætorian bands and the barbarian soldiery, they cast off their allegiance to the emperor, and declared themselves provincial emperors. The soldiery were not loth in promoting their views. The instances in which they chose and deposed the competitors for provincial empire were not few; indeed they were so frequent, that the servile imperial historians of Rome described Britain as an island fertile in tyrants ("*insula tyrannorum fertilis.*") Among the self-elected British provincial emperors were Albinus, Carausius, Maximus, Marcus, Gratian, and Constantius.

During these contentions for empire, appeared the most terrible enemies which Britain as yet had witnessed—the Picts and Scots, and the Saxons.

The origin of the Scots and Picts has been already stated. The Saxons were a Gothic or Scythian race, who were then said to be of Teutonic origin. When they invaded Britain they consisted of three tribes—1. Jutes; 2. Saxons; and 3. Angles,—who all passed under the common appellation, sometimes of Saxons, sometimes of Angles,—all using the same language, and governed by the same laws and customs. The Jutes dwelt in the peninsula of Jutland. The Angles occupied Schleswig, in Holstein, in which duchy a district still exists, called Anglen. The Saxons possessed the countries now called Westphalia, Holland, and Belgium. They began their piratical debarkations in Britain in the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, and continued there, almost without interruption, till the departure of the Romans from the island. In their last attempt they penetrated into the interior of the island, and attempted to plunder London. The Scots and Picts, having burst through the wall of Severus, first appeared in A.D. 364, during the reign of the Roman emperor Constantine. Again, in the year 367, while Valentinian and Valens were emperors, they invaded Britain, and advanced to London, which they stormed and plundered, and carried off the inhabitants into slavery.

The causes of these national calamities were the unwarlike character of the once warlike Britons, it being contrary to the policy of Rome to allow the use of arms to

provincials; and that the British youth had, for the last century and a-half, been drafted off to recruit the armies of imperial Rome, in her resistance against the barbarians who were vigorously pressing forward on her frontiers. So great had been that drain, that even at the present time, twenty-three cohorts of British auxiliaries were serving in the Roman ranks in Africa, where their conduct was so conspicuous, that they obtained the appellation of "*The Invincibles*."

The majesty of imperial Rome being now about to depart, the empire assailed on all sides, and the world no longer disposed to crouch in submission before her (Attila with his Goths proving a more terrible enemy than Alaric with his Huns), the remaining legions were recalled, A.D. 409, by the Emperor Honorius, for the defence of Italy. Britain, being thus left defenceless, the barbarians—Goths, Vandals, and Saxons,—

pushing their conquests through Gaul and Armorica (Bretagne or Britany), invaded Britain. To repel this invasion, the Britons, reminded in the songs of their bards of the gallant resistance of their ancestors, armed themselves, deposed the imperial magistrates, and proclaimed their independence.\* The interval between the emancipation of the island and the arrival of the Saxons, was occupied in civil warfare and the contests of ambitious partisans, in which clusters of regal chiefs—as kings of Cornwall, Kent, Glastonbury, Deira, Bernicia, &c.—figure in mutual conflicts, and spread devastation over the island, which had been for three centuries the seat of Roman civilisation and refinement; and it is to that cause that the temples, theatres, courts, market-places, public baths, &c., which had been constructed by the Romans, have disappeared, and of which only vestiges occasionally appear.

#### THE SAXON, DANISH, AND NORMAN WARS IN ENGLAND.

WHEN the Saxons and Danes first emerged from the forests of Germany and Scandinavia, it was in the character of pirates. According to the custom of the age, the petty chiefs among whom the territories of that part of the European continent was divided, bequeathed their patrimonies to their eldest sons, and dispatched their younger children to establish kingdoms on the waves, and wield their sceptres, as seakings or aquatic sovereigns, amid the turbulent waters of the ocean. During the first four centuries of the Christian era, whole swarms of their barks or canoes braved the storms of the Baltic and the German Ocean,—swept the coasts of Gaul and Britain, and even filled the heart of Rome itself with dismay.

It is memorable that, for half a century—namely, from the departure of the Romans to the invasion of the Angles or Saxons, under Hengist and Horsa,—the pages of English historians are as barren of events as if that period had been absorbed in the womb of time. But great events had taken place during that period: the Britons had

freed themselves from Roman domination; but, by their own intestine commotions, had almost obliterated and effaced the impress of civilisation and refinement which Roman literature and science had imparted to the native character. It was at this period that the Angles or Saxons began to assume a dominating influence in Britain.

The Picts and Scots having broken through Severus's wall, entered England and committed dreadful ravages. At this time (A.D. 449), Hengist and Horsa, the reputed descendants of the god Woden, were cruising in the British Channel with an Angle or Saxon squadron of three ships. Vortigern, the King of Dumnonium, and the most powerful of the British chiefs, sent a deputation to the Saxon commanders, to solicit their aid against the Picts and Scots, who had now pushed their ravages as far as Stamford. The Britons and Saxons marched against them; and near that town a bloody battle was fought, and so complete a victory obtained, that the Picts and Scots were obliged to retreat precipitately to Scotland. From this event to the end

\* The ancient chronicler, Gildas (and his story has been adopted by his copyist, Bede), has represented the Britons as applying to Ætius, the Roman proconsul of Gaul, in an address piteously entitled "*Groans of the Britons*," and expressed in the following terms:—"The barbarians chase us into the sea; the sea throws us back upon the barbarians;

and we have only the hard chance left us, of perishing by the sword or by the waves." There is but little doubt, however, that this piteous complaint is the imaginative antithetical composition of the chronicler;—as are the speeches which Livy, Tacitus, Sallust, and other ancient historians, put into the mouths of their heroes.

of the sixth century, history is silent respecting these northern people.

This object being accomplished, the Saxon adventurers began to contemplate a permanent settlement. They persuaded the Britons to send for a reinforcement of their countrymen, as a security against future incursions. Some 5,000 fresh adventurers arrived, with whom came Rowena, the daughter of Hengist; who having promoted a matrimonial alliance between Rowena and Vortigern, was invested by his father-in-law with the lordship of Kent and Thanet. The pirate having now secured a maritime territory, and being possessed of the door of the kingdom for the free admission of his adherents, entered into an alliance with the Picts and Scots to assist him in his designs of usurpation. A long and fierce war ensued, in which many bloody battles were fought with alternate success. In the seventh year after his arrival, the battle of Crayford, fought A. D. 457, established Hengist's power as King of Kent. The success of Hengist excited the avidity of other Norsemen,\* who at different times, and under different leaders, flocked over in multitudes. A long succession of battles were fought before the several Saxon kingdoms, termed the Heptarchy,† were established; and which, at the end of the sixth century, comprehended all the south and east coasts of Britain, from Cornwall to the Frith of Forth. The native Britons, to escape the Saxon swords, had fled to Armorica (Bretagne or Britany), or to Devonshire, Cornwall, and North and South Wales, where they sought security in the forests and mountains.‡ In the course

of these contests, the name of the British hero, Arthur, is pre-eminent, but is celebrated in so romantic strains in the imaginative panegyrics of British bards and minstrels, that by some authors he is supposed to have been a mythological personage. So fictitious a glory was thrown round his memory, that it was said he had not died a natural death, but had withdrawn from the world into some magical region, from which, at a propitious crisis, he was to reappear and lead the Cimbri in triumph through the land. The doubt as to his existence was cleared up in the year 1189, when his body was discovered at Glastonbury. The civil contests and broils of the Saxon kings during the Heptarchy are too insignificant to require detail: they are well depicted by Hume:—"The skirmishes of kites and crows as much merit a particular narrative as the confused transactions and battles of the Saxon Heptarchy. A melancholy picture of the state of England at this time, may be formed from the fate of fourteen Northumbrian kings during the course of a single century. Of these puppets of sovereignty, six were slaughtered by their relatives or competitors, and five were deposed by their subjects; two shaved their heads and retired to a cloister; only one of the whole number died a king."

Happily, however, for the existence of England and the English, as a nation and a people, this principle of national disunion was destroyed by the union of the Heptarchy under one head. Wessex, in the course of its manifold mutations, had two pretenders to the crown; and Egbert, one of the claimants, being defeated, fled to the court

\* The Norsemen, or, as they were otherwise termed, the Northmen, were the people who inhabited Scandinavia—namely, Denmark, Sweden, and the countries round the Baltic. The Saxons and Normans were of the same stock, and spoke the same language.

† A distinguished British historian, on the authority of Matthew of Westminster, and Rudborne (*Hist. Major. Winto. Anglia Sacra*), maintains, in opposition to the generality of ancient annalists and modern historians, that the term Heptarchy is erroneous, and that the correct term is Octarchy. The word Heptarchy, he says, came to be used from the habit of mentioning the two kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia under the appellation of Northumbria. But though they were at times united under one sovereign, as they became consolidated, Essex, Kent, or Sussex ceased to be separate and independent kingdoms. When all the kingdoms were settled, they formed an Octarchy. Ella, supporting his invasion in Sussex like Hengist in Kent, made a Saxon Duarchy before the year 500. When Cerdic

erected the state of Wessex, in 519, a Triarchy appeared; East Anglia made it a Tetrarchy, Essex a Pentarchy. The success of Ida, after 547, having established a sovereignty of Angles in Bernicia, that island became an Exarchy. When the northern Ella penetrated, in 560, northward of the Tees, his kingdom of Deira produced a Heptarchy. In 586, the Angles branching from Deira into the regions south of the Humber, the state of Mercia completed an Anglo-Saxon Octarchy.

‡ The British writers assign as the cause of the facility with which the Saxons entered England, the love with which Vortigern was seized for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist. The same historians add, that Vortigern, being restored to the throne on the death of his son Vortimer, accepted of a banquet from Hengist at Stonehenge, at which Hengist treacherously slaughtered 300 of Vortigern's nobility, and seized the king. But these stories seem to have been invented, as a palliation of the feeble resistance made by the Britons against their Saxon rulers.—*Lingard*.

of Charlemagne, where he found a cordial welcome. The English prince remained in this exile fourteen years, during which he acquired those high accomplishments which afterwards distinguished him as a soldier and a statesman; and on the death of Brithric, his successful rival, he returned to Wessex, where he was received with universal welcome. He was soon attacked by the King of Mercia, whom he signally defeated, and annexed the whole of Mercia to his own dominions. He then invaded Northumbria, at this time helpless from the anarchy into which it had fallen. Having effected an easy conquest, he enrolled the inhabitants as his subjects. This event happened A.D. 825; and shortly after, the sway of Egbert extended from the extremity of Cornwall southward to the shores of the British Channel, and northward to the Tweed. It was in a happy hour for England that this union of the Heptarchy took place; for now a new enemy appeared to task the united energies of the country. This enemy was the Danes, whose first appearance on the shores of England was in A.D. 787; but they were easily repulsed. This event was, however, the prelude of more terrible visitations. In A.D. 832, they landed in the Isle of Sheppey, which having plundered, they withdrew. In the following year they returned in greater numbers; and though they were again driven to their ships, it was not until they had given such proofs of their valour as dismayed the English. Their pertinacity was equal to their valour: having formed an alliance with the Britons of Cornwall, they advanced (A.D. 835) to Hengsdown-hill, where they were encountered by Egbert, and defeated with great slaughter. Egbert dying soon after, they renewed their visits, sailed up the Thames and the Medway, and plundered London, Rochester, and Canterbury. After several sanguinary repulses, however, the invaders were again compelled to take refuge in their ships. But such had been their ferocity and unsparing havoc, that, under the apprehension of their return, the Wednesday of every week was appointed as a day of prayer throughout Britain, that the nation might deprecate the judgment of a Danish invasion.

These ferocious marauders having at length secured the Isle of Thanet as their winter quarters, with the return of every spring they sent out their hordes in all directions, their route being traceable by the

smoking ruins of towns and villages, and the mangled remains of the victims of their barbarity. Thus Northumbria was conquered, and York colonised. In A.D. 871, East Anglia became a Danish province, under Guthrum; and in A.D. 875, the whole of the Anglo-Saxon territories were under the dominion of the Danes, except the districts on the south of the Thames and the north of the Tyne; the fortified camps were, at the same time, continually extending and advancing, while the resistance of the Britons became daily feebler and feebler, until they were driven into Wales and Cornwall, and were indebted for protection there to the inaccessible mountains of the country.

In the midst of these ravages and desolations, Alfred (surnamed *the Great*) succeeded to the royal authority of the kingdom of Wessex. But by this time that kingdom was only a mockery of kingship, and threatening ruin to him who assumed it. The kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria had seceded from the national alliance; and only the state of Wessex, already surrounded by the enemy and menaced with destruction, preserved its independence. After various successes and reverses, Alfred defeated Guthrum, the most powerful of the Danish chieftains, at Athandun (Slaughterford), near the Avon, and captured that chieftain. The wise policy of Alfred, on this event, is worthy of admiration. He did not reduce to despair an enemy who might have defied his efforts. Contemplating a fusion of the Saxons and Danes, and thus harmonising them, he assigned to the Danes the eastern part of the island—namely, Northumbria and East Anglia, from the Thames to the Tweed, on condition that Guthrum and his followers should embrace Christianity, and assimilate their laws to those of the Saxons. The territory thus ceded was henceforth called *the Danelagh*, and its inhabitants became a peaceful and industrious people.

Though Alfred had thus rescued his paternal kingdom, the rest of Britain was still exposed to successive incursions of hosts of marauding Danes, who infested the shores and rivers of the island. In 879 A.D., the year after Guthrum's treaty, a host landed on the shores of the Thames, and wintered at Fulham. The marauders, however, were at length driven back to their ships. A few years of intermission from their ravages followed. But in the year 893 A.D., 2

powerful body landed near Romney Marsh, and at the same time another body entered the Thames, both expeditions being under the command of Hastings, one of their most renowned leaders; while other squadrons menaced the coast of Britain at different points, for the purpose of distracting and dividing the forces of the Britons. To add to the calamity, the Danelagh joined the marauders. It was in the campaign of the three ensuing years that Alfred's military and civil genius shone with the greatest lustre. The marauders now finding that they were likely to possess no portion of the soil of Britain, except as a place of burial, took to their ships, and crossed over to Normandy, A.D. 897.

Thus Britain, which had almost fallen a prey to its merciless marauders, was freed by Alfred's energy and patriotism; and such was the wholesome terror which his victories produced, that Britain was unmolested during his reign.

In the reign of his son Edward, they returned and advanced as far as the Severn, but being defeated with great slaughter, they betook themselves to their shipping. During the reign of Athelstan, the illegitimate son of Edward and grandson of Alfred, a fleet of 615 ships, bearing a multitude of Danes, Norwegians, Irish, and Picts, under Anlaff, sailed up the Humber. So vast was the multitude, that the land seemed obscured with the shadow of the innumerable hostile banners. Athelstan boldly encountered them; and the remembrance of the battle, which lasted from sunrise to sunset, was long cherished in pompous strains of eulogy by the Saxon minstrelsy and its chroniclers and historians. The confederates were defeated with immense loss, and the fruits of the victory were, the complete subjugation of the Danelagh and Wales. Thus Athelstan had the glory of effecting the reunion of Britain into one monarchy, and of having established what has since been called England. Sometimes he styled himself King of England, sometimes King of Britain. So great and magnanimous was the grandson of Alfred reputed, that his court became alternately a seminary and a sanctuary, to which princes repaired for improvement, or fled for protection. Unfortunately for England, his reign was short. Had he lived longer, he might perhaps have secured it against those calamities which soon befel it.

For thirty-nine years which elapsed be-

tween the death of Athelstan and that of Edward the Martyr, who was assassinated by the order of his step-mother Elfrida, the chief warfare in England was that of the church, in which Dunstan, commonly called St. Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, figured as the principal combatant. But this dominance of priestism and its craft was fatally preparing for the military and civil degradation of the country. During that evil and pernicious ascendancy of priests, the country was drained of its inhabitants to enrich the church: the wealthy who sought forgiveness of sin, were instructed to build monasteries; and the poor who had nothing to give, to fill them by their superstitious devotions and observances. This monkish design so increased, that those who ought to have laboured for the national prosperity, and been prepared in the hour of jeopardy for the national defence, sheltered their sloth and cowardice under a shaven crown and a monastic frock. Bede, who had foreseen the evil at an early period, predicted that in the event of an invasion, enough of soldiers would not be found, from the prevalence of this debasing habit. The danger was now at hand, and the prophecy was about to be fulfilled. Sixty-five years had elapsed since the last invasion of the Danish marauders. Their visitations and ravages were again to be renewed. Sweyn, a Danish prince who had been banished by his father, resolved to win, in lieu of his paternal inheritance, a kingdom in England. In 981 A.D., he landed at the head of a large force. One armament after another quickly followed in the track of Sweyn. Ethelred the Unready, and his pusillanimous councillors, purchased their safety and the departure of the Danes with ten thousand pounds of silver. Other marauders soon followed, and England was becoming daily more and more exhausted by fresh imposts of Danegelt, which such a system required. At last, in 993 A.D., Sweyn, who had succeeded to the crown of Denmark, made a fresh invasion, accompanied by Olave, King of Denmark—the one sailing up the Humber, and the other the Thames; spreading on all sides the destructive ravages and horrors of war: London was besieged and threatened with total destruction. To purchase the forbearance and relieve themselves from the dire havoc of the two arch-pirates, the dispirited Britons paid them heavy contributions. Again, in 997 A.D., and 1001, fresh invasions were made and bought off

with payments of above forty thousand pounds' weight of silver. In the meantime, every period, whether of war or negotiation, was equally filled with Danish atrocity and pillage.

The disheartened Britons having at length exhausted their coffers, and wearied heaven with unavailing prayers and penances, determined to obtain their deliverance by a sudden and universal massacre of all their merciless enemies throughout the land. To put the dreadful resolution into execution, secret orders were sent to the principal magistrates of the towns and districts; and on the 13th of November, 1002, which was a great Danish festival, the Danes were suddenly attacked and murdered without distinction of age or sex. As the Danelagh was too strong, and the native Britons in it too feeble for the attempt, it escaped the dreadful retribution.

By the surviving Danes, the cry for the retributive justice of blood was wafted to Denmark. The nation arose at the summons. The cause being deemed a sacred retribution, an armament was assembled, composed of the whole might and power of the kingdom; and it set sail to avenge a deed which no gold and silver could expiate. The infuriated enthusiasts landed unopposed, and swept over the devoted land like a hurricane of vengeance and destruction. Their bitterness of revenge assumed the frightful appearance of gaiety. In all the towns and villages through which they marched, they demanded repasts to be prepared and served by the inhabitants; and when the revelry was over, they slew their hosts and attendants, and fired their houses. For two years this frightful devastation continued, until the merciless perpetrators, starved out by the famine which their barbarity had occasioned, were obliged to leave the kingdom. The exhausted country enjoyed a respite of two years from the ravages and horrors of their relentless foes. That respite, however, was short. In 1003, 1006, and 1011, A. D., their enemies again returned, and were not disposed to cease their ravages and desolations until they had exacted payment of eighty-four pounds of silver from their intimidated opponents.

\* William, who had hitherto been called *the bastard*, took, when he found himself firmly seated on the English throne, the surname of the *Conqueror*; a term which did not involve the idea of subjugation, but, in the language and understanding of the age, designated one who had fought and obtained

At length, in the language of a modern conqueror, "the pear being ripe," Sweyn and his piratical band returned, not for a renewed bribe of money as a propitiation of English cowardice, but to seize the country of those who had not sufficient patriotism and spirit for its protection and defence. His course was a triumphant march rather than a conquest; every town and province submitted on his approach; while Ethelred, "that wretched pageant of a king," fled with his wife and children to the court of his father-in-law, duke Richard of Normandy. In 1013, the throne being vacant, and no competitor for it, Sweyn was proclaimed, in an assembly of the thanes and the people, King of England. But that fortunate marauder had but a fleeting enjoyment of his prize—only a few days: he died; but his conquests fell into the more able hands of his son and successor, Canute. But, even in this extremity, English courage was not extinguished—it rallied for a dying struggle; incited, or rather dragged into the field, by Edmund Ironside, an illegitimate son of Ethelred, and in whom the mighty and patriotic spirit of Alfred seems to have been revived. But although Ironside displayed surpassing valour and military skill, the fate of England was beyond the retrieval of a single hero—so degenerate had the national character become by luxury and aversion to warfare; but, after several victories, Edmund agreed to his rival's proposal to divide the country between them, Edmund having the northern portion for his share, and Canute the southern. Edmund having survived the treaty only two months, Canute became sole monarch of England, A. D. 1017. Canute dying in 1035 A. D., was succeeded successively by his sons Harold and Hardicanute; after whom, the English dynasty was restored by the accession of Edward the Confessor, the son of Ethelred the Unready. By the accession of this prince, England was doomed to undergo a repetition of all the horrors and devastations it had experienced under the Saxons and Danes; for to him and his measures, the chief causes of Norman conquest,\* as it has been improperly termed, are attributable.

Edward had passed his youthful years

his right; and in this acceptance it was assumed by William, who professed not to owe his crown to the power of his arms, but to the nomination of Edward the Confessor, and the free choice of the English people. What we call *purchase*, *perquisitio*, the feudists call *conquest*, *conquæstus*, or *conquisitio*

abroad, in the court of his kinsman the Duke of Normandy. Having acquired

both denoting any means of acquiring an estate out of the common course of inheritance. This is still the proper phrase in the law of Scotland, as it was among the Norman jurists, who styled the first purchaser (that is, he who brought the estate into the family which then owned it) the conqueror, or conquerer, which seems to be all that was meant by the appellation which was given to William the Norman, when his manner of ascending the throne of England was, in his own and his successor's charters, and by the historians of the time, entitled conquestus, and himself conqueror, or conqueror; signifying that he was the first of his family who acquired the crown of England, and from whom, therefore, all future claims by descent must be derived; though now, from our disuse of the ferdal sense of this word, together with the recollection of his forcible method of acquisition, we are apt to annex the idea of victory to his name of conquest or conquisition; a title which, however just with regard to the crown, the conqueror never pretended to with regard to the realm of England, nor, in fact, ever had." This opinion, that William did not acquire the kingdom of England *jure belli*, is maintained by numerous authors of great authority and credit. The chief of them are Spelman, in his *Glossary*; Selden, in his *History of Tithes*; Dugdale, in his *Antiquities*; Lord Littleton, in his *History of the Life of Henry II.*; Sir Matthew Hale, in his *History of the Common Law*; Sir Martin Wright, in his *Introduction to the Law of Tenures*; Bacon, in his *Historical View of the English Government*; Taylor, in his *History of Government*; Dr. Ducarel, in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*; Dr. Sullivan, in his *Lectures on the Laws and Constitution of England*; Millar, in his *Historical View of the English Government*; Cook, in his *Argumentum Antinormanicum*; and Wilkins, in his *Anglo-Saxon Laws*. From the concurrent testimony of these learned and ingenious writers, it appears evident that William, by his victory at Hastings, did not achieve a conquest over the constitution and the rights of the people of England, but only over the person of Harold. Nathaniel Bacon, in his *Historical View of the English Government*, says, that he remembers judges on the bench interrupting advocates who called William the Conqueror. *Conquestus id quod à parentibus non acceptum, sed labore pretio vel parsimoniâ comparatum possidemus. Hinc. Guliel. I. conqueror dicitur quia Angliam acquisivit, i.e. acquisivit (purchased); non quod subegit.* Spelm. *Gloss.*, vol. v., Conquestus. See also *Skene de Verbor. Sign.*, where the word conqueror is proved to signify, according to the barbarous Latin of the times, an acquirer, in contradistinction to a person who inherits by lineal descent. "William," says Lord Lytton, in his *History of the Life of Henry II.*, "was so far from grounding his own title to the crown upon a supposed right of conquest, that he used his utmost endeavours to establish the notion of his being heir to King Edward by the appointment of that monarch. The English nobles and prelates, who had reconciled themselves to him, and the chief citizens of London, adopting this notion, entreated him to be crowned without delay, which, at first, he seemed to decline, objecting that peace was not yet settled, and declaring that he desired the tranquillity of the kingdom more than the

there a predilection for the dress, habits, and language of the country, when he suc-

crown—words very different from the language of a conqueror. But considering afterwards that, in consequence of being crowned king, all persons would be more afraid of rebelling against him, and more easily crushed if they did, he yielded to the importunities of the English and Normans, and was crowned in Westminster Abbey on Christmas-day of the year 1066, not without the appearance and form of an election, or free acknowledgment of his claim; for the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Constance, who officiated in the ceremony, separately demanded of the nobility, prelates, and people of both nations who were present assisting, *whether they consented that he should reign over them?* and with joyful acclamations they answered that *they did.*" With regard to William's right of succession to the crown of England, we have also the testimony of Ingulphus, William of Poitiers, William Gemeticensis, and Odericus Vitalis, who were all of them his contemporaries. These authors inform us, says Dr. Sullivan, in his *Lectures on the Laws and Constitution of England*, that King Edward sent Harold into Normandy to assure Duke William of his having destined him to be his successor to the crown of England, a destination which he had before intimated to him, by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury, and which appears to have been made with the consent of the national council. And of this circumstance there remains a very curious and decisive confirmation. It is a tapestry formerly kept in the cathedral (but now retained in the town hall) of Bayeux, in which Harold is represented on his embassy, to intimate the succession of William to the English throne by the destination of Edward. An accurate description of this curious piece of historical needlework, is given from Mr. Smart Letheuillier, by Dr. Ducarel, in his elegant work entitled *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*. The doctor's words are:—"Here (namely at Bayeux) I had the satisfaction of seeing the famous historical piece of furniture which, with great exactness, though in barbarous needlework, represents the histories of Harold King of England, and William Duke of Normandy, quite from the embassy of the former to Duke William, at the command of Edward the Confessor, down to his overthrow and death, at the battle fought near Hastings; in which, as appears by the Latin inscription, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to the Conqueror, fought armed *cap-a-pie*, and behaved very manfully. The ground of this piece of work which is extremely valuable, as preserving the taste of those times in designs of this sort, is a white linen cloth, or canvas, 1 foot 11 inches in depth, and 212 feet in length. The figures of men, horses, &c., &c., are in their proper colours, worked in the manner of samplers, in worsted, and of a style not unlike what we see upon china and japan ware; those of men, more particularly, being without the least symmetry or proportion. There is a received tradition, that Queen Matilda, wife of the Conqueror, and the ladies of her court, wove this tapestry with their own hands. It is annually hung up on St. John's day, and goes exactly round the nave of the church, where it continues eight days. At all other times it is carefully kept locked up in a strong wainscot press." See also the 19th volume of the *Archæologia*, for a description and defence of the early antiquity of the Bayeux Tapestry. The

ceeded to the throne of England, he not only retained those peculiarities, but in-

sketches of the first portion of the needlework, representing the embassy of Harold, are worn dirty, and the last five feet of the roll are in a more decayed and imperfect state than the first portion; the stitches of the work consist of threads laid side by side, and bound down at intervals by cross stitches or fastenings. The parts intended to represent flesh are left untouched by the needle. The colours are generally a faded or bluish green, crimson, and pink. Both at the top and bottom of the principal subject, is a running allegorical ornament, of which the chief subjects are the constellations and the symbols of agriculture and rural occupation. From these and other concurring facts it is plain that William did not pretend to acquire anything *jure belli*; he took the oath which had been prescribed to the Saxon princes; he received the crown with its inherent properties, and subject to the laws; he moreover confirmed and established the laws of the Confessor; and soon after the Conquest the charters of the ancient Saxon kings were pleaded and allowed. The famous records of Pinnenden and Sharbonne are, among others, proofs of such allowance. He likewise engaged to preserve the immunities of the church, and made several grants and charters for restoring the lands and goods which had been taken from the bishoprics and abbeys; and it is evident, from many authorities, that he never pretended any title to the lands of those who had taken no part in the dispute between him and Harold. He held the courts *de more*, as his predecessors had done; and left the civil rights of the people, as he found them, to be heard and determined in the court baron, hundred, and county courts, according to ancient usage. Indeed the alteration which he made, so far from proving his right of conquest, shows the contrary; for the law which, in effect, introduces the feudal laws, runs thus: Statuimus ut omnes liberi homines fœdere et sacramento affirmant quòd, intra et extra universum regnum Angliæ, WILLELMO SUO DOMINO fideles esse volunt, &c. The terms of this law are absolutely feudal; and, as Sir Martin Wright takes notice in his *Tenures*, the manner of penning it is observable: for it is penned as if the king were nearly passive, the more clearly and fully to express the consent of the commune concilium to so considerable an alteration. Florence of Worcester, Simeon of Durham, R. Hoveden, John Bampton, William of Malmesbury, and the *Chronica Chronicorum*, expressly say, that William made personal oath inviolably to observe the ancient laws, or, as Malmesbury states them, the *patriæ leges* of the realm, established by his predecessors, the kings of England, and especially those of Edward the Confessor. And W. Lombard cites this as one of the laws of William the Conqueror: “This also we command, that all men have and keep the laws of King Edward, with the additions we have made to them, for the benefit of Englishmen.” Ingulphus, his secretary, says, “that he, under the severest penalties, proclaimed that the laws of King Edward should be perpetual, authentic, and be observed through the whole kingdom of England, and as such he commanded them to his justices.” From a manuscript entitled *De Gestis Anglorum* we learn, that at a parliament of London, 4 William I., the lawyers also present, that the king might hear their laws, he established St. Edward’s laws, they being for-

undated his court with a throng of Norman favourites, who soon usurped every office of

merely used in King Edgar’s time. Mention is also made in the same tract of the twelve men skilled in the laws, rights, and customs, whom he summoned out of every county, that he might learn from them the state of their laws. And the same is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Litchfield*, and by Hoveden and Selden; as also in a MS. chronicle found with the book of Eli, in Cotton’s Library. Doomsday-book also contains sufficient evidence to this point; as from its contents we find the customs of the Saxon Edward transmitted and secured to the people of this country by William. Among eighty-one chapters of William’s laws, fifty consist of the Saxon laws confirmed by him. His prudence and political wisdom suggested the policy of these measures: all his changes being in the strictest sense personal, not national; and to this cause is attributable the security with which the crown descended to his successors. Neither did William ever surname himself the *Conqueror*, nor was he so called in his lifetime, as appears by all the letters patent and deeds which he made, wherein he is called *Gulielmus rex, dux, &c.*, never *conquæstor*; and our ancient historians give him the same titles, and not that of conqueror. In the title of Newbrigensis’ book he is surnamed William the Bastard. Malmesbury calls him William the First; Hoveden, William the Elder; Adam de Myrimuth and Volateran say, that he claimed the crown as successor and adopted heir to Edward the Confessor, who was his uncle. And Gemeticensis, Walsingham, Huntingdon, Ingulphus, Paris, Pike, Wendover, Caxton, Gisborn, and others of our countrymen, agree in that opinion. The ancient deeds of William also corroborate the same circumstance. In his charter to the abbey of Westminster, he sets forth his own title to the crown thus: *Beneficio concessionis cognati me et gloriosi regis Edwardi*. In his second charter to this same body, dated anno 15 of his reign, the expression is—“In honour of King Edward, who made me his heir, and adopted me to rule over this nation.” In the MS. of his charter, dated 1088, of the liberties of St. Martin’s the Great, are these words: “In example of Moses, who built the tabernacle, and of Solomon, who built the temple, *Ego Gulielmus Dei dispositione et consanguinitatis hereditate, Anglorum Basileus,*” &c. When all these facts are taken into consideration, it is apprehended, to adopt the words of Hume (who, grounding his opinion, as do also Wilkins and Brady, on the testimonies of some monkish writers, strongly advocates the other side of the question), that no reasonable man will be tempted to reject their concurring and undoubted testimony, that the Norman assumption of the sovereign power was not the result of conquest by war and arms, but a succession by the destination of Edward. And no objection can be made to this supposition (as Matthew Paris has) that the Confessor’s power of bequeathing the crown and changing the line of succession was void, as being made without the consent of the general council of the realm; for, in the time of William, the law was taken to be, that a kingdom might be transferred by will. Examples also occur to this purpose subsequent to his time. He himself gave, by his will, England to his younger son William Rufus. Stephen claimed by the will of Henry I. Henry VIII. had power, by act of parliament, to order the succession of the crown as he pleased by will; and

profit and authority in the state, the church, and the army. The French language and the costume were now, to the great dislike of his subjects, the predominant fashion of the courtiers; while the avarice and extortion of the domineering strangers became almost as insupportable as the exactions and tyranny of the Danes had been. A popular champion, however, stepped forth to vindicate the honour of his country, and who, while expressing the rights of his fellow-countrymen, ably promoted his own private interests. This champion was the Earl of Godwin, who, from having been the son of a cowherd, had become the wealthiest and most powerful noble in England, and the father-in-law of Edward, by his good and beautiful daughter Editha. But lovely and amiable as Editha was, the heartless Edward could not be induced to break his monkish vow of celibacy; and on that account the hearty wish of the English to see a descendant of the Saxon line on the throne was disappointed, and the appointment of a successor was the anxious consideration of every English heart.

While the popular feeling was in this state of agitation, an event happened, in A.D. 1051, which brought it to a crisis. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, visited his brother-in-law with a powerful Norman retinue; and as he saw French and Norman prelates and courtiers predominating throughout the country, he was disposed to consider the English as a people already conquered. With this feeling he proposed to return to

the lords of the council, in Queen Mary's time, wrote to her, that the Lady Jane's title to the crown was by the will and letters of Edward VI. Whether the accession of William is to be considered in the light of a real conquest by force of arms, unsupported by any other circumstance, would, as the author of the *Historical View of the English Constitution* observes, be a frivolous question, were it not for the serious and important consequences which have, by some authors, been connected with this supposition. It has been maintained, that if William conquered the kingdom, he could be under no restraint in modelling the government; that he, accordingly, overturned the ancient constitution, and, in place of that moderate system which had grown up under the Saxon princes, introduced an absolute monarchy. The supposition itself is no less remote from truth than the conclusion drawn from it is erroneous, as is evident from the facts above enumerated: in corroboration of which it may be added, that William took the same oath which had formerly been administered to the Saxon kings, "that he would maintain the ancient fundamental laws of the kingdom;" to which there was added a particular clause, suggested by the peculiarity of the existing circum-

stances, "that he would distribute justice impartially between his English and his Norman subjects." At the time of the threatened invasion of England, Buonaparte caused the Bayeux relic to be exhibited for two or three months at Paris, and it was conveyed to the seaport towns and exhibited on the stage, to stimulate the French army, and imply to the French people that England had been an appanage of the French monarchy.

William, Duke of Normandy, was the sixth in descent from the famous Rollo, the chief of one of those hordes of piratical Danes who, in the middle centuries, cruised the seas in quest of plunder, and more congenial climates than their own. Rollo with his marauders, settled in Normandy; and sensible of the effects of the civilisation of the Franks, adopted not only the dress and manners, but also the language and religion of the natives. William was the natural son of Robert, the fifth Duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, or Her-leve, the daughter of a tanner, near Falaise. The word Harlotta, from the Danish compound Her-leve (the much-beloved), was soon applied by the English, in their hatred of everything pertaining to the bastard and his Normans, to a very different meaning.

tain, that during that visit, his succession to the throne was secretly ratified by the Confessor. Soon after William's return to his own dominions, Godwin made his re-appearance, accompanied by his eldest son Harold, whose popular qualifications and splendid victories over the Welsh had endeared him to the English people. They were ooth allowed to remain unmolested in the kingdom. On the death of his father, Harold determined to visit Normandy for the purpose of obtaining the liberation of his relatives, who were detained there as hostages. Being wrecked near the mouth of the river Somme, in Ponthieu, he was seized by the lord of the district and thrown into prison, for the purpose, according to the barbarous usages of the age, of extorting a large ransom for his liberty. William, Duke of Normandy, no sooner heard of the circumstance than he compelled the Count of Ponthieu to release his prisoner and forward him to the Norman court. Having Harold now in his power, he determined to convert his misfortune to his own advantage. For this purpose he caused the bones and relics of departed saints to be deposited in a large cask, covered with a cloth of gold, and placed in the midst of a solemn assemblage of his chiefs and nobles. Harold being introduced into the court, was required to swear fealty to William, and aid his accession to the English throne on the death of the Confessor. Harold, being in the power of the crafty Norman, swore to the performance of the condition, when the cloth of gold was raised, and displayed to his vision the ghastly heap of sanctity, which, according to the superstition of the age, superadded a binding obligation to his oath: it being deemed, according to the delusive doctrines of priestism and its craft, a sacred obligation not to be violated but with the most fearful visitation of an avenging Deity; to swear on the thumb or toe of a departed saint, though the sacred relic may have been the original appendage of a swine or a serpent, being, according to the creed of the age, a solemn ratification of truth and justice. Soon after the solemnisation of this specimen of priestly imposture, the Confessor sickened and died. As he had left no written document to indicate who was to be his successor, the Norman party declared that his verbal nomination fell on William, while the English asserted that he had appointed Harold his successor. Harold being in

the country, hurried to London, where he was proclaimed king in an assembly of the thanes and the citizens; Edgar Atheling, the legitimate heir to the throne, being at the same time created Earl of Oxford.

As soon as intelligence of Harold's coronation reached the Duke of Normandy, he prepared to assert his claim to the English throne and displace his rival. While sedulously employed in these preparations, Harold's brother Tostig, the Earl of Northumberland, who had, on account of his oppression and cruelty, been displaced from his earldom, repaired to Rouen, and offered his assistance to William to depose Harold. For that purpose, also, he proposed to Herdrada, King of Norway, the last of the terrible sea-kings who lawlessly marauded in the states of their neighbours, to join in the design, inflaming his ambition with the hope of exchanging barren Norway for the fair and fertile regions of England. The two adventurers—namely, Harold's unnatural brother and the Norwegian king—sailed down the Humber with 200 war ships and 300 store vessels. At first they swept all opposition before them. But intelligence of the invasion reaching Harold, who, to prevent the landing of William, had taken post with his forces on the southern coast, he marched against the invaders, who were drawn up ready to receive him at Stamford-bridge, on the Derwent. The battle which ensued was long, fierce, and sanguinary; but at last victory was decided in favour of Harold, by the deaths of Herdrada and Tostig, and the destruction of nearly the whole of the confederate army. But while Harold and his army were rejoicing for this victory, intelligence reached the English king, that William of Normandy had landed with a powerful army on the coast of Sussex. Harold, elated with his recent victory, hastened to meet his rival for the English throne. Hurrying to London, he manned 700 vessels, to sail round the coast and blockade the ports of Pevensey and Hastings, to prevent William's escape; and, with his diminished forces, he determined to advance and give battle to his formidable opponent, who had landed on the 29th of September, at Bulverhithe, between Pevensey and Hastings, with an army consisting of 50,000 cavalry and a large body of infantry, collected from every province of France; the cavalry, both men and horses, being encased in a panoply of complete armour. To give a sanction to his cause, he

had induced the pope, Alexander II., to sanctify his efforts. The keeper of the keys of heaven, thinking that an usurper would be more subservient to ghostly authority than a lawful king, canonised his design by proclaiming Harold an usurper, and William England's lawful king. To add greater sanctity to the priestly deed, a consecrated standard and a diploma or bull, signed with the cross, and having a ring appended to it containing a hair from the head of St. Peter, were sent to the Norman marauder. On the approach of Harold, William advanced from Hastings, and took post on a rising ground between Pevensey and that town, about nine miles from Hastings. Harold soon appeared in his front. He selected for his position a rising

ground at Senlac (since termed *Battle*, in commemoration of the event.) Having surrounded his camp with ditches and palisades, to protect his army from the numerous cavalry of the enemy, he prepared for the morrow's battle. During the night, the innumerable priests and monks who had accompanied William's army, uttered prayers and chanted litanies for the morrow's success; and to infuse the frenzy of fanaticism into the soldiers, they shrived them, and administered the sacrament. But in the English camp the night was passed in military glee and carousing—shouting, singing, and quaffing huge horns of ale and wine, like men confident of victory, or determined to enjoy their last hours in mirth and revelry.

BATTLE OF HASTINGS, OCT. 14TH, 1066.

At length the day dawned—the day so pathetically bewailed in the ancient chronicles of England, as being “so deadly, so bitter, and so stained with the blood of the brave,”—the chivalry and heroism of England. Each chief immediately proceeded to the marshalment of his forces. William drew up his army in three lines. The first consisting of the light infantry, viz., the archers and slingers, were under Montgomery; Martel commanded the second line, composed of the heavy-armed troops, clad in coats of mail; the reserve, or third line, which consisted of the cavalry, was under the immediate command of William, assisted by his uterine brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux; and covered both flanks of the infantry lines. William had the holiest of the ghostly relics upon which Harold had been sworn, suspended in a casket round his neck, and the consecrated papal banner was placed by his side. Harold marshalled his intrepid band in a dense compact phalanx, the Kentish men forming the van, and the Londoners in the centre, drawn up round the standard of England, near which Harold and his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, took their position. This gallant band presented an impenetrable front, shield resting on shield, and its flanks protected by ditches and palisades.

According to the testimony of the Norman chronicler Monstrelet, William addressed his army thus:—“Remember to fight well, and put all to death; for if we conquer, we

shall all be rich. What I gain, you will gain; if I conquer, you will conquer also; if I take the land, you will have it. Know ye also, that I have not come hither merely to obtain my right, but also to avenge our whole race for the perjuries and treacheries of these English. They murdered our kinsmen, the Danes, on the night of St. Royce. They decimated the companions of my kinsman Alfred, and took his life. Forward, then! and with God's help let us punish them for their iniquities.” As soon as this address was concluded, and the signal of battle given, the Norman army set up a shout and advanced forward, singing Roland's popular ballad, which immortalised the valour of Charlemagne and the flower of his chivalry in the memorable battle of Roncesvalles. As soon as they were within range of the English, they sent a shower of arrows among their antagonists, which, being deadened by the close and shielded position of the English, a furious charge of Norman cavalry and foot succeeded, who endeavoured to break the solid and compact mass around the English royal standard. The contest became fierce and furious. The national hostile battle-cry of “*Aide Dieu!*” (God help us!) and “*God's Rood!*” reverberated on all sides. The shock of the enemy was tremendous; but the furious onset being received by the English with undaunted resolution, the assailants, exhausted and unsuccessful, were driven back. Another terrible attack was ordered. Onward came

the second line like a tempest, supported by a heavy body of cavalry, vociferating the national war-cries—"Our Lady help us!" "God help us!" which were loudly responded to by the adverse cries—"God's Rood!" "Christ's Rood!" A fierce encounter ensued; but the English with their ponderous battle-axes, shivering the long spears of the enemy, and hewing their shields and hauberks asunder, drove them back into a deep ravine which had been covered over with brambles, into which men and horses tumbled pell-mell. Confusion now spread through the ranks of the Normans. A cry arising that William was slain, the duke threw himself before the fugitives, exclaiming—"Here I am, and will conquer, by God's help!" Determined to avail himself of his numerous cavalry, William ordered a large body of horse to advance, as if for an attack, and then suddenly to wheel round with an appearance of flight. The stratagem succeeded. The English, eager to pursue, slung their battle-axes round their necks, and rushed from their intrenchments; but they were instantly assaulted on all sides by infantry and cavalry, and compelled to resume their position with considerable loss. It was now about three o'clock P.M., and the battle had hitherto seemed to preponderate in favour of Harold. William, therefore, determined to resort to another stratagem, to trepan the English to a pursuit. Again a heavy mass of cavalry advanced, and as soon as they had reached a given point, they fell back on a large supporting corps. The feint-retreat induced the English to pursue, but they had not advanced far before they were assaulted on all sides by cavalry and infantry. Their ranks were broken asunder, and exterminated in detail, and the Normans entered pell-mell among the fugitives. All after this was a hopeless but terrible death-struggle on the part of the English; they now grappled hand-to-hand with the enemy in the fury of despair. In the confusion, an arrow pierced Harold's left eye, when he fell dead at the foot of the royal standard, and his two brothers perished by his side. As long as he survived, no man entertained the apprehension of defeat, or admitted the idea of flight; but his fall relaxed their efforts, and a general rout ensued. In some parts of the field, however, the conflict continued till it was so dark that the combatants could only recognise each other by speech; and in many instances the fugitives turned on their assail-

ants, and inflicted a severe though an unavailing vengeance for the slaughter of their countrymen. The victors passed the night on the field of battle, and caroused, amidst the slain and wounded, on the superabundant spoils which they found in the English camp. The slaughter was great on both sides, but the defective annals of the time are silent as to the extent. Having buried his dead, William fell back on Hastings, in hopes that he would receive intelligence of the voluntary submission of the people. But no tidings of the kind reaching him, and ascertaining that a numerous force had assembled at Dover, with the intention of acting on his rear as he advanced towards that fortress, he hastened thither, which he no sooner reached than it voluntarily surrendered to him. Resting there a few days to recruit his troops, he began his march towards London, burning the villages and massacring the inhabitants in his whole line of progress.

Discouraging as was the aspect of affairs, there was no word of surrender uttered in the capital; on the contrary, the city was put into a state of defence, and forces were raised who would have stood a fiercer conflict than that of Hastings, had Harold lived. But unfortunately, that spirit of division—that curse of ancient England,—by means of which every enemy successively triumphed, and which paralyses the efforts of modern England, prevailed. Edgar Atheling, the nephew of the Confessor, and the grandson of Edmund Ironside, was, by the Witenagemote, or the assembly of the thanes, raised to the throne; but Edwin and Morcar, the brothers-in-law of Harold, and the military commanders of Mercia and Northumbria, disapproving of Edgar's election, withdrew with their forces to the provinces. William, informed of this selfishness and vacillation, continued his advance on London. He crossed the Thames at Wallingford; but finding himself not strong enough to undertake the siege of the capital, he took post in an intrenched camp at Berkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, and cut off all communication between that city and the north. A detachment of 500 cavalry was sent forward to reconnoitre the capital, who encountering a body of the citizens, and having worsted them, set fire to the southern suburb which now forms the site of Southwark. All supplies having been cut off, and the adjacent counties ravaged by the enemy,

London was at length starved into a surrender. A deputation of the chief nobles and prelates, with Edgar Atheling at their head, now repaired to William's camp with offers of submission and allegiance. The next day William broke up his encampment and marched to London, and, on reaching it, fortified himself without its walls. There he remained till his coronation in Westminster Abbey on Christmas-day. Having given orders for the erection of a fortress (on the site of which the present Tower of London stands), he retired to Barking until the fortification was completed: there his court was attended by crowds of thanes and ecclesiastics, who swore fealty and did homage to him.

For a time, William's treatment of the natives was mild and conciliating; but no sooner was the country bridled in every direction with fortresses, than England was made to feel the bitter fruits of the conquest. At first an enormous war-tribute was imposed on the people; then the estates of those who had fallen in the conflict of Hastings, and of those who had survived that fatal event, were confiscated and conferred on the Norman adventurers; and lastly, those who had taken no part in the battle were stripped of their possessions, because they had *intended* to resist their oppressors. Lordship-tenures, castles and estates, church property, and richly dowered English brides and widows, were bestowed, without stint or limit, on "base-born and filthy vagabond" Norman adventurers. The gentry, and the ancient and honourable families of England, were reduced to beggary and ruin, and to escape persecution and massacre, fled to Scotland, the mountains of Wales, or to foreign parts. Many, descended from a long line of illustrious ancestry, were converted into serfs, and their wives and daughters became the degraded menials of their tyrannical oppressors. Those who fled into the forests obtained their subsistence, under the name of *outlaws*, by the plunder of their own property. Thus numerous bands subsisted throughout the country, who, though stigmatised as outlaws and robbers by their Norman tyrants, were dear to the recollection of the English; so that Robin Hood, and outlaws of his description, received a celebrity in the national annals equal to that of its greatest heroes. A portion of them took refuge at Constantinople, and entered the service of the Emperor Alexius. In his wars with the

Normans settled in Calabria, they fought under the imperial banner in every action, from the siege of Durazzo to the final retreat of the Normans from the walls of Larissa. Their posterity, for many generations, served in the body-guard of the Greek emperors; and at the fall of Constantinople in the 13th century, the Ingloi, with the far-famed battle-axes of their ancestors, formed the principal force which the eastern successors of Augustus could oppose to the torrent of the Crusaders.

Among the numerous insurrectionary movements which the tyranny of William and his Norman adherents excited, that in Northumbria may be mentioned, where the insurgents were aided by the sons of Sveno, King of Denmark, who at the instigation of two of Harold's sons, had landed with a considerable force in the Humber. No sooner had William suppressed the rebellion, than in revenge he laid waste the country between Durham and York, to the extent of sixty miles in length; and in that state it remained for many years—not a patch of cultivated ground, nor a cot, was to be seen throughout the desolate waste. Above a hundred thousand men, women, and children had been massacred in the execution of the barbarous act. And this was not the only instance of a Danish attempt, during William's reign, to obtain a footing in England. Canute, desirous of reannexing England to his Danish kingdom, fitted out a powerful armament; but a seasonable application of money among his counsellors and chieftains, caused the disbandment of the expedition while it lay at anchor at Haithby.

In the year 1072, William, indignant at the reception given by Malcolm, King of Scotland, to Edgar Atheling and the English exiles, crossed the Forth and advanced to the Tay. Malcolm, to propitiate his clemency, came to William's camp, swore fealty to him as his vassal, performed the ceremony of homage, and gave hostages for his fidelity. In his return from the diabolical havoc and devastation in the north of England, where he performed that dreadful tragedy of slaughter and desolation, which Odericus Vitalis justly terms *feralis occisio* (dismal slaughter), he marched into Wales, where the native princes performed feudal service to him at St. David's, and gave hostages for the faithful observance of their promises.

## ENGLAND'S BATTLES IN PALESTINE.

WHEN superstition and priestcraft had displaced rational religion, mankind were taught to believe that penance and pilgrimage were the essence of religion. Influenced by these notions, Christians of every country had for ages been accustomed to regard Jerusalem as their spiritual metropolis, and a pilgrimage to its holy sepulchre a passport to heaven. In the first ages after the institution of Christianity, no obstruction occurred to impede the execution of this pious inclination; but when Jerusalem fell into the power of the Mohammedans, under the successive sways of the Saracens and the Turks, the oriental Christians and the pilgrims to the holy sepulchre were subjected to insults, robbery, and extortion: the Holy City was profaned, and the sacred mysteries of the Christian religion were derided. Urgent appeals were made by popes and priests in the recommendation of the expulsion of the infidels from the Holy Land, and the freeing the oriental Christians from the yoke of their oppressors. Councils were held for the purpose; and in that of Clermont, at which 4,000 ecclesiastics and 30,000 seculars were assembled, it was unanimously determined to undertake the pious office, the pope (Martin II.) assuring them that they were acting under the inspiration of heaven. A crusade or holy war was determined on; and, to entice followers under the sacred banner, the crusade was represented as an atonement for all crimes, and an equivalent for all penances. Thus enlistment in the holy cause being deemed the high road to heaven, "the most signal monument of superstitious fervour which has ever appeared on the theatre of human affairs, became the object of ambition." In the course of the year 1096, four crusades were undertaken. The first under Walter Sansavoir, or Walter the Pennyless; the second under a German monk; the third under Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy; and the fourth under Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine, aided by his brother Baldwin, Robert Duke of Normandy, and Tancred Earl of Flanders. Peter, at the head of an undisciplined multitude of 30,000 adherents, took his road through Hungary and Bulgaria; and Godfrey, with 100,000 mailed knights, and a number of undisciplined followers equal to that under Peter, pursued the same route. Both hosts uniting

in the plains of Syria, took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire in Syria,—defeated the Emperor Soleyman in two great battles, and made themselves masters of Antioch. They then advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which they took by assault (5th July, 1099), and put to the sword about 20,000 Mussulmen, without distinction of age or sex. Godfrey was elected King of Jerusalem; and the Crusaders proceeded in a course of uninterrupted conquest, until the principal of the strong towns in the Holy Land were in their possession.

On the death of Soleyman, the Saracenic power gave place to that of the Turkish or Turcoman, under Saladin. In less than a century from the establishment of the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem under Godfrey, by the fatal battle of Hitty or Tiberias, Acre, Sidon, Ascalon, and Berytus fell under the power of Saladin; and at length he became master of Jerusalem. His triumphs spread alarm throughout Europe. To root out Christianity was his darling passion; he threatened to plant the Crescent in the heart of Europe, and was making mighty preparations to put his threat into execution.

To prevent this evil, Richard I. of England, surnamed, for his heroic energies in his defence of Poitou, *the Lion-hearted* (Cœur-de-Lion), having received the wallet and staff of his pilgrimage from the Archbishop of Tours, entered into a league with Philip Augustus, King of France, for the hazardous exploit.

At this time a collection of warriors from every state of Europe were besieging Acre; Tyre, Tripolis, and Antioch were the only cities which remained in the hands of the Christians in the Holy Land. The beleaguered city had been invested for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, and had been defended with spirit and resolution by the Saracens.

On the 8th of July, 1191, Richard appeared before Acre. The city was surrounded with the tents of European warriors, while the distant heights were crowned with the numerous army of Saladin, ready to throw supplies into the city, and rush down on the besiegers. Richard's presence added fresh energy to the efforts of the Crusaders; and his inspiring example (though so disabled by disease as to be under the

necessity of being carried to the trenches and works upon a silken mattress) reanimated their hopes of success. At length the besieged Saracens were so closely and vigorously pressed that they offered to surrender. The conditions granted were—that the garrison should march out, clad only in their shirts; that 200,000 pieces of gold, called bezants, should be paid as a ransom for the prisoners; that Saladin should restore the fragments, in his possession, of the cross on which Christ had been crucified, and that he should set at liberty his Christian captives. On the 12th of July the kings of France and England planted their standards on the walls, over their respective portions of the captured fortress; in the siege of which, from its commencement to its surrender, the Crusaders had lost six archbishops, twelve bishops, forty earls, 400 barons, and 300,000 inferior persons. No sooner was Acre in the possession of the Christians, than the King of France, though generalissimo of the Christian forces, and feudal superior of Richard, jealous of the reputation which the English hero's openhanded liberality and splendid personal bravery had obtained for him among the allied forces, announced his intention of returning to France under pretence of ill-health. Richard implored him to remain, now that the road to Jerusalem was opened by the conquest of Acre; but Philip was obdurate. Leaving 10,000 soldiers under the Duke of Burgundy, he set sail for France on the 1st of August. The French king's secession induced Saladin to endeavour to avoid fulfilling the terms of the surrender of Acre. Richard, in revenge, caused 2,500 of the garrison of Acre to be led into an adjoining meadow, and there massacred.

Nine days after the commission of this atrocious barbarity, Richard broke up his camp and marched for Ascalon. Saladin, burning with the desire of vengeance, hastened to intercept him. The Crusaders, who now mustered little more than 30,000 men, had to prosecute their painful march through deserts, amidst hunger, thirst, and excessive heat, while the Saracenic army, nearly ten times their number, hovered incessantly on their front, flank, and rear, and cut off every straggler who wandered but a few paces from the main body. While the myriads of the desert hovered on every point, and retreated or advanced with the rapidity of a whirlwind, the elements seemed to lend their co-operation—wind, rain, and lightning attending the wretched

march of the Christians. So disheartening was their progress, that every night, when the Christian army encamped, the heralds perambulated the camp, crying, "God help the holy sepulchre and its defenders;" which was re-echoed by the whole army. During this terrible progress, Richard, besides displaying the skill and qualifications of a consummate general, exhibited a personal prowess which realised the wildest dreams of romance. Choosing his station wherever danger was most pressing, he was always the foremost in driving back the assailants; so that the name of Melec Ric (the native expression for King Richard) was a name of dread, at which the boldest Mussulmans trembled.

Both armies at length arrived in the neighbourhood of Jaffa. A battle was inevitable, and both chiefs were ready to try their fortune. The Turks, Arabs, and Egyptians rushed in amidst a tremendous clang of drums, trumpets, and cymbals, and loud howlings. The Crusaders stood firm to receive them, with linked shields and levelled lances. The air was even darkened with the arrows of the sons of the desert, and the Christians were falling in multitudes; when the knights-hospitaliers, impatient of the deadly shower, demanded permission to charge; but Richard commanded them to stand fast and be patient. The Turks, encouraged by this forbearance, rushed on to closer combat, when, falling into disorder, the Christian trumpets were heard, and the knights, darting through the opening ranks of the infantry, burst through the light-armed squadrons of the enemy. To a conflict of the kind, that species of the Turkish force was unequal. Thousands were trampled under the hoofs of the heavy-mailed chivalry of Europe, and though Saladin flew from rank to rank, and endeavoured to rally his warriors, they encountered, wherever they turned, the terrible presence and the resistless battle-axe of Melec Ric, who, while directing the battle, was fighting in its front with a prowess which appeared supernatural. The battle, which had raged from morning till night, ended in the complete defeat of the Mohammedans, and was attended with so great slaughter, that Saladin, despairing of being able to keep the field, dismantled Cæsarea, Ascalon, Joppa, and other towns, to strengthen the defences of Jerusalem. This memorable battle was fought September 6th, 1191 A.D.

But though by this victory, and other deeds of transcendent chivalry, the name of Richard had become so renowned among the Mussulmans that they were wont to still their children (as, in subsequent times, French mothers and nurses did theirs with the name of Marlborough), and even threaten their unruly horses with the word, Jerusalem was not to be conquered by even such prowess and skill as his. Though Saladin's light forces were inferior in the shock of battle to the massive, well-appointed ranks of the Crusaders, they, besides being more numerous, were better adapted for the harassing warfare of a long march. The Christians, also, besides having to contend with famine and disease, were suffering from contention among themselves. By the time the Crusaders had reached Bethany, within four miles of Jerusalem, the French party under the Duke of Burgundy, pretending that the city was too strong to be besieged, clamoured for a return to Ascalon, with which craven wish Richard was indignantly compelled to comply. Jerusalem was now within sight; but the English hero saw the fruits of all his labours and victories torn in an instant from his grasp. So humiliated were the feelings of the king by the perverseness of his allies, that, as the army ascended an eminence to behold Jerusalem, he held his shield before his face, as if unworthy to look upon that sacred place he was unable to free from the profanation of the infidels. With the deepest grief, therefore, he issued orders for a retreat. But other causes contributed to induce him to take his departure from Palestine. The French king, and his brother John, were plotting to seize his European conti-

mental dominions; and disturbances were prevailing in England, in consequence of the factious designs of his brother John and Longchamp, the justiciary.

These untoward events, in conjunction with the secession of the French, Genoese, and other auxiliaries under the Duke of Burgundy, compelled Richard to determine on a retreat with his enfeebled and diminished forces. Saladin, taking confidence from his antagonist's difficulties, advanced to recover Jaffa. Richard hastened to its relief, and in the battle which ensued, the British hero was triumphant. A truce followed, by which it was stipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other seaport towns should remain in the hands of the Christians. Previous to the departure of Richard from the scene of his triumphs, Guy of Lusignan was elected king of Jerusalem, and his title was acknowledged by all the Christian crusaders. The history of the detention of Richard by Leopold of Austria, and his redemption from captivity by his attached subjects, is too familiar to the reader of English history to need recapitulation.

The resumption of the heroic Richard's exploits in Palestine, by his successor, Edward I., was little more than a feeble attempt to revive the memory of the lion-hearted Richard among the Moslems. But insufficient as were the resources of Richard's successor to prosecute aggressive warfare in the remote regions of Palestine, he stormed Acre and Nazareth. Unable to prosecute his victorious progress, he concluded a truce with Saladin for two years. From this period the crusading spirit declined, and the nations of Europe paid attention to the balance of power and international influence.

#### FRENCH INVASION OF ENGLAND.

THE attempts at invasion of England by the French, in different periods of our national history, have been various; that in the beginning of the 13th century, was occasioned in consequence of the dispute between John, the weakest and most pusillanimous of sovereigns, and the English barons, respecting Magna Charta, or the great charter. John, having invited numerous bands of mercenaries from Poitou, Gascony, Brabant, and Flanders, to enable him to put his tyrannical designs into execution, and having, in his progress from

Rochester to Yorkshire, devastated the country by fire and slaughter, the barons, to deliver their country from bondage, and its inhabitants from miseries more horrible than those which had been perpetrated in the Danish and Norman invasions, sent their general, Robert Fitzwalter, and the Earl of Wilton to Philip Augustus, King of France, to offer the crown to his son Louis (the Dauphin), who had married Blanche, the niece of John. Louis, delighted with the thought of annexing England to France, joyfully accepted the offer. On the 22nd of

May, 1216, he landed at Sandwich with a powerful armament. John, who lay with a numerous army in the vicinity of Dover, as usual losing heart when an enemy was nigh, retreated to Bristol. Louis, after besieging and taking the castle of Rochester, marched to London, where he was joyfully welcomed as a deliverer by all ranks of the people; and, on his promising to respect the rights of the English and restore order, he received the homage of the barons and citizens. All the counties in the neighbourhood of the capital forthwith submitted. Lincoln and York declared in favour of Louis; and Alexander, King of Scotland, came to London to perform homage to him. In the course of a few months all the south of England, except Dover Castle, submitted in obedience to him; while the wretched John was ravaging the country like a leader of free companions, or a captain of banditti.

While England was in this pitiable dilemma, two events at last happily occurred to relieve her from bondage and becoming a province of France: first, the death of John, at Newark-on-Trent; and secondly, the conduct of Louis, who treated the natives with contempt, and began to bestow English titles and estates on his French followers: as, also, the declaration of the Count of Melun, who being attacked by a mortal disease in London, in the agonies and remorse of a death-bed, disclosed to the English barons that Louis had bound himself by a solemn oath, as soon as he should be crowned, to banish the barons who had joined his standard, as traitors unworthy of trust, and bestow their estates on his followers. The barons immediately determined to return to

their allegiance. Henry, John's eldest son, then only ten years old, was crowned at Gloucester; and the Earl of Pembroke declared protector. At this time Louis was in London; but the main body of his forces was at Lincoln, whither Pembroke rapidly advanced, in co-operation with the barons who had seceded from the Dauphin, and a decisive battle was fought, May 19th, 1217, in the vicinity of that city, in which Louis's army was defeated with great slaughter. The young king now became the rallying-point of the national liberty. In a short time Louis was, by the ability of Pembroke, cooped up within the walls of London. At last the great naval victory obtained by Hubert de Burgh off Dover, in which a French fleet, carrying reinforcements to Louis was destroyed, put an end to his hopes of the English crown. He was fain to negotiate for his safe return to France, and renounce his pretensions to the crown of England: and he was in so destitute a condition, that he was under the necessity of borrowing money from the citizens of London to enable him to make preparations for his departure.

Another invasion of England was made by the French during the reign of Henry VI., while the Duke of York was prosecuting the war in France. The French government, during the feuds of the violent factions then prevalent in England, dispatched 4,000 men, under Marshal de Brezé, to the English shores. The expedition landed near Sandwich, August 28th, 1457; and after a bloody conflict with a body of troops assembled to oppose them, plundered the place, but immediately re-embarked in the course of the evening of the day of their landing.

#### THE CONQUEST OF WALES.

FROM the moment of his accession to the throne, the aim of Edward I. was to reduce the whole island of Britain into one compact monarchy. With this intent, Wales was selected as the weakest and most feasible point at which the work of conquest should commence. The primitive inhabitants of this section of the island had gallantly resisted the Saxons of the Heptarchy and the Union; and been equally successful against the Norman William and his successors. Though often vanquished, on account of their inferiority of numbers and arms, they had never as yet been subdued. Though

the Norman sovereigns had frequently claimed and extorted a feudal superiority over Wales, its gallant natives resisted the encroachment whenever an opportunity for resistance presented itself. The curse of party divisions among themselves, had given encouragement to the trespassers on their liberties; and, unfortunately, that curse was now in powerful operation. Rees-apperedith, the prince of South Wales, had confederated with Edward against Llewellyn, the chief of North Wales. Even Llewellyn's brother David had joined the English king.

All being now in readiness for the invasion, Edward summoned Llewellyn to the English court to do feudal homage for his territory. The Welsh prince not complying with the mandate, sentence of forfeiture was proclaimed against him by the English parliament, and Edward, proceeding to reduce his refractory vassal to obedience, advanced with a powerful army to enforce compliance. Llewellyn, unable to meet his powerful opponent, retired with his forces into the mountains of Snowdon. There the Welsh resisted, as long as brave men could resist; but the invader cooped them up so closely, that they perished in heaps by famine. At length Llewellyn was obliged to capitulate, on terms which scarcely left him the shadow of sovereignty. By the treaty, concluded in November, 1277, he surrendered a portion of his territory, and agreed to do homage for the remainder, which was also to revert on his death to the conqueror. Such a peace was not calculated to be lasting; and the insulting and oppressive conduct of the English settlers to whom the ceded territory was granted, promoted the breach. Stung to madness by the injuries under which they were suffering, and elevated into hope by the mystical prophecies of their bards and minstrels, which foretold the recovery of their ancient land and supremacy, they gladly seized the opportunity of endeavouring to free themselves from foreign dependence. David, the brother of Llewellyn, repenting of his base apostasy, forsook the banner of the oppressor, and determined to triumph or die in the recovery of his country's freedom. Having succeeded in persuading his brother Llewellyn to try again the fortune of war for the recovery of the freedom of Wales, the two brothers prepared for the attempt. On the night of Palm Sunday, 1281, a general insurrection took place throughout North Wales; a torrent of armed men from the mountains, fell with irresistible force on the castles of their English petty tyrants, and razed them to the ground, slaughtering their possessors, or compelling them to escape by a hurried flight across the marshes.

Edward, in the meantime, had assembled a powerful force in the vicinity of Carmarthen. Llewellyn prepared to meet his opponents. Leaving the defence of Snowdon

to his brother David, he proceeded to reconnoitre his opponent's camp, but was slain in a *mêlée* with the enemy's scouring parties. Edward now, instead of tempting the despair of the Welsh in pitched battles, determined to reduce them, as he had before done, by famine, produced by cooping them up in the fastnesses of the mountains, whither they had retired. The blockade had not long begun, when the Welsh gained an advantage over a body of English who had invaded Anglesey, and being elevated with success, they descended from their fastnesses into the plains, where they were put to the rout with the loss of 2,000 men. This fatal blow to Welsh independence was struck December 11th, 1282. After this calamity, David retired to the fastnesses of the mountains of Snowdon, where during six months he eluded the vigilance and pursuit of his enemies. But his hopes of meeting with an opportunity of reanimating his countrymen to another effort for their national freedom, were frustrated by the treachery of one of his attendants, who betrayed him into the hands of the English. The Welsh prince was sent to Shrewsbury, where he was tried and condemned as a traitor to Edward, having accepted from the English king the earldom of Bristol, as the reward for his desertion from his brother Llewellyn. He was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and the sentence was put into execution with every circumstance of revolting barbarity. His head was exposed on the walls of the Tower of London, and his quarters met with the same treatment on those of York, Bristol, Northampton, and Winchester. His brother Llewellyn's head was adorned with a silver crown, and, after having been exposed in Cheapside, was fixed upon the Tower walls.

As no alternative now remained, the Welsh submitted to the conqueror, and the country was annexed as an appanage to the English crown. To extinguish the latent sparks of rebellion, Edward, on the birth of his second son in the castle of Caernarvon, created him Prince of Wales; and to give effect to the creation, by the intervention of the animating solemnities of chivalry, he invested the prince, together with 300 of his young nobles, with the order of knighthood.

## ENGLAND'S WARS IN FRANCE.

THE origin of the wars between England and France arose from the English monarchs having patrimonial possessions in the last-mentioned kingdom. William the Norman, on his accession to the English crown, annexed to it his patrimonial possession of Normandy. Henry II., in right of his father, possessed Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife the Countess of Poitou, all the provinces between the Loire and the Pyrenees—namely, Poitou, Saintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, and Limosin; and to this extensive territory, which comprised all the sea-coast of France from Picardy to the Pyrenees, he soon added Bretagne or Brittany. In the course of the succession of the respective kings to the English and French crowns, the extensive territorial possessions in the hands of foreigners were the constant sources of wars between the two states. Series of desultory warfare ensued, followed by truces and pacifications, which each party violated when seasonable or tempting occasions presented themselves.\* Louis VI. of France (commonly called the

Fat), seems to have been the first French monarch who perceived the error of allowing his powerful neighbour to strengthen himself by the possession of extensive territory in France; and in furtherance of measures of prevention, his exertions may be deemed the earliest of the precautionary wars of Europe to preserve the balance of power, by the disabling of great states from aggrandizing themselves to the detriment of the rest. To the same design are attributable the subsequent wars between the two countries; and when the imbecile and pusillanimous John was expelled from the patrimonial dominions of the English crown in France, and which were the most extensive that had ever been ruled by an English monarch, the subsequent wars between the two countries were occasioned by the endeavours of the English kings to recover their rights. Those wars gave birth to the prodigious feats of arms which have immortalised the names of our Edwards and Henrys, and enrolled on the imperishable scroll of fame the glorious and ever-memorable battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt.

THE ANTECEDENTS TO THE BATTLES OF CRECY, POICTIERS, AND AGINCOURT;  
AND THE NAVAL ACTION OFF SLUYS.

THE battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt were fought for the maintenance of the English kings' claims to the crown of France—claims in which those terrible wars between England and France originated that raged for five centuries, and entailed an inheritance of national hatred between the two kingdoms, which never ceased until the propitious event of the alliance of the two nations for the resistance of Russian aggression and spoliation. The impelling actors and soul-inspiring spirits in those mighty and ever-memorable scenes, which have impressed the signet of imperishable renown on English prowess and military skill, were Edward III., his son the Black Prince, and Henry V.

\* Among the military occurrences of these wars, the chivalric battle at Audeley, between Henry I. of England and Louis King of France, and the chivalry of both nations, is not the least interesting. The two kings happening, in the course of the war of 1120, to meet near that place, Henry, accompanied by five hundred English knights, and Louis by four hundred French knights, an engagement took place.

By the Salic law, which had been established in France from the earliest times, and had been strictly observed for nine hundred years, no female had ever been sovereign of the country. The throne was, in 1328, vacant; the death of Charles VI. having left the crown of France without direct male descendants to inherit it. Its last three kings were the sons of Philip IV. (surnamed the Fair.) As they had all reigned successively, and died without issue, the question arose, whether Edward III., the son of Philip IV.'s daughter Isabella, should succeed, or Philip de Valois, the son of her brother, and grandson of the preceding sovereign, entitled Philip the Hardy. The French Salic law excluded females; but

It was a trial of chivalry of the two nations, and was fought as such by both sides. After a stubborn contest, in which consummate valour was displayed by each little host of chivalric spirits, the French standard, and one hundred and fifty of its gallant defenders, were captives in the hands of Henry and his English chivalry, from whom they received all the courtesy which their gallantry merited.

Edward maintained that the male heirs of females were not debarred by the spirit of that law, as they were competent to discharge all the military services required. The states of France, consisting of the peers and barons, on the other hand, maintained that the exclusion of the female in the first instance, was an exclusion of her descendants of either sex. Philip de Valois was consequently crowned King of France. Edward repudiated the decision of the states, and assuming the title of King of France, and quartering his arms with the Gallic lilies, prepared to assert his rights.

Another cause of Edward's resentment was the favourable reception of the Scottish king (Bruce) by Philip, and the encouragement given to the Scots in their resistance to Edward's nominee, Baliol. Having concluded a treaty with Louis of Bavaria, the Emperor of Germany, by which he obtained the title of vicar, or deputy, over that part of the empire west of Cologne, and, consequently, the right of commanding the feudal princes, the English king made engagements with the Duke of Brabant and Guilders, the Archbishop of Cologne, the Marquis of Juliers, the Counts of Hainault and Namur, and the grand-constable of Zealand, to assist him, for stipulated subsidies, with their forces in his enterprise. For the purpose of obtaining a passage for his troops through Flanders, he bribed Jacob Van Ostavelts, an opulent and powerful brewer in Ghent, to obtain that privilege from the chief lords of the Flemish towns. That factious and ambitious man, on the flight of the Earl of Flanders into France on account of his tyranny and oppression, governed the Flemings with a more absolute sway than had even been assumed by any of their lawful sovereigns. He placed and displaced the magistrates at his pleasure; it was immediate death to give him the smallest

umbrage; he was accompanied by a guard, who, on the least signal from him, instantly assassinated any man who happened to fall under his displeasure: he seized on the estates of all those whom he had either banished or murdered, and bestowing a part on their wives and children, converted the remainder to his own use: in fact, he was the most arbitrary and lawless despot with whom the country had ever been cursed.

In prosecution of his claim, Edward invaded France four times; in the years 1338, 1340, 1342, and 1346. The invasion in 1338 was rendered nugatory by the desertion of the subsidized foreign troops; in that of 1340, his allies, the Flemings, under the command of Robert of Artois, while laying siege to St. Omer, in a panic broke and dispersed; and Edward himself, finding Tournay too strong to be taken, agreed to a suspension of hostilities for nine months, and even was willing to consent to a lasting peace, provided he was exonerated from doing homage for Guienne and the other French lands which had been held as fiefs by the former kings of England; but Philip not only refusing that concession, but demanding Edward's total renunciation of all claim and title to the crown of France, the negotiation was broken off. Edward's third invasion, in 1342, was rendered as abortive as his preceding ones, by having imprudently divided his small army of 12,000 men into three bodies, for the simultaneous sieges of Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes; and the consequence was a truce for three years, in order to enable the contending parties to prepare for fresh contests. It was in the prosecution of the expedition for the second invasion, that the naval battle of Sluys took place—a truly brilliant exploit, which may be classed high in the catalogue of British heroic naval exploits.

#### THE NAVAL BATTLE OFF SLUYS.

WHILE Edward was preparing for his second expedition to France, he received intelligence that Philip had assembled at Sluys four hundred vessels, manned with 40,000 Genoese and French, to intercept his passage. Collecting 240 vessels, the English king, on the 22nd of June, 1340, sailed from Orwell in Suffolk, and, on the evening of the following day, when off Blackenberg,

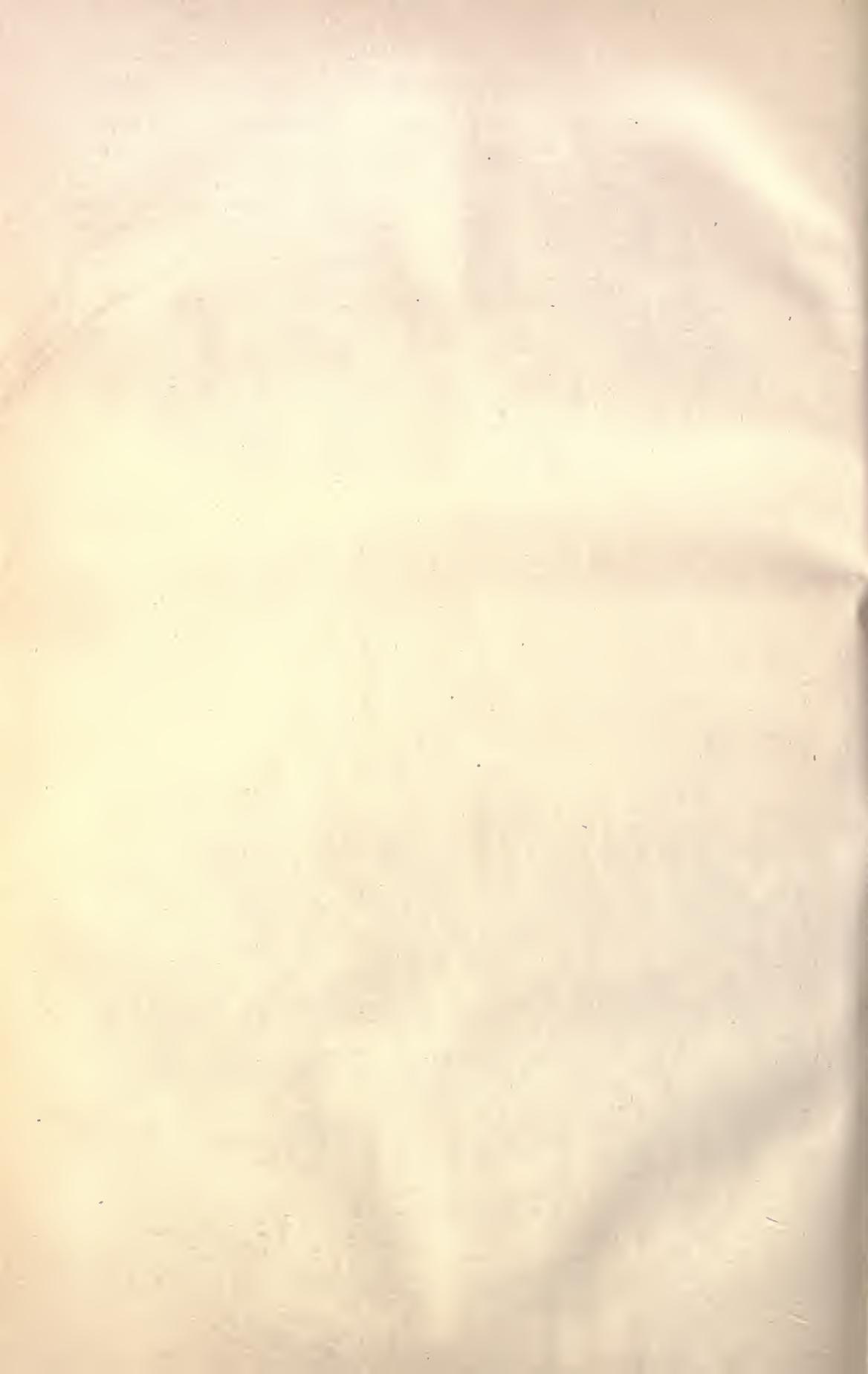
discovered, across a neck of land, the forest of masts which occupied the harbour. During the night the hostile fleet moved from its anchorage, and at sunrise of the next day was discovered arranged in four lines, fastened together with great ropes and chains, and moored across the passage. They had wooden castles erected at the top of their masts, and small skiffs full of stones,



THE BATTLE OF SOMO-SIERRA.



THE BATTLE OF CORUNNA.



suspended half-way down. Edward drew up all his ships, placing the strongest in the front, and on the wings his archers. Between every two vessels, with archers, one containing men-at-arms was placed. Detached ships, with archers, were placed in reserve, to assist such as might be damaged. The noble ladies, who, to the number of fifty, had come as attendants on Queen Philippa, were under a strong guard behind the reserve. The Bishop of Lincoln was then sent towards the shore, to reinforce himself with the Flemish troops; but they declined to embark, apparently with the intention of waiting the issue of the impending battle, to join the conquering party.

Edward now resolved to proceed to the attack of the enemy. Hoisting his sails he stretched a little out to sea—a movement which inclined the enemy to think that he declined engaging; but his object was to avoid the sun, which shone full in the face of his crews, and gain the wind. Having now both wind and tide in his favour, he ordered the trumpets to sound, and bore down on the first line of the enemy. Each commander selected his opponent, and met with a gallant resistance. The Earls of Huntingdon and Northampton, Sir Walter Manny and others, were conspicuous in the fight. The archers and cross-bowmen shot with all their might; the men-at-arms engaged hand-to-hand. The English threw out their grappling irons, to link themselves to their enemies. After a long resistance, the men-at-arms boarded and captured every ship in the first line, which had been made a floating fortification, and deemed invincible. Instantly the banner of England waved triumphantly over the standard of France.

At this moment Lord Morley arrived with a fleet from the northern counties: the

victors, with their friends, proceeded to the attack of the three remaining divisions; but the crews of the second and third lines of the enemy having become panic-stricken, threw down their arms, and leaped either into their boats or the sea. The English hastened to the attack of the fourth line, which had been reinforced by the bravest defenders of the other lines. A desperate conflict ensued, and night came on in the midst of the struggle, which continued, amidst all the horrors of darkness and slaughter, beyond midnight. But English firmness at length triumphed. With the exception of a few stragglers, who taking advantage of the darkness of the night had contrived to escape, the whole of the hostile fleet was captured, and above 30,000 of the enemy were either slain or drowned; while the loss of the English was under 4,000 men, and two ships which were sunk, these having been overwhelmed with the heavy discharge of stones from the enemy's tops.

This decisive achievement imparted that notion of superiority of spirit and strength to the naval arms of England, which has since become the inseparable and emphatic character of the people of England. History does not present an instance of a naval victory so glorious, complete, and sanguinary, or in which greater firmness and seamanship have been displayed. Crowned with the laurels of victory, Edward landed on the following evening, and disembarked his forces. The lustre of his success so increased his authority among his stipendiary allies, that they quickly assembled their forces, and effected a junction with him; but so heartless and inefficient was the co-operation that the expedition ended fruitlessly, and was concluded with a truce, as has been before stated.

#### THE BATTLE OF CRECY.

As the three years' truce which had been entered into between Edward and Philip was on the eve of expiring, the English king strained every nerve for a greater and more decisive invasion than he had hitherto made; and he had been so successful in his preparations, that by the 10th of July, 1346, he embarked at St. Helen's, with an army of 4,000 men-at-arms, 6,000 archers, and 10,000 Welsh and Irish infantry; but, on account of the distance of

Guienne from the scene of his intended operations, and the difficulties he had experienced in penetrating France on the side of the Low Countries, he determined to invade Normandy, which was defenceless. He accordingly landed, in the middle of July, near Cape La Hogue, on that coast. He pressed forward to Rouen on the Seine, with the intention of crossing that river, in order to join the 40,000 Flemings whom he had subsidized, and who had passed the

French frontier; but finding Philip, with an army of 100,000 men, on the opposite bank of the river, ready to oppose him, he marched along the left bank towards Paris, burning and sacking the towns and villages till he reached Poissy, a village about nine miles distant from the capital. Finding the bridge broken down, and its ruins defended, he advanced on the capital, burning St. Germain, St. Cloud, Neuilly, Bourg-la-Reine, and other villages on the right of Paris; and his advanced guard even penetrated the boulevards, or suburbs, of the city. This strategetic movement of the English king, whose condition was now perilous, being nearly hemmed in by the French army and the garrison of Paris, compelled Philip to cross over to the opposite bank of the Seine, to the relief of his capital. Edward, with his usual skill and tact, availed himself of the auspicious moment. He immediately retraced his steps down the banks of the river to Poissy. Having cleared the ruins of the bridge from the enemy's troops by means of his bowmen, he repaired it, and crossed to the right bank. From the Seine he continued his march towards the Somme. Philip, to intercept him, and prevent his crossing that river, dispatched 12,000 men, under Gondemar du Fay, along the right bank of the river, to destroy the bridges and guard every ford, while he himself, with the main body of the army, advanced on Amiens on the Somme.

When Edward reached the Somme, he found himself in a more dangerous situation than he had just extricated himself from at Paris. All the bridges were broken down; Gondemar was on the opposite bank to dispute his passage, and Philip was close on his rear, having reached Airaines within two hours after the rear of the English army had filed through the town. Attempts were made to pass the fords at Pont Remi, and other places, but fruitlessly. In this extremity, the prisoners were assembled, and a reward of 100 nobles and the promise of liberty were offered to whomsoever would point out a ford. Induced by the reward, one of them engaged to lead the English king and his army to Blanche-Taque, or the White Spot, where at the ebb of the tide the river was fordable. The English army, after a night march, arrived about sunrise at Blanche-Taque, and as soon as the tide was out, plunged into the river. Before they were half-way across, they

were encountered by Gondemar's cavalry. A fierce conflict took place; but the English, fighting with the courage of despair, soon put the enemy to flight, with the loss of 2,000 men. Pursuing his march, Edward encamped at Noyelle that night, and, on the following day, arrived at the village of Crecy. Edward was now within a few days' march of the frontiers of Flanders; but nothing was seen or heard of his Flemish subsidized auxiliaries. He therefore determined to depend on his own resources; and as it was extremely dangerous to pursue his march while an army so much stronger than his own, especially in cavalry, hung on his rear, he adopted the magnanimous resolution to halt and check his pursuers.

Scarcely had Edward effected the passage of the Somme, than Philip appeared on the opposite side of the ford; but he was too late—the tide was returning, and the ford too deep to be passed; he was therefore obliged to retrace his steps up the river, and cross it at Abbeville.

Edward now, in pursuance of his resolution to encounter Philip's vast host, prepared to make his dispositions for battle. He selected a gentle ascent a little behind the village of Crecy, and strengthened the position by deep intrenchments on each flank. A thick wood was in his rear; and near it the king ordered a park to be inclosed, in which he placed all the baggage-waggons and horses of the army. In the evening he invited his barons to supper; at parting, he dismissed them with a promise of victory. After supper, the king entered his oratory, and offered up a prayer to heaven for the morrow's success. Rising at early dawn, he and the Prince of Wales (then only fifteen years old) heard mass and communicated.

As soon as the troops had breakfasted, they were marched, under their respective leaders, to the ground which had been allotted to them on the preceding day. They were marshalled in three lines. The first consisted of 800 men-at-arms, 1,000 Welsh infantry, and 2,000 archers, under the command of the Prince of Wales, assisted by the Earls of Warwick and Oxford. Behind them, but inclining on their flank, stood the second line, consisting of 800 men-at-arms, and 1,200 archers, under the Earls of Northampton and Arundel. The third, under the command of the king, comprised 700 men-at-arms, and 2,000 archers, and was stationed as a re-

serve on the summit of the hill. The archers of each division formed in front, in form of a portcullis or harrow.\* All were dismounted to prevent the temptation of flight or pursuit; and orders were issued that no man should encumber himself with the charge of a prisoner, or quit his post to pursue a fugitive. Edward, on a small palfrey, with a marsnal on each side, rode from company to company, addressing them to defend his honour, and expressing his confidence of victory. The troops then sat down in ranks, with their bows and helmets before them, awaiting the attack of the enemy.

The King of France had marched from Abbeville about sunrise, and anxious to prevent the escape of the English army, whom he deemed were fleeing before him, he hurried the march of his vast army so precipitately, that the van, when ordered to halt, was driven forward by the rear, the order not having been seasonably conveyed to the respective divisions: the consequence was, all advanced in wild confusion till they came in front of the English, where all was perfect regularity, the result of forethought and calm deliberate valour.

The battle of Crecy, which was to stamp the signet of imperishable renown on English prowess and invincibility, now began. Philip ordered the Genoese, consisting of a body of 15,000 cross-bowmen, renowned for their dexterity in the use of that weapon of warfare, and now under the command of the celebrated leaders Antonio Doria and Carlo Grimaldi, to advance: with three hideous shouts they rushed forward, and discharged their square iron arrows. The English archers, nowise daunted, advanced a step, according to their custom, and let fly their arrows with so great rapidity and vigour, that, in the language of Froissart, "it seemed as if it snowed." The enemy's infantry, in terror and dismay, fell back on the cavalry which had been drawn up to support them, and occasioned much disorder in that body. The French king and his brother the Count d'Alençon ordered their men-at-arms to clear the front of the battle by a massacre of the runaways, which served to increase the confusion, as the English bowmen were hotly pressing forward. The consequence was, that the splendid cavalry of France was overthrown,

\* The whole of the English army were newly levied troops; the most effective being the men-at-arms. The Welsh, Cornish and Irish were light

while the wounded horses plunged among the confused throng of the Genoese. The front line was thus involved in confusion, and reeling under the successful charges of the Prince of Wales and his advisers, when the Count d'Alençon advanced with the second line of the French army, and having broke through the array of archers, commenced a hand-to-hand fight with the men-at-arms, under the special command of the Prince of Wales. The Earls of Northampton and Arundel advanced with the second line; but the conflict growing fierce and doubtful, the Earl of Warwick dispatched Sir Thomas Norwich to request of the king a reinforcement from the reserve. Edward asked the messenger whether his son was so badly wounded as not to be able to support himself; and being answered that he was unhurt, and performing prodigies of valour, "Go then," said the king, "and tell my son and his brave companions, that I will not deprive them of any part of the glory of their victory. I am confident my son will show himself worthy of the honour of knighthood which I have lately conferred on him." The report of this compliment was more than reinforcements to the prince and his companions; it was hailed as a prediction of victory, and infused new courage into those to whom it had been addressed. They attacked the first and second lines of the enemy so vigorously, that in a short time both were broken and put to flight. The King of France advanced with the third line and the reserve to sustain his brother; but the English archers opposed an impenetrable barrier to his passage. The discomfiture of the first and second lines was irremediable. At each charge the loss was great. At length confusion was too prevalent in his own command to afford any hope of success. The battle being evidently lost, he retired from the field with a small retinue of his attendants. As soon as the contest was ended, Edward caught the Prince of Wales in his arms, and exclaimed with paternal ecstasy, "My brave son, persevere in your honourable course; you have valiantly acquitted yourself to day: you have shown yourself worthy of empire."

But the flight of the French king did not terminate the contest. Many of the enemy continued in detached bodies to charge their adversaries; but, as all their efforts were troops, and better adapted for doing execution in a pursuit, or for scouring the country, than for stable action.

made without concert, they ended in their destruction. The darkness of the night was succeeded by so dense a mist in the morning, as to intercept the view of the greater part of the battle-field. To ascertain the course of the enemy's flight, a detachment of 500 lancers and 2,000 archers were sent out from the English camp. In the course of their march, they fell in with two detachments from Beauvais and Rouen, under the command of the Archbishop of Rouen and the Grand Prior of France; whom they put to the sword.

Such was the battle of Crecy, fought on the 26th of August (Sunday), 1346. It began about three o'clock P.M., and lasted till dark. Seldom have preparations for battle been made under circumstances more awful, A war of the elements, as if to mock the puny efforts of man in the exhibition of his fury and animosity, accompanied that of the combatants. At the very juncture of the hostile conflict, a partial eclipse of the sun obscured the horizon; at the same time, large bodies of crows flew screaming over the two armies, and the rain fell in torrents, accompanied with incessant thunder and lightning.

The loss of the French army in killed and wounded, was the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, with eleven princes, eighty bannerets, 1,200 knights, 1,400 gentlemen, 4,000 men-at-arms, and about 30,000 privates. That of the English, was one knight, three esquires, and a few hundred of inferior rank. The great disparity in the loss of the two armies was occasioned by Edward's use of artillery. Philip, for the sake of expediting his march, and fearing the English might escape, had left his artillery behind him. No prisoners had been taken; all, in conformity to the barbarous custom of the age, having been massacred on the field of battle. The amount of the French army has been variously stated by different chroniclers, French and English, at all the intermediate decimal points between 60,000 and 120,000 men. The truth is, it was about 100,000 men.

The crest of the King of Bohemia's casque, consisting of three ostrich feathers, with the motto "*Ich dien*" (I serve), being

\* While Edward and his heroic son were winning the battle of Crecy, the Scots, availing themselves of the enemy's absence, endeavoured to shake off the yoke of Edward's nominee, Baliol. David, the son of the deposed Bruce, instigated by France, advanced with a tumultuous army of 60,000 men to

found on the field, was presented to the Prince of Wales, who, as a memorial of the victory, adopted the device; and his successors have always borne the same as an armorial emblem for the like purpose.\*

On the following Monday Edward broke up his encampment, and, on the 31st—five days after the battle of Crecy—the conqueror sat down before Calais, which he was desirous of possessing, as affording an easy entrance into France in his future attempts to conquer the country. As the place was very strong, he determined to obtain its possession by blockade. For that purpose, he surrounded it with intrenchments, and built wooden huts for the accommodation of his troops, with a market-place in the middle. At the same time he blockaded the harbour with his fleet, and thus cut off all communication with the sea. Philip advanced with a powerful army, and the *oriflamme*, or sacred banner of France, for the purpose of inflaming the superstition of his troops; and also sent two fleets to remove the blockade at sea; but all his efforts were fruitless. His army was obliged to retreat; and one of his fleets was captured by the Earl of Oxford. The governor of Calais, at length despairing of relief, hung out the English ensign from the tower, as an indication of his willingness to capitulate; but Edward, irritated by their piratical feats, would grant no other terms than that six of the principal inhabitants should be executed as an atonement. When these devoted men presented themselves before their inexorable judge, their lives were spared by the intercession of Edward's queen Philippa, who had just arrived with powerful reinforcements. Thus was Calais severed from the French crown, after a siege of twelve months. To secure his conquest, Edward expelled the inhabitants who refused to swear fealty to him, and re-peopled the town with a colony of his own subjects. Edward appointed it the general mart for the sale of merchandise exported from England, and made it the especial staple for the sale and purchase of all English wool, leather, tin, and lead; and thus, as all English and foreign merchants were compelled to resort thither for the

the very gates of Durham, inflicting fearful havoc in the course of his march; but he was put to fearful rout at Nevil's Cross, near that city, by the Percies and other great northern barons, who mustering their followers, incorporated them with 10,000 archers about to be transported to France.

sale and purchase of those commodities, it became a place of considerable opulence, and continued to flourish as such for more

than two centuries, under the protection and encouragement of its conqueror and his successors.

#### BATTLE OF POICTIERS.

AN infraction of the truce which had been entered into by the rival kings of England and France, by the French troops having made irruptions into Edward's patrimonial possessions of Guienne, Gascony, Britany, the marches of Calais, and other places, and mutual skirmishes having been the consequence, the English king, with that magnanimity of feeling which is characteristic of true heroism, for the sake of peace, offered, by his plenipotentiaries, to renounce his title to the crown of France, on condition that the French king acknowledged the English king's absolute sovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, and the town and marches of Calais. Notwithstanding the glorious result of the campaign of Crecy, and the effects of the depopulating pestilence that had recently raged throughout Europe, and had carried off above a third of the population of every state, Philip's animosity remained unabated, and he refused compliance with Edward's proposition. The English king, incensed at the injurious treatment, prepared to enforce his proposition at the point of the sword. For the accomplishment of this purpose he appointed his son, Edward the Black Prince, with a considerable body of troops. On the 10th of September, 1354, the prince, with a force of 4,000 men, sailed from Plymouth. On his arrival at Bordeaux, he was joined by 60,000 subsidized auxiliaries. He swept through Languedoc without opposition, burning and destroying about 500 cities, towns, and villages; but not being able to bring the French army in that part of the country to an engagement, after a six weeks' flying campaign he returned to Bordeaux, laden with booty and prisoners, and went into winter quarters. In the following summer he again took the field. On the 6th of July he marched

with 8,000 men,\* and penetrated into the heart of France, intending thus to effect a junction with his father Edward, who was in Normandy, for the purpose of effecting a diversion in that quarter of France, and of advancing to co-operate with his son.† On the 17th of September, 1355, he had scarcely commenced his encampment for the night at the village of Maupertuis, situated about five miles from Poitiers, when his scouts hurried in with intelligence that all the bridges on the Loire were broken down, and the French army, amounting to 100,000 men, was advancing against him. As either advance or retreat was now impracticable, this heroic prince, notwithstanding the fearful disparity of numbers between his army and that of the French, determined to accept battle. In the course of a few hours the French army appeared, and took up its position within a mile of the prince's camp.

As soon as the moon was up, the prince proceeded to the selection of his battle-field. This was a small plain surrounded with woods, vineyards, hedges, and ditches, and accessible only by a narrow defile in front, which would not admit of more than four horsemen abreast. Intrenchments were made to render the approaches more difficult, as had been done at Crecy; a rampart or barricade was formed of the baggage-waggons, where the positions seemed the least difficult of access. Early on Sunday morning, the prince was ready either to deliver or accept battle, as circumstances might offer a favourable opportunity; but the day was spent in endeavours, on the part of the cardinal Talleyrand Perigord, to effect a reconciliation between the combatants. As the cardinal's good offices had turned out fruitless, with the dawn of the following

\* By several of the chroniclers of the time the number is variously stated. Some estimate it at 120,000; others at 70,000; while by a third party, it is said to have been but 60,000.

† While his son was carrying on operations in the south of France, Edward sailed from Sandwich, and landed at Calais; but he had scarcely reached Amiens before the want of provisions com-

elling him to retrace his steps, he re-entered Calais on the tenth day after his departure from it. From a similar cause his son John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was subsequently compelled to retreat, though he had victoriously forced his passage through the provinces of Picardy, Artois, Cambresis, and had even planted his banners before the gates of Paris.

day the trumpets summoned both armies to the scene of contest.

The Black Prince immediately proceeded to the marshalment of his little band of heroes. He lined the hedges on both sides of the defile with his best archers, and placed a strong body of the same species of force at its head. He then distributed the remainder of his army into three lines. The van was commanded by his younger brother; the centre by himself; and the rear by the earls of Salisbury and Suffolk. He had, overnight, placed 300 men-at-arms, and as many archers, in ambush, with orders to make a circuit when the signal for battle was announced, and to fall on the rear of the enemy as soon as the contest began. The French army was also drawn up in three lines; the first under the command of the Duke of Orleans, the second under the Dauphin; and the third or reserve under the French king, John.

The battle began by the French king ordering 300 chosen mounted men-at-arms to force the defile leading to the main body of the English army. With the most undaunted resolution the gallant band marched up to the attack; but no sooner had they entered the position, than a shower of arrows sped from the English bowmen, and in a moment the passage was choked up with men and horses in the agony of death; at the same time, the wounded horses, plunging back, fell upon the first line of the enemy, spreading confusion wherever they came. At this critical moment the English detachment, issuing from its ambush, rushed forward with a tremendous shout, and attacked the second line so irresistibly, that they chased it from the field; when the Duke of Orleans, deeming his position hazardous, joined in the flight. The Prince of Wales, availing himself of the propitious moment, advanced against the reserve commanded by the king. A furious encounter ensued. Swords, battle-axes, arrows, and spears were intermingled with dreadful energy; and the shouts of defiance—"God and St. George!" "Mountjoye and St. Denis!"—resounded throughout the field. But unable to resist the furious charge of the English men-at-arms, headed by their prince, and backed by the archers, who emptied their quivers with great rapidity, the French ranks were broken and scattered. Though multitudes of his gallant troops and attendants were falling around him, the heroic French king

defended himself with his battle-axe, and did not surrender until he was surrounded. The pursuit and slaughter continued to the gates of Poitiers. In this battle, a large portion of the flower of the French chivalry (6,000 men-at-arms, besides thousands of foot soldiers) had fallen. The prisoners were—the king, his youngest son, three princes of the blood, seventeen earls, 1,500 inferior barons, knights, and gentlemen, and several thousand men-at-arms. As the number of prisoners exceeded that of the English army, it was deemed dangerous to retain them: they were therefore ransomed on the spot; but as the English and Gascon knights were influenced by the noble generosity and courtesy displayed by the Prince of Wales to his prisoner the French king, the terms of ransom were reasonable.

After this glorious triumph, the victor marched to Bordeaux; and in the ensuing summer, he, in company with his prisoner John, set sail for England, and landed on the 5th of May at Sandwich. By the intercession of the pope, a truce had been agreed to by France and England for the space of two years.

During the continuance of the truce, a treaty of peace was concluded between Edward and the captive French king, John; but the terms were so unpalatable to the French, that the States-General and the Dauphin, who had become regent of the kingdom, refused concurrence. Edward, to enforce compliance, landed, on the 12th of October, 1359, with an army of 100,000 men, attended by the Black Prince and his three other sons, and sweeping through the provinces of Artois and Picardy, invested Rheims, for the purpose of being crowned king of France in that ancient city. But the place was so bravely defended, that the king, after having spent three months before it, raised the siege, and pressed forward for Paris, with the intention of having his coronation solemnized in the capital. He arrived before that city on the 31st of March, 1360, but found it so strongly fortified and defended, that, in the month of April, he retraced his steps towards Britany, with the intention of reaching Calais. The country through which he marched having been laid waste, and his army suffering severely from the privations and fatigue to which they had been exposed in their advance, the whole line of the route of his march was covered with the carcasses of men and horses; and to add

to his misfortune, the weather was so severe and tempestuous—terrible storms of thunder, lightning and hailstones—as greatly to increase the loss and sufferings of the troops. The pope again interceded between the litigants, and his intercession being aided by that of the captive king John, a peace was, on the 8th of May, concluded, by virtue of which Edward renounced all claim and title to the crown and kingdom of France, as well as to Normandy, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, Bretagne, and Flanders, which had been held by his ancestors; and the French king and States-General, on their part, confirmed Edward in the full sovereignty of Guienne, Ponthieu, Gascony, the town and marches of Calais, and the Channel Islands. Three hundred thousand gold crowns were to be

paid as ransom for the captive king; and as the payment was to be made by equal instalments in the course of six years, forty hostages were given for the due performance of the contract.\* To reconcile the inhabitants of the ceded French territories, Edward united all his dominions between the Loire and the Pyrenees into one principality, and conferred the sovereignty of it on the Black Prince, whom he created Prince of Aquitaine, on condition of observing fealty to the English crown by the annual payment of an ounce of gold into the English exchequer. The prince repaired to his new dominions with his cousin, commonly called *The Fair Maid of Kent*, whom he had lately married; and established his court at Bordeaux, in all the splendour and magnificence of royalty.

#### BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.†

THE doctrines of Wyckliff (or Lollardism, as they were derisively termed, the Lollards being deemed heretics by those of the elect faith, though their doctrines were similar to those which subsequently produced the reformed or protestant religion) having made great progress in England, the clergy, fearful of the consequences to their domination over the laity, determined to crush them; but, as the known liberality of opinion of Henry would have been averse to a measure of the kind, they resolved to occupy him in foreign wars, that he should have no leisure to interrupt their proceedings. They therefore suggested to him his right to the crown of France, and offered to furnish him large subsidies to enable him to prosecute his claim. To a prince of Henry's ardent temperament and lofty aspirations, the prospect was too tempting to be neglected. The distressed condition of France, occasioned by the two furious factions headed by the dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, and the rebellion of the peasantry (called the *Jacquerie* insurrection), also encouraged him to undertake the enter-

prise. He accordingly dispatched messengers to France, demanding the cession of the crown and all its appurtenances. The French government, to give time for preparations for resistance, sent ambassadors to Henry, with the profession of making an adjustment of the affairs of both crowns. Much fencing negotiation took place,—similar to the protocolling and anti-protocolling of the late Vienna congress;—but no progress was made towards the adjustment. Henry at length being ready, threw off the disguise, and ended the negotiation by dismissing the French ambassadors. Embarking his troops (consisting of 4,000 men-at-arms and 24,000 archers), he set sail from Southampton on the 13th of August, 1415, and landed on the following day at Harfleur, a strong town situated on the right bank of the Seine, and immediately invested the place. After a siege of four weeks the town was surrendered, and Henry, expelling the inhabitants, garrisoned it with 1,200 men, under the command of the Earl of Derby.

The English army having been much

\* The Dauphin and the three estates of the kingdom not appearing disposed to fulfil the conditions of the treaty, and his son, the Duke of Anjou, having broken his parole and escaped to France, the French king voluntarily returned to England, and again took up his residence in the palace of the Savoy, where his other three sons were residing as hostages. He died there in the month of April following his return.

† The village of Agincourt, or, according to French orthography or terminology, Azincour, lies in a secluded situation, at some distance from the high road, and is about sixteen miles from St. Omer. The high road passes over a portion of the battlefield at Ruiseauville. Maisoncelles is considerably more (in the language of De Baraut, who was an eye-witness of the battle) than "three bow-shots" from Agincourt.

reduced by dysentery (occasioned by the deleterious effects of the marshy exhalations arising from the morassy nature of the ground on which Harfleur stands), Henry held a council of war to determine on the subsequent measures to be adopted. His brother, the Duke of Clarence, and others of his nobles, recommended a return of the army to England. Henry, apprehensive that a retreat would be construed into fear on his part to meet his antagonist, determined to march to Calais. To the suggestion of the members of the council to re-embark, "No," said Henry, "we must first see a little more of this good land of France, which is all our own." In this lofty anticipation of a victorious result, he prepared to advance, in face of two large armies—one under the French king at Rouen, and the other under the Constable of France in Picardy—ready to intercept his march.

Having dispatched the sick and wounded, amounting to 5,000 men, under the Duke of Clarence, the earls of March, Arundel, and others of his nobles, the heroic Henry, on the 9th of October, began his hazardous march\* to Calais—a march above one hundred miles, through the provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois; a tract of country inhabited by exasperated enemies, and already laid waste by the enemy. His purposed march lay along the sea-coast till he should come to the river Somme.

The army moved in three lines, with bodies of cavalry on the wings. The king, during the march, never ceased to cheer the soldiers, and fared like themselves. After a few skirmishes, in which the flying squadrons of the enemy were defeated, the army reached Abbeville, with the intention of crossing the Somme at Blanche-Taque, which Edward III., in his march to Crecy, had triumphantly passed; but the scouts came hurriedly in with intelligence that that ford was staked and guarded, as also that all the bridges were broken down, and the other fords staked or palisaded. Henry was therefore obliged to march up the bank to reach a fordable passage; at the same time columns of the enemy's horse and foot marched on the opposite bank, keeping in line with him. When he reached the fords of Pont St. Remi and Pont de Mer, he found them staked and fortified. On the

\* Prior to the commencement of his march, Henry, according to the practice of the age, sent a chivalrous challenge to the French king, offering to decide the contest by personal combat.

17th, in a conflict with a flying column of the enemy near the town of Corbie, learning from the prisoners that it was the intention of the enemy to intercept his line of march by successive charges of cavalry, he ordered each of the archers to supply himself with a palisade or stake of six feet in length, pointed at both ends; and when the enemy's cavalry were about to charge, to stick them in an oblique direction sloping outwards, in an angle about the height of a man's breast. The rear of the columns were also ordered to plant theirs sloping outwards. On the 19th, a ford being discovered not staked, between Betencout and Voyenne, the army effected its passage. On the 20th, while Henry was at Monchy la Gache, three heralds arrived from the Constable of France and the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to acquaint the king of their resolution to give him battle before he reached Calais. The English king's reply was, "Be the event then as it pleases God;" and, in addition to this magnanimous resolve, he said, that though he did not seek his challengers, fear of them should never induce him to move out of his way, or to go either slower or faster than he intended: his march was before him, straight on the road to Calais, and if his enemies attempted to stop him, it would be at their peril. True to his word, the heroic Henry marched onward with the greatest composure and order, and to show his indifference to the martial defiance of his opponents, he had presented the heralds with a hundred gold crowns. On approaching Agincourt on the 24th, he saw the French army drawn up in front of that village, and across the road to Calais. Henry took up his position at the village of Maisoncelles, in front of Agincourt.

Henry now seeing that a battle was inevitable, with a sublime enthusiasm and a full confidence in victory, prepared for the encounter; his looks and words inspiring every one with resolution, and a determination to use their utmost exertions to promote the magnanimous resolve of their leader. Henry, hearing Sir Walter Hungerford expressing a wish that they had 10,000 of those archers from England who were longing to be with them, exclaimed, "No; I would not have one man more. If we should be defeated, we are too many; but, if God gives us the victory, we shall have the more honour."

Henry took up his position with great military skill. As soon as the moon arose,

he, accompanied by his attendants, surveyed the field. He selected his position on a gentle declivity from the village of Maisoncelles, flanked on each side by hedges, brushwood, and briars—a position admirably calculated to prevent a small army from being surrounded by a large one. The village was in his rear. He posted the baggage, horses, and priests in security behind the village, under a small guard. The enemy's position was in a narrow plain between the villages of Agincourt and Rumonceaux, and was bounded on each side by impediments. The difference of both positions, in a strategical point of view, was strikingly unequal. While Henry compelled his opponents to confine their attack only with a front equal to his own, their innumerable masses were rendered useless; and, in the event of disorder, could not be manœuvred.

The night of the 24th, which was stormy and rainy, was passed by the English army with great solemnity. As the chance of victory was uncertain, the troops confessed, took the sacrament, and made their wills,\* determined to leave an honourable and a venerated memory in the sympathy of their countrymen. On the contrary, the French army, exulting in their numbers, spent part of the night in jollity and rejoicing; and, calculating on their overpowering numbers, employed themselves in devising fanciful notions about the disposal of their prisoners and booty. The nobles even cast dice for the ransoms to be obtained for Henry and his nobility. So confident were they of victory, and so fearful that the English army would endeavour to escape in the night, that they placed detachments over the field to intercept them, and lighted fires to prevent their flight being unobserved.

Before the day had dawned, the trumpets of both armies sounded the *réveille*, and soon both were marshalled in battle array. Henry drew up his army in a phalanx of one dense line, four files deep; the men-at-arms in the centre, and the archers on the wings. Two bodies of archers were detached; one was instructed to be concealed in ambush, in a meadow at Tramecourt, and, when the battle began, to attack

the right flank of the enemy's first line: the other was to make a circuit, and, in the heat of the battle, to set fire to a priory and two houses at Hesdin, in the rear of the enemy, to produce alarm. The army being marshalled, the king, riding from pennon to pennon, addressed each corps with a serene and cheerful countenance, saying—"Before night the pride of our enemies shall be humbled in the dust, and the greater part of them stretched upon the field, or captives in our power." As a further incentive, he said that every soldier who did his duty manfully should from henceforth be a gentleman, and entitled to bear coat-armour. He then ordered his troops to sit down in line and take their breakfast.

The French army, amounting to 100,000 men,† was already marshalled in three lines, thirty files deep. The first line, or van, consisted of 8,000 knights and esquires, 4,000 archers, and 15,000 cross-bowmen, under the Constable of France, who commanded the whole army; the second line was commanded by the Duke of Alençon; and the third, or reserve, was under the French king.

The comparative advantages and disadvantages of the hostile armies were:—the position of the French army, between the two woods, was so narrow that their vast masses were compelled to be drawn up thirty files deep; while the English army, having its flank protected by hedges and briars, and the village of Maisoncelles in its rear, was not compelled to present a greater front than that of the French army; and therefore the stress of the battle was confined to the front of the French army, by keeping the enemy in that direction—a decisive indication of Henry's consummate strategical talent.

Both armies stood for some time silently gazing on each other; the innumerable spears and helmets reflecting the beams of the sun in each other's faces. At length Henry,—fearing that the enemy would become sensible of his dangerous position, and decline battle; having no more provisions in his camp should the battle not take place that day, and aware that he could not send out parties to forage in face of so powerful a foe,—giving the battle-word, "St. Mary and St. George!" about ten o'clock, pre-

† The French army has been variously estimated by English and French writers. The estimates have been from 60,000 to 150,000 men. Walsingham states it at 14,000, and Monstrelet at 150,000; which last computation exactly agrees with the statement of De Baraut, who was an eye-witness of the battle.

\* Will-making in the face of the enemy has ever been reckoned the most daring of all daring deeds; for the doer is, and always has been, considered a doomed man; and the prejudice is so strong, that many a goodly estate has in consequence passed into hands from which, under other circumstances, it would have been withheld.

senting himself in front of his army, exclaimed, "Banners, forward!" at the same time commanding "the charge" to be sounded. In an instant of time the line of archers kneeled down, and kissing the ground, started to their feet, uttering a tremendous cheer, when they rushed forward, and having planted their stakes, discharged a flight of arrows; at the same moment, the archers in ambuscade responding to the shout, discharged their arrows on the flank of the enemy's first line. This was a torch to the inflammable sensibilities of the French army. The Constable of France, announcing the battle-words, "Mountjoye and St. Denis!" the defiance was promptly answered by the advance of 1,200 mounted lancers. As they approached, the English archers plucked up their stakes and resumed their former position, at the same moment refixing the stakes in their front; thus presenting an impenetrable barrier to the enemy's cavalry. The charge of the lancers was furious and intrepid; but the English archers, with a deadly calmness and correct aim, poured upon them so heavy a shower of arrows, with such rapidity and force, that plate and mail were pierced as if they had been cloth, while men and horses fell in heaps; and only about 150 of the assailants reached their stakes, which endeavouring to force, the horses were impaled. To add to the confusion, the wounded horses galloped back and plunged into the enemy's first line. In this manner were the French cavalry destroyed, though they spurred up again and again against the formidable palisade of stakes. In vain was the French artillery—of which they had a number of pieces on the field, of different calibres—rapidly worked. The English army stood immovable.

The intrepid archers again plucked up their stakes, and pushing forward, planted them once more in advance. A stream of arrows again flew upon the French ranks; when, slinging their bows behind their backs, they rushed into the midst of the steel-clad knights, and with their swords, bill-hooks, and battle-axes, fell upon the enemy. Undismayed the French received them, and after much difficulty succeeded in repelling the attack.

The Constable of France now formed his first line into three close columns, which advanced simultaneously to the attack of three distinct points of the English main body. The charge was made with all the

fury of a French onset, and the weight and fierceness of the shock were so irresistible, that the English line was forced back a few yards. The battle now became furious, each host alternately forcing the other back and advancing; the English to regain their lost ground, the French to retain it. The vicissitudes of the fight were various; but at length the English prevailed, and drove the enemy back with great slaughter.

The English archers again advanced, and fixing their stakes, and throwing in a flight of arrows, again rushed forward with their battle-axes and swords; but disasters occurring in their ranks from the overpowering masses of the enemy, Henry advanced with the men-at-arms to their assistance, and opened his line to allow them to pass through. No sooner had he re-formed them, than he rushed forward with his conjoint force against the enemy's first lines. The conflict was furious and stern; both sides gallantly struggled for the mastery; but at length the enemy's line was thrown into confusion. The second line, under the Duke of Alençon, advanced to its aid. The battle now became tremendous: the conflict was so terrible, that the crowded masses of the French fell in so fearful heaps, that the frightful piles of dead and wounded served as fleshly intrenchments, from the tops of which each side continued the desperate struggle until the battle-field was inundated with blood. At this crisis those in ambush rushed on the flank of the enemy with a tremendous shout. A dreadful carnage ensued, and both lines of the enemy took to hurried flight. But the third line remained unbroken. As soon, however, as they saw the priory and houses in their rear on fire, and heard the appalling shout of the detachment which had effected the conflagration, they fled off the field. At this moment a noise being heard in the rear of the English army, and apprehending that the enemy had rallied, Henry issued orders for putting to death the prisoners, who were considerably more than his own army. But on being informed that the attack was made by a mob of peasants for the purpose of plundering the baggage, he stopped the massacre.

In this terrible battle 10,000 of the enemy had fallen; of whom 1,500 were knights, thirty-two barons, thirteen earls, one archbishop, three dukes, and the Constable of France. The loss of the English has been variously stated; but it amounted

to 1,600 men, including the Earl of Suffolk and the Duke of York.

Henry had been exposed to great danger. While engaged in defeating the second line of the enemy, his younger brother, the Duke of Gloucester, having been thrown to the ground, Henry stood over him, beating off the assailants till he was removed to a place of safety. Shortly after, while hastening to the rescue of the Duke of York, who had been struck down by the Duke of Alençon, a portion of Henry's coronet was hewn off while endeavouring to save his kinsman from the blow aimed at him. Henry observing a castle in the distance, inquired its name, and being told Agincourt, said, "Let the battle we have gained be called by the name of *the Battle of Agincourt.*"

As his little army, which when he left Harfleur consisted only of 900 lances or men-at-arms, and 5,000 archers, was now wasted with disease, fatigue, and the calamities of war, he found it necessary to prepare to return to England to recruit it. Next morning (after the glorious battle which will envelop his memory in a halo of glory to the remotest period of time) he crossed the field of battle on his march to Calais, where he arrived on the 29th of October, laden with booty and provisions. On the 15th of November he reached Dover, when the people of that town and the neighbouring country, who lined the shores, rushed into the sea and bore him upon their shoulders. The road to London presented one triumphal procession in his honour; and on his entry into the city, the whole metropolis rang with triumphant jubilee—the houses were all hung with tapestry, representing the heroic deeds of his ancestors, Edward III. and the Black Prince; and the conduits of the streets were flooded with wine.

While Henry was in England, intelligence being brought him that the Dauphin and the Count d'Armagnac (who had been invested with the direction of affairs on account of the imbecility of the French king, Charles VI.) were exciting the subjects of Henry's continental dominions to rebellion, the king collected an army of 25,000 men, and landed near Tongue in Normandy, August 1st, 1417. In the following year he reduced Cherbourg, after a siege of six months; and, shortly after, the whole of Lower Normandy. Crossing the Seine, he, on the 30th of July, laid siege to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy. In January of the following year the city surrendered,

after having endured the most grievous privations. Soon after the English flag floated over the whole of Normandy, on both sides of the Seine. The English king commenced his rule over the province by abolishing the heavy taxes which had been imposed by the French government, and prohibiting his troops from all military license. The people were soon won by the mildness of his government and the popularity of his manners.

While Henry was thus pursuing his conquests, the factions into which France was split had brought the kingdom to the verge of destruction. A frenzy pervaded all classes, which blinded them to every feeling but the desire of vengeance; and the national madness was at length consummated in the assassination of the Duke of Burgundy by the followers of the Armagnacs. By the perpetration of this murder, the Burgundians and their young duke were converted into unscrupulous allies of Henry. A treaty was concluded at Arras by the ministers of France and England, on the 2nd of December, 1419, by virtue of which it was agreed that Charles should enjoy the crown of France during his life, but that Henry should be regent of the kingdom, and succeed to the throne on the demise of the king: it was further stipulated, that Henry should espouse the Princess Catherine, daughter of Charles VI., without any dowry. Henry undertook to conquer the territories in possession of the Dauphin, for the benefit of his (in prospective) father-in-law. In the May following, the treaty of Arras was confirmed at Troyes, and the nuptials of Henry with the princess of France were solemnized. At the same time, Henry caused a coin to be struck with the title "*Henricus Francorum Rex.*" In the beginning of December, Henry and Charles made their public entry into Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people; the rich appearing with the symbol of the red cross of England on their breasts, and the priests, preceding Henry, chanting "Blessed is he who cometh in the name of the Lord:" and on the 10th, the three estates of the realm being assembled, confirmed the treaty of Troyes; at the same time declaring the Dauphin guilty of high treason, and incapable of the royal succession. Being thus virtually the sovereign of France, Henry proceeded to repress the factions by which it had been torn in pieces. Having recovered the strong places from the Dauphin

and the Armagnacs, and restored France to a state of comparative quietness, he appointed his brother, the Duke of Clarence, lieutenant in his absence, and returned to England to raise supplies.

During the time Henry was in England, the Dauphin and his adherents having been reinforced by a body of 6,000 Scots, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, had defeated the Duke of Clarence at Baugé (a village in Anjou, whither the English duke had marched to encounter them), with the loss of 1,400 men-at-arms, and many English knights. Henry hastened to check the enemy. Landing on the 10th of June, 1421, at Calais, he advanced to the relief of Chartres, then besieged by the Dauphin. Having raised the siege, he reduced Dreux, Meaux, and several other places of strength. Being joined by his queen, Catherine, the royal pair proceeded to Paris, where, on the festival of Whitsuntide, they kept their court at the palace of the Louvre, sitting in their royal robes, with their imperial united crowns of England and France upon their heads. The birth of the Prince of Wales had been previously celebrated in Paris, with as much magnificence and cordiality of feeling as it had been in London.

In the meantime the Dauphin had collected an army, which, with his auxiliaries from Scotland and Castile, amounted to 20,000 men, under the command of the Earl of Buchan, and was besieging Cosne, a town of the Loire. Henry advanced to its relief; but he had not proceeded further than Senlis before he became so feverish as to be obliged to transfer his command to his brother the Duke of Bedford, and return to the Bois de Vincennes, where he expired 31st of August, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. Had he lived a few months longer, the declining health of the French king, Charles VI., would have seated him on the throne of France, by conquest as well as right. His body was conveyed to England, and interred in Westminster Abbey: his "bruised crown and bended sword," together with the saddle and armour he used at the battle of Agincourt, were deposited on his bier. The remnants of the saddle and armour yet remain suspended on the wall, over his tomb, environed with a halo of imperishable glory and renown; and while a vestige of them remains, will ever be the veneration of every true-born Englishman.

#### THE INVASION OF SPAIN BY EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE; AND THE BATTLE OF NAJERA.\*

ON the return of peace, after the battle of Poitiers, vast bands of the subsidiary mercenaries who had been engaged in the service of England and France, were discharged. Having been accustomed to the fruits of military license, they were unwilling to return to the arts and peacefulness of civil life. They therefore enrolled themselves into bodies, under bold leaders, which they called *Free Companies*, and themselves Free Companions. These desperadoes, by the year 1366, amounted to above 50,000 men,—Gascons, Bretons, English, Germans, Flemings, and Narvaese, all skilful and well-trained veterans. By their rapine and plunder, they had occasioned so great disorder and confusion in France as to make its sovereign tremble on his throne. So fearful had they become, that the French king called on Ed-

ward to fulfil his engagements of the article of the treaty of Bretigny, by which the two kings, contemplating what was likely to happen from the hands of the adventurers whom they had enlisted in their service, engaged to join their forces for the extirpation of the desperadoes, should they become troublesome. The English king consequently made great preparations; but Charles becoming alarmed at their extent, and apprehensive of the probable results when Edward found himself at the head of a great army in the heart of France, declined his co-operation.

The French king was at his wits' end how to rid himself of his dangerous neighbours. He endeavoured to persuade them to undertake an expedition to the East, for the recovery of the Holy Land, and promised, if they complied, to procure for them, rative, the recollection of the glorious and never-dying events is more effectually preserved, and a greater interest produced than would have been the case by observing the precise chronological order of events.

\* This memorable event has not been narrated in its chronological order, for the purpose of not interrupting the narrative of the battles of Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. By retaining their continuity of nar-

from the pope, absolution for all their sins, and homes in Paradise. But the desperadoes caring as little for Paradise as they did for the Holy Sepulchre, frankly acknowledged that, in their opinion, cash was preferable, and a more substantial good than absolution. The French king, therefore, engaged the celebrated military leader, Du Guesclin, to undertake the command of them, for the purpose of marching to Castile to dethrone Don Pedro, surnamed the Cruel, and whose bastard brother Don Enrique, Count of Transtemar,\* was at his court, soliciting his interference; and he agreed to furnish 200,000 livres to defray the expenses of the expedition.

The adventurers having surrendered the fortresses of which they had possessed themselves, and Du Guesclin having completed his levies, he led the army to Avignon, where the pope resisted the absolution for his soldiers and the 200,000 livres which had been promised. The first was readily procured; but difficulty and delay were made about granting the cash. "I believe," said Guesclin, "my fellows may make a shift to do without your absolution [the "fellows" had boldly acknowledged they had no faith in absolution]; but the money is absolutely necessary." The pope extorted the money from the city and neighbourhood. But the transaction coming to Guesclin's knowledge, he refused to accept it, and required the money to be furnished from the coffers of the pope and cardinal, adding, that should the pope replace his advance by compelling the city to pay over the money, when he returned he would enforce restitution.

Du Guesclin having obtained what he and his followers deemed a more substantial benefit than absolution, resumed his march. he crossed the Pyrenees, and driving the tyrant from the throne, seated Enrique (Henry) in his stead. The cruel Pedro fled to Corunna, whence he sailed to Bordeaux. Appearing at the court of the Black Prince as a suppliant, that generous prince espoused his cause.

No sooner was the prince's determination known, than military men of every country flocked to his standard to participate in the contemplated glories of his achievements. Twelve thousand of the Free Companions (who, at the time of their

\* This word, according to the custom of English writers, who variously spell foreign proper names, personal and local, is differently spelt, viz., Transte-

engagement with Du Guesclin, had made a condition not to be compelled to serve against the Black Prince), under Sir John de Calverly and Sir Robert Knowles, as soon as they knew of the Black Prince's determination, abandoned the standard of Enrique, and marched to Guienne. The prince was also joined by his brother John of Gaunt, with a chosen body of men-at-arms from England. These, with a body of Genoese cross-bowmen, amounted to about 30,000 men. The prince began his march about Christmas. In the midst of storms and tempests, he effected his passage through the pass of Roncesvalles (the scene of the exploits of the fabulous Orlando), entered Navarre, and about the beginning of March, penetrated the kingdom of Castile, which comprehended a large portion of Spain. On the 3rd of April, both armies were in presence of each other on the plains between Navarrete and Najera. Henry's army amounted to 80,000 men, of whom 3,000 were armed *cap-à-pie*, upon barbed horses—that is, the horses were almost covered with armour,—and 4,000 French knights, who had taken part in the quarrel to avenge the wrongs of their king's sister-in-law, the wife of Pedro, who had been poisoned by her unnatural husband. The two armies encountered each other with so great fury, that spears and shields were locked together, and it was long before an opening could be made by either side. At last they clutched together in close combat, with short swords and daggers, the shouts and war-cries of "St. George for Guienne!" and "Castile for King Henry!" animating the combatants to greater fury. At length the skilful strategy of the Black Prince, the valour of the English, and the veteran experience of the Genoese and the Free Companions, compelled the Spaniards to give way; and though rallied and led back to the charge by Henry and Du Guesclin, they fled to Najera, and were so furiously pursued by the English and the Gascon cavaliers, that multitudes threw themselves into the river, and were drowned. The killed and wounded of the Spanish army exceeded 8,000; and the prisoners (among whom was the brave Du Guesclin) were numerous.

Having replaced the tyrant Pedro on the Castilian throne, the Black Prince, desirous mar, Transtemara, Transtemarre, Trastemar, Trastemara, and Trastemarre. I think it is Lingard who spells it Triestemarre.

of returning to his government, applied for payment of the arrears of pay due to his troops. No attention being paid to his demand, and as his wasted army was perishing with disease, he led it back to Bordeaux. The Free Companions (amounting to 6,000 men) in his army, in the absence of pay, plundered the people of Aquitaine, until the prince besought them to evacuate his territories. Such was their veneration for their leader, that they complied and passed over into the French territories. To discharge the heavy claims on him, the prince levied a hearth-tax on his subjects. The French king, Charles V., took advantage of his difficulties. He set intrigues on foot, and, favoured by the discontents of the people (occasioned by the hearth-tax), induced several towns in Guienne, Ponthieu, and other provinces to shake off the English yoke; and at the same time, summoned the Prince of Wales to appear, on the 1st of May, before the court of peers at Paris, to perform homage for the English possessions in France,—contrary to the terms of the treaty of Bretigny, by which the feudal superiority of the British crown over those provinces had been recognised. War was accordingly declared; and Edward III., resuming his title of King of France,\* sent reinforcements to the Black Prince, and dispatched Lancaster, with an army of 30,000 men, to Calais. Numerous skirmishes, surprises, captures, and betrayals of towns ensued. The Black Prince having recovered the city of Limoges, finding the disease he had contracted in Spain rapidly increasing, disbanded his army, and retired to Bordeaux; and, in January, 1371, repaired to

England. After languishing out the remainder of his life, he expired in the palace of Westminster on the 8th of June, 1376, in the forty-sixth year of his age. By this event, the whole of England was covered with mourning; while foreign nations sympathised in the loss of one who was universally honoured as the flower of chivalry.

The Duke of Lancaster having relieved Thouars, which had agreed to capitulate should aid not be timely sent, ravaged the country, and advanced to the gates of Paris; but, in his attempt to reach Bordeaux, his army was decimated by disease and suffering.

At this time, of all the ancient continental possessions of the British crown, only Bordeaux, Bayonne, a few towns on the Dordogne, Calais with its marches, and the Channel Islands, as also of his own conquests, remained in the hands of Edward.

An opinion which had spread over Europe about the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century, tended greatly to augment the ardour of the pilgrims, and increase their numbers. The millennium, or thousand years, mentioned in the twentieth chapter of the Revelations, were supposed to be accomplished, when the end of the world would be at hand, and Christ would appear in the Holy Land to judge the world; and the belief was so universal and so strong, that it mingled itself with civil transactions. Many charters in the latter end of the tenth century, began—“*Appropinquante mundi termino*,” &c.; (“the end of the world is near at hand; and by various calamities and judgments, the signs of its approach are now manifest.”)

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ENGLAND'S WARS WITH FRANCE—EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH—REINVASIONS BY EDWARD IV. AND HENRY VIII.—LOSS OF CALAIS; AND FINAL EXPULSION OF THE ENGLISH FROM FRANCE.

FRANCE now became the theatre of war; and those trophies which the transcendent valour and ability of Edward, the Black Prince, and Henry had won and annexed to England, were to be lost by the imbecility and factious designs of those entrusted with the administration of affairs during the

minority of Henry VI., the son and successor of the hero of Agincourt.

At the time of the death of Henry V., above two-thirds of the territorial dominions of France were subject to England; the river Loire forming the boundary line between the English and French portions of that

\* By the peace of Bretigny, Edward had renounced all claim to the crown of France, and his hereditary right to Normandy, Bretagne, Anjou, Flanders, and other territories, which had belonged to his ancestors; and restored all the conquests made by himself and the Black Prince, except Gas-

cony, Guienne, the earldom of Ponthieu and Guines, Calais and its dependencies, the Channel Islands, and even minor places over which he was to retain the entire sovereignty, free of all feudal homage. He was now content to style himself “King of England, and Lord of Ireland and Aquitaine.”

kingdom. The Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V., and uncle of his successor, was regent of the Anglo-French dominions; and Charles VII. succeeded his father, Charles VI., as legitimate sovereign of France, October, 1422. Bedford, whose military character had been formed in the campaigns of Henry V., was a leader but little inferior in civil and military capacity to his late renowned chief. The duke, to strengthen the ascendancy of England, enlisted the powerful Duke of Bretagne in his interests, and drew close the bond of alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, by marrying his youngest sister. He then took the field, and dispatched the Earl of Salisbury to relieve Crevelt in Burgundy, besieged by Marshal Sevrè, assisted by a large body of Scotch auxiliaries, under the Earl of Darnley. In the battle which ensued in July, 1423, the French taking to flight, 3,000 of their Scotch allies fell on the field of battle. Salisbury then laid siege to Ivry, which was agreed to be surrendered, if not relieved before the 15th of August, 1424. In the meantime the Earl of Buchan, having landed at Rochelle with 5,000 Scotch auxiliaries, the French king, with the assistance of his allies, invested Verneuil in Perche. The Earl of Bedford hurried to the relief of the place. The battle fought on this occasion was the fiercest since that of Agincourt. The English impetuously advanced with a tremendous shout and an appalling flight of arrows. The conflict was furious, and was maintained with equal determination. At length the Italian archers took to flight; but the battle was gallantly held in suspense by the Scots and French for three hours. The loss of the enemy was great; that of the English, 2,000—a number so unprecedented in British victories, that the regent forbade any rejoicing for his success. From this period the war languished for nearly five years, on account of the neglect of the English council in sending supplies and reinforcements to the Duke of Bedford. Though France now seemed to be reduced to almost inevitable ruin, its deliverance was at hand by the apparently miraculous intervention of Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans.

That wonderful maiden, who was a native of Damreni, a hamlet in Champagne, and who officiated as ostler at an inn in her native village, brooding over the miseries of her country, at length became persuaded that France was to be delivered from its enemies, and that Heaven had designed that she

should accomplish its deliverance. This she was assured of by her sleeping dreams and waking impulses, as well as by the voices of invisible saints and angels. She fancied that she conversed with St. Margaret and St. Catherine, who commanded her, in the name of God, to raise the siege of Orleans, which was then beleaguered by the English, and crown the French king at Rheims. The mysterious prophecy which then prevailed among the French people—that France was to be delivered from its jeopardy by a virgin—inspired her with the belief that the prophecy was to be realised in her person. According to the morbid sentimentality of the enthusiastic girl, the heavenly voices became so importunate and persuasive, that she determined to apply to Baudricourt, the feudal lord of the village of Vaucouleurs, for means of conveyance to the French king, that she might apprise him of her mission, and her power to effect the deliverance of her country. Overcome by her importunities, Baudricourt sent her, attended by a small escort to Chinon, where Charles held his little court of impoverished and despairing followers.

When she was introduced to the king, she informed him of the celestial intimations of her mission—that the King of Heaven had commanded her to tell him that she was destined to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to be crowned at Rheims. The king and his ministers determined to avail themselves of the supernatural pretensions of Joan, and essay their power in relieving them from the straitened conditions in which affairs were. They therefore proclaimed their conviction that she was an envoy from heaven; and that the deliverance of France was to be wrought by her miraculous agency. Her history and pretensions were made public with all due exaggeration, and the nation and army invoked to place confidence in her supernatural authority and celestial mission. Arrayed in a suit of armour, and armed with a mystical sword kept in the church of St. Catherine in Firebois, she was mounted on a white charger, and appointed to the command of the army sent to conduct a large convoy prepared at Blois for the relief of Orleans. A sacred standard or consecrated banner, on which was figured the Saviour seated on his tribunal, was carried before her.

Orleans was now closely girdled with hostile fortresses or redoubts, and was reduced to the last extremity. The most

gloomy apprehensions were entertained of its fall. Being situated between the provinces subject to Henry and those over which Charles still possessed dominion, its military importance was essential to both parties. Its instant relief was consequently determined on. "The Maid," therefore, commenced her march with the convoy and the force marshalled by Dunois and La Hiere from Blois. The report of the miraculous maid had reached the English camp; and though they pretended to laugh at the French for resting their last hopes on a silly peasant girl, they still felt—so infectious is superstition—a strange misgiving at heart, which all their philosophy could not banish, imputing that which the French deemed celestial agency to Satanic influence. At length the French convoy and army appeared in sight, in a half-military, half-religious sort of procession, headed by "the Maid," who commanded the carriages bearing the provisions to enter the city; and a sally of the garrison at the same moment distracting the attention of the besiegers, Joan with her army entered the city gates. On the following day, Dunois went out of the garrison, for the purpose of covering the entrance of the remainder of the relieving army and the convoy into the town; while "the Maid," with a party, stationed herself between the city and the besiegers, to protect its introduction. The French reinforcements approached, the priests of St. Blois chanting litanies and hymns of triumph, while the besiegers gazed from their posts, shuddering with superstitious dread, and not daring to fire a cannon or discharge an arrow on the foe. The convoy thus entered Orleans unmolested, amidst the acclamations of the garrison and the townspeople, and the deep silence of the besiegers.

The contending parties seemed now to have exchanged characters. Though the English fought with their native hardihood, all was despondency and despair; while with the French all was eagerness and hope, and everything gave way before the white banner of "the Maid," and the onset of her enthusiastic followers. The prophetic pronouncements of Joan seemed miraculous, and her presence to impart a resistless enthusiasm. Of this an instance was displayed in the capture of the fort or redoubt called St. Loup, which was the nearest to the city. Unknown to the governor, a part of the garrison assailed and possessed themselves

of the fort; but, being overwhelmed by numbers, they were on the point of being driven back, when, as the story goes, Joan, starting from sleep, exclaimed, "My voices have told me that I must attack the English; the blood of my country is running like water—my horse and my arms!" She hurried to the point of attack, and, after a furious conflict, the English were driven back, and the fort was taken. This success incited "the Maid" and her followers to assault another fort. With the fervour which superstition inspires, and the inherent impetuosity of the French character, they rushed to the assault, but were repulsed, and Joan, being wounded in the neck while attempting an escalade among the foremost, fell to the ground. A succession of contests ensued, and sallies were made almost every day from the town, in which Joan was always the foremost. At length Suffolk, having lost about 6,000 men in killed, wounded, and missing, raised the siege: and thus a peasant girl, by her heroic enthusiasm and exalted patriotism, drove an army which had never been conquered since Henry V. had entered France, from the walls of Orleans, which had been seven months beleaguered and reduced to the most fearful straits—so unaccountably had the once indomitable English lost their courage in their superstitious fears. Thus, five days after her arrival in the beleaguered fortress, "the Maid" had triumphantly fulfilled the first portion of her mission. This event inflicted so deadly a blow, and had so potent an influence on the usual energies of the enemies of her country, that the consummation of her undertaking—namely, the crowning of Charles at Rheims—was a matter of easy achievement; her influence being so felt in the remotest hamlets of England, that the hardy yeomen of the country refused to enrol themselves, from fear of "the Maid" and her potent spells.

While these prodigious results were in operation the battle of Herrings was fought—so called on account of the large quantities of that fish which were in the convoy or supply for the besieging force in front of Orleans. When the convoy and its protecting force, under Sir John Falstoffs, reached the village of Rouvrai en Beausse, it was attacked by a powerful force of 5,000 cavalry, under Clermont and Dunois, dispatched by the enemy to intercept it. The English commander drew up his little band of 1,600 men under the protection of his provision waggons, and quietly waiting the assault of

the enemy, repulsed him with great slaughter. He then resumed his march in triumph to the camp of the besiegers.

Joan now commenced her march to Rheims, where her mission was to be accomplished. In the course of her march, Jargeau and other strong places readily submitted; but Jargeau being defended by a strong garrison, indicated an intention of resistance. Joan, planting a ladder amidst a shower of missiles, and ascending the walls, followed by a band of enthusiastic assailants, the place instantly submitted. She then resumed her triumphant march; and, on the 18th of June, came up with the English army under Lord Talbot, posted at the village of Patay, near Anville. The English, who were now no longer an army of conquerors, but a superstitiously panic-struck crowd, fled at the sight of “the Maid’s” standard, like a herd of deer or a flock of sheep, and were chased so hotly, that 1,800 of them were slain in the pursuit. In the midst of these disasters, the vigorous mind of the Duke of Bedford was so depressed, that he wrote a mournful account of the war, in which he described his female antagonist as “a disciple and limb of the fiend, who used false enchantments and sorceries.”

Joan’s march was now more like a triumphant procession than a hostile expedition: the gates of towns and fortresses flew open to welcome her coming; or if they remained closed, it was only till she advanced with her sacred banner, and summoned them to surrender. At last she reached Rheims; and so fearful had her approach been deemed by the dismayed garrison, that she found it undefended. Thus, eighteen days after the commencement of her march, she found herself in that city which was to witness the accomplishment of her prophecy, and which she had selected for the purpose, on account of its having long enjoyed a peculiar sanctity from being the place of the coronation of the kings of France. The august ceremony was now performed with the same holy oil which a pigeon had brought from heaven to Clovis, on the first establishment of the French monarchy, and which had been piously preserved without diminution or deterioration, in “*la sainte ampoule*,” through the lapse of ages! As soon as the ceremony was over, Joan, who had stood by the side of the king with her consecrated banner in her hand, shed tears of delight,

and declaring that her mission was completed, begged permission to return to her original humble condition; but Charles and his advisers deeming her presence still useful to their cause, earnestly conjured her to remain for the interests of France. As a reward for her heroic patriotism, she, her parents, brothers, and sisters were ennobled, and the privilege was extended to all their posterity of both sexes. To counteract the effects of the coronation of Charles, the Duke of Bedford caused Henry to be brought to Paris, where he was crowned King of France, December 17th, 1430. The crowning of Charles had been no idle pageant; many places of strength expelled their English garrisons, and returned to their allegiance to him.

The English power was now so much reduced, that the Duke of Bedford was compelled to stand merely on the defensive. Being at length reinforced by 5,000 men (who, under the Cardinal of Winchester, had been designed for a crusade against the reformers of Bohemia), he again assumed the offensive. The heroic “Maid,” who had hitherto been so marvellously successful, incurring the envy of the French leaders, was now doomed to witness the opinion of her invincibility and divine mission doubted. The siege of Paris, in which she first sustained a repulse, further shook her reputation among the French soldiery. Her unsuccessful attempts on Charité-sur-Loire and Choisi strengthened the popular disbelief of her invincibility. At length she was doomed to find her grave and the disenchantment of her visions and supernatural power at Compiègne. Having captured that town, she threw herself into it for its defence. On the afternoon of the day (May 23rd) that she effected its reduction, she made a sally at the head of 600 men, to beat up the camp of the enemy in the neighbourhood. Though she put them thrice to the rout, they as often rallied and drove back her little band. At length, deeming the continuance of the contest fruitless, she ordered her followers to retire towards the town, while she took post in the rear to cover their retreat. A party of Burgundians rushed upon her, but she beat off her assailants, and had gained the city bridge, when the barriers were suddenly closed, so that she was surrounded by the enemy, and being dragged from her horse, was captured. All was now jubilee in the camp of the besiegers; *Te Deum* was sung.

and bonfires kindled, as if the conquest of France had been sealed by her capture. She was regarded as a witch forsaken by her familiars; and desire of vengeance, and the barbarous suggestions of superstition, made her enemies clamorous for her punishment. She was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. The Duke of Bedford, hoping by her captivity and punishment to regain the English ascendancy in France, purchased her from John of Luxemburg, whose prisoner she was; and instituted a prosecution against her as a sorceress and an agent of the devil. The Bishop of Beauvais and the parliament of Paris, with the wish of inflicting on her all the rigours of priestly vengeance, petitioned that she might be tried by an ecclesiastical tribunal. The French king, whom she had seated on his throne, and his nobles, whom she had raised from dastardly despair and led to victory, left her to her merciless enemies. No offer was made for her ransom, or any endeavour to alleviate the rigour of her confinement. Jealousy that a poor peasant girl should have effected that to which renowned leaders were unequal, and ingratitude for her heroic efforts, had steeled the hearts of those who were indebted to her for their political existence, and everything which is covetable by an honourable heart. The heroic but forlorn enthusiast was left to her fate. She was brought to trial February 13th, 1431. Her merciless inquisitors endeavoured by ensnaring questions to make her criminate herself; but she repelled their accusations, and maintained her conviction of her celestial mission for the deliverance of her country. She was condemned of all the crimes of which she had been accused, and sentenced to be burnt. Her spirit giving way to the terrors of the punishment to which she was sentenced, she declared herself ready to recant her errors and the illusions of the revelations and mission which she had professed. In consequence of her recantation, her sentence was commuted to that of perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed on bread and water during life.

But the barbarous vengeance of Joan’s merciless enemies was not satisfied with the recantation of her errors. Suspecting that her female habiliments were not agreeable to her tastes and aspirations, they placed in her cell a suit of man’s apparel, and directed the effects of the temptation to be watched. On the sight of the kind of dress

in which she had acquired so great renown, and which she still believed she had worn by the appointment of heaven, all her former ideas and passions revived, and she clothed herself in the forbidden habiliments. Her insidious enemies catching her so habited, the original sentence was ordered to be put into execution; which was, that she should be burnt alive on the 30th of May; and on the morning of that day, she was led to the market-place of Rouen for execution. Exhausted by long confinement and suffering, a momentary faintness came over her at the sight of the dreadful preparations, and she wept bitterly; but summoning to her aid that deep devotional feeling which she exhibited during the whole course of her heroic patriotism, she soon recovered her self-possession; and mounting the pile with resigned but undaunted resolution, she met the cruel death to which her remorseless enemies doomed her with firmness and composure. Such was the fate of Joan of Arc, or, as she loved to style herself, “the Maid of Orleans”—the purest, the most disinterested, and the noblest of all those heroic spirits who have striven for the deliverance of their country from bondage. But strange to say, the chivalrous devotedness of the heroic girl in behalf of the freedom and independence of her country, has received no monumental or eulogistic acknowledgment from her countrymen.

The cruel punishment of Joan, so far from promoting English influence in France, had a contrary effect. Towns and castles returned to their allegiance to the French king; and as the national pride of the people of England was no longer regaled with victories, they refused to furnish the supplies for the prosecution of the war. These circumstances led to proposals of accommodation: a congress was appointed to be held at Arras, in 1431. The deputies of Charles proposed to cede the provinces of Normandy and Guienne to Henry, to be held by homage to the French crown, provided the English king renounced his title and claim to the throne of France, and surrendered his conquests in that country; but the English commissioners refusing compliance, the Duke of Burgundy, the ally of the English, concluded a separate peace with the King of France.

The Duke of Bedford having expired at Rouen, the Duke of York was appointed his successor; for though weary of the unprofitable war, the people of England were

unwilling to relinquish their French possessions without a struggle. Before the arrival of the new regent, the French king was in possession of Paris, Dieppe, Melun, and other places on the Seine and in Normandy. From this period a protracted warfare subsisted between the contending parties, in which captures and recaptures followed each other in rapid succession, till the year 1444, when a truce was made for six years. In the following year (1445), on Henry's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, the niece of the French king Charles, the marriage contractors, instead of exacting a dowry with the bride, bestowed one on her father, the Count of Anjou—namely, Anjou and Maine. The keys of Normandy being thus surrendered, the French king proceeded to take possession of them. But the English garrisons were so indignant at the disgraceful treaty, that many refused to evacuate them until they were dispossessed by force. About 3,000 of these ejected troops, under Sir Francis Surienne, took possession of the town of Toger in Bretagne, and maintained themselves by plundering the surrounding country. The Duke of Bretagne complained to his feudal lord, the French king, who demanded exorbitant terms from the English commander-in-chief, Somerset; and on his refusing compliance, Charles, in 1449, invaded Normandy, and in less than four months was master of the greater part of both provinces. Rouen, the capital, was besieged, and the inhabitants compelling Somerset to capitulate, that city and several other towns were surrendered as the price of a safe retreat. In the following year the English were driven entirely out of Normandy; Aquitaine, at the same time, fell into the power of the French; and, in 1451, Bayonne followed the same fate: so that, after all her victories and sacrifices, the only possession which England now held in France was Calais; a calamity occasioned by the imbecility of her ministerial councils, and the factious contentions of her rulers for place and power.

The re-conquest of France having always been a popular subject of interest in England, as flattering to the national pride (the love which the English bore to the house of Lancaster being based on the glory of the conquest of that kingdom by Henry V.), Edward IV., on his succession to the English throne, determined to attempt the undertaking. At the head of 15,000 mounted

archers, a large force of infantry and artillery, and 1,500 English nobles and knights, each attended by a retinue of several horsemen, Edward crossed the English Channel, and landed at Calais in June, 1475, in expectation of being joined by his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy. \* On landing, he sent a challenge to the French king, Louis XI., to meet him in single combat, or resign the crown of France. The French king, instead of complying with Edward's fantastic freak and bravado, bribed the herald (a native of Normandy) to persuade the English king to consent to a peace; and at the same time showered gold so copiously into the craving pockets of the half-begged English nobles, as to induce them to exchange their belligerent propensities for the policy and propriety of "a league of Christian amity" between Edward and "the moderate and gentle Louis." The issue was, that in August, 1475, a truce was concluded for seven years; and that the English should evacuate France, on condition that Louis should pay Edward 75,000 crowns within fifteen days, and 50,000 crowns annually during their joint lives. To ensure the friendly disposition of the English nobles, Louis not only made them liberal gifts of plate and money, but settled on them—namely, the chancellor, the Marquis of Dorset, the lords Howard and Cheyne, and other favourites and parasites of Edward's—secret pensions to the amount of 16,000 crowns.\* To keep the English soldiers in good humour, he sent them 300 cart-loads of wine. Thus, by a dexterous piece of jugglery, the astute French king freed himself from his fearful visitants, and Edward, with his army and patriotic nobility, returned to England on the 28th of September.

The heartless woman-slayer, Henry VIII., made three invasions of France (namely, in 1512, 1513, and 1543), for the purpose of endeavouring the recovery of the territorial possessions which his predecessors had held in that country; and in their prosecution he was willingly supported by the English nation, in remembrance of the glorious actions of their ancestors.

Having been beguiled by the arts of his father-in-law, Ferdinand of Spain, and the pope, Julius II.,—the first of whom was

\* To the pensions were added occasional gratuities of money or plate. In the two years following the truce, Howard received 24,000 crowns, and Hastings twenty-four dozen silver bowls.

influenced by the hope of reducing Navarre, which lies on the frontier between France and Spain; and the second, of realising his schemes for aggrandizing the popedom,—he entered into “a holy league” with the two plotters against the French king, Louis XII., in which Louis was denounced as “an enemy to God and religion;” and the pope excommunicated and deposed him for his contumacy in refusing to obey the mandates of the apostolic church. To flatter the pride of Henry, the holy father stripped his contumacious son Louis of the title of *Most Christian Majesty* (which, according to the superstition of the age, was regarded as the most precious ornament of the crown of France), and conferred it on Henry. The bait with which Ferdinand allured the weak-minded king, was his co-operation in the reduction of Guienne, which he represented as a feasible object, as the English had many adherents in that province. For this purpose he recommended Henry to send an English army to Fontarabia, where it would be joined by a Spanish force. The Earl of Dorset was accordingly dispatched thither in May, 1512, with 10,000 English troops and a train of artillery. But after waiting many months for the promised junction of the Spanish army, during which time Ferdinand was actively employed in the reduction of Navarre, Dorset re-embarked his troops and returned to England.

Henry, still urged by his allies to prosecute the object of their league, in May, 1513, sent two bodies of troops, amounting to 26,000 men, under the Earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, to Calais, and in the following June, he followed with 12,000 men. After threatening many towns, their joint forces invested Terouenne, a strong town in Artois. The Duke of Longueville advanced with a powerful army to its relief. In the battle which ensued (August 19th), and which is called the Battle of Guinegaste, from the place where it was fought,—but known as the Battle of Spurs, in mockery of the vanquished, who trusted more to their speed than their valour,—the French cavalry, being panic-struck, galloped headlong off the field, leaving their general and his officers in the hands of the English. Terouenne immediately surrendering, the victors laid siege to Tournay, which also submitted on the 22nd of September. Leaving garrisons in his conquered cities, the English king returned to England in November.

Henry, though not endowed with any military capacity, still yearned for conquests. Accordingly he, on July 10th, 1543, entered into a treaty with the emperor, Charles V., for the conquest and partition of France. By the terms of the treaty, Charles was to penetrate the country by Champagne, and Henry by Picardy. Henry landed with a force amounting to 10,000 men, and was joined by 15,000 auxiliaries from the emperor. But disregarding the imperial ambassador's urgent requisition to advance on Paris, he dispatched the Duke of Suffolk to besiege Boulogne. On the reduction of the place, Henry (September 13th) made his triumphal entry; though he had carefully kept his unwieldy and sluggish body out of the reach of all communion or familiarity with vulgar and unmannerly shot or sword. The emperor, pretending displeasure at Henry's not fulfilling the stipulated condition of an immediate advance on the capital, made a separate peace with the French king Francis, on the very day of the English king's entry into Boulogne. Henry, leaving a sufficient garrison in his recent conquest, returned to England. Francis now proposed to dispossess the English king of his conquest. A large army and fleet were collected at Havre de Grace, under Marshal Moulun, and sailed to Boulogne. Meeting a repulse there, they proceeded, according to their instructions, to attempt an invasion of England. Reaching St. Helen's, they bombarded the English fleet at Portsmouth, and then effected a landing on the Isle of Wight and various parts of the coasts of Sussex; but being everywhere repulsed, they took to their shipping, and returned to France. In June, 1546, a truce was agreed to by the English and French kings, and Boulogne was surrendered on payment of two millions of crowns, “with arrears and costs.”

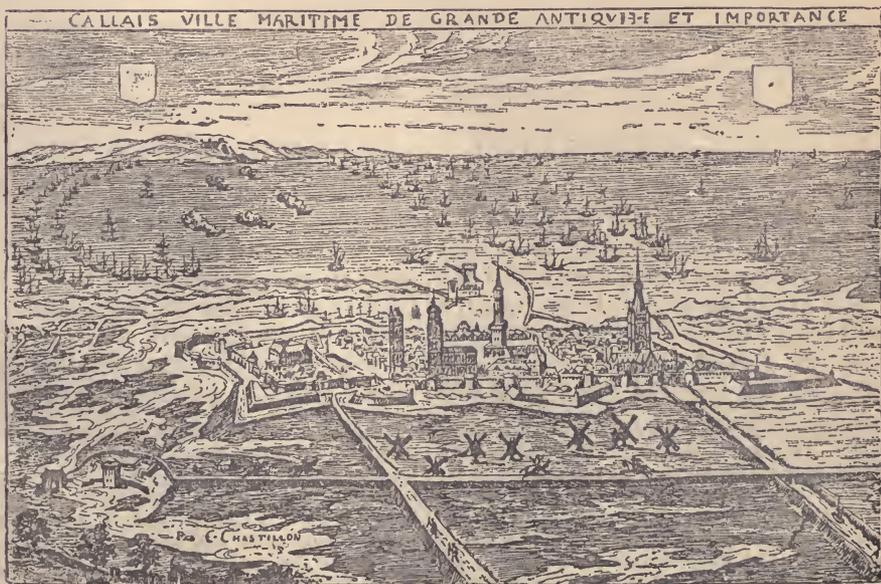
The town of Calais, which from the time of its conquest had been held at great expense as a trophy of the conquest of France, and a memento of the glory of their ancestors, was a subject of great interest to the English nation. It was the cause of much trouble when Mary ascended the English throne, on account of the encouragement given by France to the revolted protestants in the pale or district of Calais. For this reason, Mary gladly consented to co-operate with her husband, Philip of Spain, in his war with France. She accordingly dispatched the Earl of Pembroke with 7,000 men, to effect a junction with Philip's general, the Duke of

Savoy in Flanders. The allies having effected their junction, laid siege to St. Quentin on the Somme. The constable Montmorency advanced to raise the siege. A battle ensued, August 10th, 1557, and St. Quentin surrendered three weeks afterwards.

In retaliation for this aggression the French king determined to make an effort to recover Calais, and expel the English from the soil of France. The season of the year, and the dilapidated state and feeble garrison of Calais, were favourable for the attempt. In January, 1558, the celebrated Duke of Guise appeared with an army of 25,000 men, and a heavy battering train before it. After eight days' siege, during which breaches had been made in the walls of the town and the castle, the governor, Lord Wentworth, offered terms of capitulation, which were concluded next morning, on condition that the garrison (800 men) and the citizens should have a free passage to England, but that the governor and fifty of his companions should be ransomed. The other fortresses of Guisne and Hamure, in the pale or district of Calais, still remained to be reduced. The first surrendered on the 20th, after having sustained a loss of half its defenders; and the garrison of the

second effected its escape. Thus Calais, after the flag of England had waved for 211 years triumphantly from its battlements, ceased to be an appanage of England, to the unspeakable grief and rage of the English nation.

It may well be doubted, however, if these feelings of grief and rage were warranted by the occasion. Calais had cost the English more than it was worth. But the national pride had been flattered by the possession of a fortress in the country of a rival nation, and accordingly the loss was looked upon as a national humiliation. It hastened the death of the queen, who was already in a despondent state at the absence of her husband, King Philip, who returned her doting fondness with chilling and persistent indifference. "When I am dead and opened," she said to her attendants, "ye shall find Calais lying on my heart." On the other hand the taking of Calais brought great credit to the Duke of Guise, and increased the influence of his already potent family not only in France, but also in Scotland, where Mary of Guise, the sister of the duke, took the regency into her own hands, and rivetted the alliance with France by marrying her daughter Mary to the Dauphin.



VIEW OF CALAIS IN THE 16TH CENTURY.



## BATTLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS BY SEA.

### A SKETCH OF ENGLAND'S NAVAL EXPLOITS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES

TO THE PEACE OF PARIS IN 1783,

INCLUDING THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

#### ENGLAND'S NAVAL HISTORY\* AND BATTLES.

THAT the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain were a maritime people long before the Roman invasion by Julius Cæsar, is evident from the circumstance of the defeat of the allied fleet of the Bretons and the Veneti, a powerful tribe of Gaul. That defeat occurred prior to the Roman general's invasion of Britain. Of two hundred and twenty sail,

but few escaped the victor. The dictator's first invasion was made with eighty ships; the second with 600. Though the advantages on both occasions had been little more than nominal, the Roman general, on his return to the imperial city, consecrated a breastplate, embroidered with British pearls, to the seaborne goddess Venus, to denote

\* The origin of naval history is involved in great obscurity. Among the nations which stand forward as candidates for the honour, are the Egyptians and the Phœnicians. The science of ship-building and navigation was probably known at an early period to the Chinese. The accounts of the formidable fleets of Darius, Xerxes, and other heroic personages in remote ages, can be considered in no other light than hyperbolic tales; and the descriptions by ancient authors of the magnitude and magnificence of the vessels of Sesostrius, Hiero, Demetrius, Ptolemy Philopater, and of Cleopatra's galley, are mere historical marvels and heresies. According to those

descriptions, which were the creatures of their fancies, they were constructed on all the scientific principles of modern marine architecture; whereas it is certain, that those parts of a ship which are essential to mobility and fleetness were unknown even to the Romans, who, in the construction and contour of their vessels, exceeded all the nations of antiquity. The structure of the ship, according to its present fabrication, was copied from the form and external appearance of fish and water-fowl. The feet of the latter suggested the invention of the paddle, and the fins of the former gave the hint of the sails and the rigging.

that he had obtained the sovereignty of the British seas—a claim of maritime dominion which Claudius subsequently arrogated, by styling himself “sovereign of the ocean.”

From this period history is silent, for the interval of two centuries, respecting the maritime affairs of Britain.\* About that time appeared Caius Carausius, by birth a Menapian of the lowest origin; and, in the person of that adventurer, Britain first became a maritime power. For his approved courage and nautical skill, he was appointed to the command of the Roman fleet, which had its station at Gessoriacum (Boulogne.) With that fleet he was to scour the seas, and clear them of the northern sea-rovers or pirates. But becoming suspected to Maximian, who then governed the western division of the Roman empire, of meditating some scheme of occupation, a messenger was dispatched to assassinate him. The attempt being either foreseen or frustrated, Carausius invaded Britain, and persuaded the Roman troops stationed there to espouse his cause. No sooner was he declared emperor than he caused a large number of ships to be built on the Roman model, and trained the native British to the sea service, according to the naval tactics of the empire.

The opinions of historians as to the originator of the British navy have been various. Alfred the Great has been generally considered its founder. But whether that illustrious patriot is entitled or not to the historical reputation, it is certain that he suggested a variety of improvements in the structure and form of ships, and considerably advanced marine architecture. He caused his vessels to be constructed of double magnitude and motive power to those of the Danes and Normans with whom he had to contend; and, in order to man them with skilful mariners, he invited such of the Friesland sea-rovers\* who were willing to abandon piracy, to enlist under his banners. Those men served their new master ably and faithfully; and the English, after the example of their king, soon became so bold and expert navigators, that instead of waiting for the landing of the Danes and

other northmen, they attacked them on the element on which they presumed they were invincible, and gained victories. Though Alfred’s naval battles, as detailed by the ancient chroniclers, are intermingled with much which partakes of romance, it is certain that his efforts materially conduced to liberate the country from the depredations of the Danes and the other piratical northmen by whom England had been long ravaged.† The same good fortune distinguished the reigns of Alfred’s son and grandson, Edward the Elder and Athelstane; till at length, in the reign of Edgar, who had a more numerous and powerful fleet than the combined navies of the whole of the European princes, England had become so maritime a power, that eight native kings rowed his barge on the river Dee in token of vassalage.

But the earliest naval assemblage worthy of being deemed a fleet, available for defence or attack, as also the most authentic testimony of the birth of the British navy, was in the reign of Henry II., who, in the year 1106, invaded Normandy with a powerful fleet. The same prince also made extensive naval preparations for his expedition to the Holy Land, to free it from the power of the unbelievers, and enforce his right to the kingdom of Jerusalem, to which he had been appointed by the patriarch of that city—preparations which his successor, Richard I., put into operation in his crusade, in conjunction with Philip Augustus, King of France. According to Selden—in contradiction of the old chroniclers, who attribute that power to Edgar,—Henry II. was the first British king who claimed the sovereignty of the seas surrounding Britain. In virtue of this lordship, or sovereign jurisdiction of the “narrow or English seas,” and the laws and statutes made in that behalf, it was required, when any ships belonging to the crown of Britain met with any other ship or ships in the service of any foreign state, either in the English seas or from Cape Finisterre to the middle point of the land Van Staten in Norway, the said foreign ship shall strike her topsails and take in her flag, in acknow-

\* The northern sea-rovers, who were known under the name of the Vikings, were distinguished for their nautical skill and determined character. Among them, it was deemed a misfortune and a disgrace not to die in battle. According to their superstitious notions, a death produced by age or sickness was to be punished by exclusion from the battles-royal and the skull-caps of Valhalla.

† Among the extraordinary exploits which the

ancient chroniclers have attributed to this real patriot, are—1st. His sending certain persons to discover the utmost extent of the Arctic regions, and the possibility of a passage on that side of the north-east; and 2ndly, his correspondence with the East Indies, through the medium and agency of travellers to those regions. The details of both these extraordinary exploits are given by Spelman and William of Malmesbury.

ledgment of the sovereignty of England in those seas; and if she shall refuse or offer to resist, all British flag-officers and commanders were required to use their utmost endeavours to compel her thereto, and not to suffer any dishonour to be done to the nation. And in other parts (*i.e.*, out of the limits of the English seas), no English ship is to strike her flag or topsails to any foreigner, unless such foreign ship have first done the same to her. This prerogative or national claim, having long remained in abeyance, was revived in the year 1200 by John, who, with the barons assembled at Hastings, ordained that if any ship of other nations, even though at peace with England, refused to strike to the royal flag, it should be made a regal prize. The question of the naval sovereignty of England continued to be agitated and disputed at intervals by the various European nations till the close of the 13th century, when it was tacitly acceded to by the other maritime powers. In the reign of Edward II., the Dutch were compelled to obtain licences to fish on the English coast.

Tenacious, however, as English princes had been in claiming the lordship of the narrow seas during the period stated, the maritime ascendancy of the country had materially declined, and that of France gained a proportionate preponderance. On the accession, however, of Edward I. to the throne, that monarch, by his energy and encouragement, succeeded in rescuing, in some degree, the naval character of Britain from the degradation into which it had fallen. He asserted and maintained the English sovereignty of the seas, and proclaimed the right to have belonged to the country from time immemorial.

The glorious victory gained by Edward III., in 1340, at Sluys, over the French powerful armada, at once restored the naval superiority of England. So complete was the discomfiture of the enemy, that none of Philip's courtiers—like those of his namesake of Spain, in relation to the destruction of the Spanish armada, by which his designs of universal conquest were frustrated—ventured to inform him of the disaster. The duty was undertaken by the court fool, who discharged it in a professional manner. Availing himself of the appropriate opportunity, "What heartless cowards those English are!" exclaimed the official. "Why do you think so?" inquired Philip. "Because," replied the royal parasite, "they had

not the courage to leap overboard like our French and Normans at Sluys." In this remarkable battle, which lasted from eight in the morning till seven at night, the loss of the enemy was above 30,000 men; while that of the English amounted to 4,000. Edward's letter announcing the victory, is considered to have been the first naval despatch recorded in English history. Having kept at sea for three days, the English hero landed his forces and marched to Ghent, to lay the foundation of that series of victories which has placed English military renown on the highest pinnacle of fame. Among the other pretensions of Edward to patriotic greatness is, that by his encouragement considerable progress was made in the systematic organisation of naval science.

From this period to the reign of the imbecile Richard II. (inclusive), the British navy had so declined in number and efficiency, that a combined French and Spanish fleet, in 1377, insulted the coast of England, burned Rye, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Hastings, and ravaged the Isle of Wight; and the same fleet, in 1380, burnt Portsmouth and Winchelsea, and, sailing up the Thames, set fire to Gravesend. Having thus discovered the feeble condition of England, the French prepared for one great effort of invasion. Accordingly, in the month of September, 1386, twelve hundred and eighty-seven ships, carrying 60,000 men, were assembled at Sluys; and to impart importance to the undertaking, it was invested with the imposing title and designation of "the French armada for the invasion of England."

Great consternation was created among the people of England at these preparations; and "processions were made during every week, in every good town and city in the island, to deliver them from the peril;" but as "there were," as Froissart says, "one hundred thousand men in England who had heard of the noble deeds which their fathers had done at Crecy and at Poitiers, they heartily desired that the enemy might land." To provide for the emergency, the Earl of Arundel was appointed lord admiral, who forthwith set sail to oppose the enemy.

At length the formidable armament of 1,500 vessels set sail from Sluys; and being descried from the mast-head of the lord admiral Arundel's flag-ship (the number of whose ships is not stated; but Froissart says there were 500 men-at-arms on board, and 1,000 archers), the earl, "greatly re-

joining at the news," immediately put to sea. The chronicler describes the Flemings, as they approached, as making show of a determination to engage; and the English as feigning to retire in seeming mistrust of being able to match their adversaries; but, by this manœuvre, the English obtained the weather-gauge. Their galleys then pressed forward with stress of oars. A furious engagement ensued, and was maintained with great eagerness and resolution on both sides. The battle continued till dark, when both fleets drew off; but on the dawn of the following morning, they fiercely and resolutely renewed the battle. At length the enemy took to flight towards Sluys and Blankenburg, leaving above one hundred ships in possession of the English fleet. On board the captured vessels, the chroniclers Froisart, Fabyan, and Hollinshed say, that there was so large a quantity of rich wines of Poictou and Saintogne, that they were sold in London for a mark the tun, and the choicest for twenty shillings.

For nearly a century following, the history of the British navy is inglorious and obscure: its regeneration is assignable to the creation of tenures for the maintenance of a naval establishment out of the mercantile resources of the country. For that purpose, certain coast towns and inland corporations were endowed with extraordinary privileges, on condition of furnishing a certain number of ships and men at the royal summons. Such, especially, were the Cinque Ports—Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich. Independent of the contingents furnished by the chartered ports and other towns, vessels were hired and equipped by wealthy nobles and merchants.

During the reign of Henry VII.—namely, from 1485 to 1509—the English navy was placed on a more certain footing. As the policy of that prince encouraged commerce, the navy was consequently increased. By the time that Henry VIII. succeeded to the throne, the English had made so great progress in naval knowledge and marine architecture, that the sea was considered their native element. In his reign, the nucleus of a royal fleet which had been formed by his father, was expanded into a great national defence worthy of the country it guarded. The *Henri Grace à Dieu*, or *Great Harry*, was of 1,000 tons burden; its complement of men was 349 soldiers, 301 sailors, and fifty gunners. Be-

sides the great improvements made in marine architecture during his reign, the arsenals of Woolwich, Portsmouth, and Deptford were established, as also the navy office, to superintend the interests of seamen.

Though the naval strength of England had, under the pernicious and all-absorbing subjects of religious polemics, declined from the end of the reign of Henry VIII. to the accession of Elizabeth, the impending danger from the Spanish Armada, and its glorious discomfiture, contributed to the renewal of British naval splendour. By that event, the maritime superiority of England was established on a basis which has ever since been maintained unshaken and immovable.

Among the glorious naval exploits during the reign of the virgin queen, that of Sir Richard Greenville stands out in bold relief.

In the year 1591, a squadron consisting of six ships of the line and about a dozen merchant vessels, under the command of Lord Thomas Howard, was dispatched to intercept the Spanish West India convoy from the Havannah. For the protection of that convoy, Philip had sent from Spain fifty-five vessels of war. While the British fleet was riding at anchor off the island of Flores, the Spanish fleet and its convoy hove in sight. Howard immediately weighed, to put to sea; but as nearly half the crews of the British squadron was ashore on account of the scurvy, the *Revenge*, commanded by Sir Richard Greenville, was left to bring them off; but not being able to recover the wind, to enable him to effect a junction with the rest of the squadron, he was advised by the officers to cut his mainsail and cast about, as the Spanish fleet was on his weather-bow; but he peremptorily refused to flee from the enemy, declaring that he would rather die than leave a mark of so great dishonour on himself, his country, and the queen's ship. In consequence of this heroic resolution, the *Revenge* was now surrounded by the whole of the Spanish fleet; and from the moment the fight commenced (which began about three o'clock in the afternoon, and lasted till next morning), he repulsed the enemy fifteen times. Having been slightly wounded in the beginning of the action, and receiving, about an hour before midnight, a musket-shot in the body, he was obliged to leave the upper deck. While under the surgeon's hands, he received a wound in the head. All now seemed lost.

Above one hundred of the crew were slain, and nearly all the others wounded. The masts were all beaten overboard, the tackle cut asunder, six feet of water in the hold, the ship levelled with the water; and, to increase the fearful spectacle, the deck was covered with the slain and wounded, and "flooded with blood like a slaughter-house." In this dismal condition, Sir Richard commanded the master-gunner to spit and sink the ship by setting fire to the magazine, that nothing might remain to reward the glory of the enemy; but that officer, instead of obeying the heroic resolution of his captain, went on board the Spanish admiral's ship, and made his submission. The last words of the dying hero were:—"Here do I, Sir Richard Greenville, die with a joyful and quiet mind, for that I have ended my life as a good soldier ought to do, who has fought for his country, queen, religion, and honour. Wherefore my soul joyfully departeth out of this body, and shall always

leave behind it an everlasting fame of a good soldier, who has done his duty as he was bound to do. But the others of my company have done as traitors and dogs, for which they shall be reproached all their lives, and leave a shameful name for ever." Thus the death scene of this heroic man has stamped his character and reputation indelibly on the recollection of posterity; and fortune seems to have been so propitious to his fame, as to have stripped the victor of his glory; the Spanish fleet and its convoy having, on their return to Spain, been scattered and dashed to pieces, together with the battered hull of the *Revenge*, on the rocks of Terceira, so that only forty vessels escaped destruction. In the dear-bought victory, the *Revenge* had destroyed two ships and slain a thousand men, so desperate had been the resistance of her heroic commander. A decaying monument of this glorious action is in Westminster Abbey.



SPANISH ARMADA; from the Tapestry in the old House of Lords.



DESTRUCTION OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

THE motives of Philip II., King of Spain, for fitting out the celebrated Spanish Armada, and undertaking the hazardous attempt against England, were twofold: first, to obtain revenge for the relief which she had sent to Philip's Belgian subjects in their insurrection against his authority; secondly, for the support of the popish faith, and the extermination of heresy. To subdue England seemed a necessary preparation to the re-establishment of his authority in the Netherlands; to exterminate the heretic queen and her subjects was an act worthy a true son of the catholic apostolic church. In confidence, Philip communicated<sup>6</sup> his design to the reigning pope, Sixtus V., and he solicited his co-operation in the attempt. The "holy father," desirous of the restoration of the papal authority in England, heartily entered into the design. To promote the enterprise, the pope issued a bull, commanding the English papists, by their obedience to the holy church, to hold themselves in readiness to assist and co-operate with the armada; he deposed and excommunicated Elizabeth, absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and, to expedite the undertaking, he promised to furnish Philip with a million of crowns of gold, as soon as he set foot on the island. A litany was composed for the occasion, in which all the archangels, angels, and saints of the Romish ritual were invoked to assist against the enemies of the holy apostolic church. As an inducement to engage in

the service, a remission of sins and a plenary indulgence for the future was offered to all engaged; and as they were taught to believe that they would be engaged in God's service and the protection of their faith from the designs of heretics, crowds flocked from all parts of Europe to enlist in the sacred cause. To further the design, the popish emissaries throughout Christendom represented Elizabeth as a monster of iniquity, hostile to the interests and welfare of the true apostolic church of Rome; and this representation was assiduously set forth in pictures, dramas, poems, and pamphlets. Cardinal Allen, who was appointed legate of the holy see to England, published a book, in which he stigmatised the English queen as "a heretic, usurper, an incestuous bastard—the bane of Christendom, the firebrand of all mischief."

The preparations, both in Spain and the Netherlands, were proportionate to the importance of the undertaking.<sup>6</sup> One hundred and thirty-five large ships of war, with more than the ordinary proportion of small craft and transports, rode in the harbours of Spain; and to impart sanctity to their intended use, the names of the most popular saints appeared in the nomenclature of the ships. On board this formidable armament were 8,450 seamen, 19,295 soldiers, 2,500 galley slaves and domestics, 700 noble volunteers, and 600 monks or "religionists." To share in the glory and piety of the undertaking, every noble house in Spain had a

son, a brother, or a nephew engaged; and among "the religionists" were Augustines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and Jesuits, with Martinez Marco, vicar-general of the Inquisition, at their head. Ostentatious of their power, and elated with the vain hope of subjugating the enemies of their faith, the Spaniards christened the host of vessels, "the most fortunate and invincible armada." The military preparations in the Netherlands were no less formidable. Troops from all quarters—Spain, Germany, Italy—hastened to join the Duke of Parma; and the most renowned nobility of those countries were ambitious of sharing in the honour of the enterprise. After allotting 11,000 men, in addition to the ordinary garrisons, for the defence of Flanders, the duke found himself at the head of 30,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, among whom were 1,300 deserters, subjects of England, under Sir William Stanley, governor of Derwent, and Sir Roland York, captain of a fort near Zutphen, both of whom had treacherously passed over to the service of Philip. There was also a large number of boats and flat-bottomed vessels collected in the ports of Dunkirk, Antwerp, &c.; all ready to co-operate with the armada in the invasion of England. The Marquis of Santa Cruz, who was appointed admiral, dying while the expedition was about to set sail, the Duke of Medina Sidonia was selected to supply his place.

Having received the solemn blessing of Cardinal Albert of Austria, then viceroy of Portugal, the armada sailed from the mouth of the Tagus on the 29th of May, 1588, in a profound belief that all the saints in the Romish litany would befriend it, and confound the heretics for whose punishment it had been embodied. This formidable equipment, after three weeks' sail, having arrived within a few leagues of the Scilly Isles, was overtaken by a storm, and compelled to return to Corunna and other ports of Galicia to refit.

Notwithstanding the secrecy with which the Spanish council had carried on their preparations in fitting out the armada, and their pretence that it was to be employed in the Indies, Elizabeth and her advisers were satisfied that it was intended to make some effort against England. A military council was therefore appointed to consult for the defence of the kingdom; and all the male population, from the age of eighteen to sixty, were ordered to be enrolled. One hundred thousand were called out, regimented, and

armed; but only one-half of the number was disciplined. An army of 20,000 men was disposed in different bodies along the southern coast, and one of 22,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, was stationed at Tilbury, for the defence of the capital. All the commercial towns were required to furnish ships to reinforce the royal navy, which consisted of only twenty-eight ships: Lord Howard of Effingham was appointed lord high admiral; and Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him.

At length, 191 ships were collected, manned by 17,472 seamen. These vessels were divided into two fleets: the larger stationed at Plymouth, under Effingham; the smaller, consisting of forty vessels under Lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, for the purpose of intercepting the Duke of Parma and his army when they put to sea in their flat-bottomed boats in order to effect a junction with the armada. Effingham having ascertained the retreat of the armada to port, took advantage of the first fair wind, and sailed for the purpose of attacking it in its damaged state; but the wind changing to the south, he was compelled to steer back to the Channel, and reached Plymouth on the 18th of July.

The armada having, in the meantime, been completely refitted, sailed from Corunna on the 12th of July. The instructions for the Duke of Medina Sidonia were to repair to the road of Calais, and there effect a junction with the Duke of Parma; but when off the Lizard Point, receiving information that the English admiral was not prepared to meet him, he determined to avail himself of the opportunity of surprising the English fleet in harbour, and burn and destroy it. A gentle breeze springing up, the armada proudly advanced up the Channel. It was descried by Fleming, a Scottish pirate, who was roving in those seas. On receipt of the information, Effingham had just time to get out of harbour, when he saw the armada coming full sail towards him in the form of a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. Immediately he gave chase. On the morrow (July 21st), Effingham, sending the *Defiance* pinnace forward, threatened war, and challenged the enemy by firing one of his guns. The Spanish admiral accepted the defiance. Effingham, in his ship the *Royal Ark*, singled out

what he supposed to be the Spanish admiral's flag-ship, but it proved to be the vice-admiral's. They engaged gallantly; other ships came up and shared in the combat. Meanwhile Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher kept up a brisk fire on the ships of the rear division, commanded by Ricaldez. After a smart action, as the English admiral had attacked with only part of his fleet, forty of his ships having been unable to clear the harbour in time to accompany him, each fleet drew off; the armada bearing away into the Channel, followed by the English. In the course of the night a large Biscayan ship took fire; and on the following day a great galleon was taken by Drake.

Reinforcements having now joined the English fleet, on the 23rd, the armada being off Portland, Effingham advanced to give battle. The Spanish admiral accepted the challenge, and bore down with his utmost force. Throughout the fight the whole day, little loss or damage was sustained by either side. The armada was now off the Isle of Wight; but Effingham determined not to attack it till it arrived in the Straits of Calais, where he was to be joined by the squadron under Lord Seymour.

On the evening of the 27th, the armada reached the Straits, and anchored off Calais; when the Spanish admiral sent a message to the Duke of Parma to join him off Gravelines next day. Effingham came to an anchor within gun-shot of the armada. As it was of the highest importance to frustrate the junction of the duke's force with the armada, Effingham caused eight of his lighter and less serviceable ships to be pitched, tarred, and filled with combustibles, and sent them on fire at midnight adrift before the wind, against the enemy. The Spaniards, panic-struck, cut their cables and run out to sea, inflicting, in their terror and confusion, much greater damage on their own ships than they had suffered in the preceding actions; so that on the dawn of the following morning, the armada was dispersed along the coast from Ostend to Calais. At length they were collected and rendezvoused at Gravelines. Thither Effingham proceeded. A fierce combat ensued, which lasted from four in the morning till six in the evening, when the Spaniards were defeated, with the loss of fourteen of their largest ships, either sunk or run aground. The Duke of Parma now declining to risk his troops on board the armada whilst the Channel was commanded by the English

fleet, Medina Sidonia resolved to return to Spain by a circuit round Scotland and Ireland. Effingham, leaving Seymour to blockade the division under Parma, followed the armada as far as Flamborough Head, and there prepared to give the Spaniards battle, when he found that he was deficient in ammunition; and a storm coming on, he set sail for his return to the Downs, which he reached August 8th. Had he been attacked, it is said that the Spanish admiral intended to surrender.

A violent tempest overtook the armada after it had passed the Orkneys; and the greater number of ships which composed it, were, after various hardships, cast away on the western isles of Scotland, the shores of Norway, and the western coast of Ireland. The losses have been variously computed. Some accounts state, that eighty-one vessels were lost, and 14,000 of the crews and land forces missing; others, that not half the ships returned to the Spanish ports. Medina Sidonia acknowledged the loss of thirty ships of the largest class, and 10,000 men. Relics of the destruction have been occasionally discovered. Not long since, the remains of an anchor, which from appearance belonged to the armada, was picked up by a fisherman's trawl off Dover; and in 1832, one of the cannon (now in the Marquis of Sligo's possession) was found on the coast of Mayo.

Such was the conclusion of the formidable armament which Philip had been three years preparing for the subjugation of England, and which drained the Spanish exchequer of ten millions sterling. When Philip received intelligence of the frustration of his designs, he commanded a general thanksgiving to God and the saints to be celebrated throughout Spain. The pope and the Spanish priests who had blessed and consecrated the holy crusade, and foretold its infallible success, attributed its failure in allowing the infidel Moors to live among them.

While the armada was in progress round the island (it being feared that the Duke of Parma might effect a landing), Elizabeth, to excite the martial spirit of the nation, appeared on horseback in the camp at Tilbury, with a marshal's baton in her hand; and, riding on a white palfrey through the lines, exhorted the troops to remember their duty to their country and their religion, professing to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin

and slavery of her people. Her speech on this memorable occasion is preserved; and well might it have animated our ancestors. "My loving people," said the heroine, "we have been persuaded by some who are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I have come among you, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you—to lay down for my God, my kingdom, and my people, my honour and blood even in the dust. I know that I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think it foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any power of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms,—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already for your forwardness you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you." By

this spirited carriage and animated address, she revived the attachment and admiration of the troops to the height of enthusiasm; and they asked one another whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon the glorious cause in which they were engaged, or could ever be induced to relinquish the defence of a princess so heroic.

When intelligence arrived of the discomfiture and dispersal of Philip's formidable and "invincible" armada, the joy of the queen and the nation was unbounded. A day of thanksgiving was observed; and on that occasion Elizabeth went in state to St. Paul's, in a triumphal car ornamented with the spoils and ensigns of the enemy. Medals were struck, bearing the inscription "*Venit, videt, fugit*" (in parody of Julius Cæsar's memorable expression), and "*Dux fœmina facti*," in allusion to the queen's heroic resolution and declaration.

The comparative forces of the Spanish and English fleets were:—The armada consisted of three ships of 1,100 tons burden, forty-five between 600 and 1,000 tons burden, besides other vessels. The English fleet contained one ship of 1,100 tons burden, one of 900 tons, two of 800 tons each, three of 600, five of 500, five of 400, six of 300, six of 250, and twenty of 200 tons, besides smaller vessels. Thus, though the English fleet outnumbered the armada by nearly sixty ships, its tonnage was not half that of the enemy.

#### THE NAVY UNDER THE STUARTS AND HANOVERIANS TO 1783.

A NEW era in the maritime history of England succeeded on the demise of Elizabeth, and the accession to the English throne of James I. On the incorporation of the East India Company, a small fleet, consisting of four vessels, whose joint tonnage was 1,650 tons, was dispatched to India for the purpose of establishing a factory at Surat. While on its passage, it was attacked by an overwhelming force, consisting of six Spanish and Portuguese galleons (war-ships of the largest size then in use), three ships of inferior rate, two galleys, and sixty smaller vessels. Notwithstanding the fearful disparity of force, the little English squadron obtained a complete victory. In consequence of this decisive action, and subsequent successes, the company enlarged their sphere of enterprise, and a ship of 1,200 tons burden was built for the India trade, which was the largest merchant vessel that had ever appeared on the wa-

ters. In this reign, also, the royal navy was not only increased, but marine architecture greatly improved. The *Royal Prince*, which was considered at the time as the masterpiece of naval architecture, was also constructed. It was 114 feet in length; of 1,400 tons burthen; and was pierced for sixty-four pieces of ordnance.

In the two years' war of 1652 and 1653, between the English Commonwealth and Holland, the Dutch republic, though it had become the great maritime power of Europe, was so humbled as to be obliged, in a treaty of peace, to acknowledge to its full extent the English sovereignty of the seas. The prohibition by the republican parliament of England, by the navigation act, of the importation of merchandise except in English bottoms, or the ships of those countries in which the merchandise had been produced, while it tended to promote the interests of

British shipping, deteriorated those of the Dutch in more than a corresponding ratio, as, by virtue of the edict, the carrying trade of Holland was annihilated. By the successful issue of the subsequent contests with the Dutch and Spaniards, in which Van Tromp, De Ruyter, and a long roll of celebrated admirals succumbed to Blake, Monk, and other naval heroes of the English Commonwealth, Cromwell fulfilled his heroic boasts, that he would make the name of an Englishman to be as honoured as that of an ancient Roman citizen. Under the guidance of the Protector's genius, and the exploits of Blake and other naval champions, the fleets of England rivalled the legions of Rome, in the awe which they occasioned and the conquests they achieved. When Charles II., therefore, was restored to the English throne, he possessed advantages which no English king had hitherto enjoyed. A resistless navy, a devoted people, and the respect impressed by a series of victories on the whole of Europe—all seemed to promise an illustrious era for England. A new war was therefore concerted, and circumstances pointed out its direction. The trade of the African company, which had been recently formed, being checked and impeded by the activity and numerous settlements of the Dutch, a new war with those commercial rivals was therefore resolved on. A powerful British fleet, consisting of 114 ships of the line and twenty frigates and bomb-ketches, under the Duke of York, was soon at sea. On the 3rd of June, 1665, it was encountered off Lowestoft by the Dutch fleet, consisting of nearly an equal force, under Admiral Obdam. Both fleets fought with the most determined perseverance till the Dutch flag-ship blew up. On that occurrence the Dutch fleet drew off, having sustained a loss of nineteen ships, 6,000 men killed, and 2,300 taken prisoners. While this was the most signal naval victory gained since the glorious and unexampled overthrow of the French at Sluys by Edward III., it was the severest blow the Dutch had ever felt at sea. •

Undismayed, however, by this misfortune, and reinforced by Denmark and France, the republic was soon in a condition to contend again with the victor. The united fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships of war, carrying 4,716 guns and 22,462 men, soon put to sea. The hostile fleets came in sight of each other on the 1st of

June, 1666, off the Dogger Bank, when a furious action commenced, in which the Dutch, under De Ruyter, and the English, under the Duke of Albemarle, maintained the conflict for four hours, until the English fleet was partially defeated, and both sides were willing to retire to repair their losses.

The Dutch, affecting the superiority in the late engagement, appeared at sea before the British were able to leave port, and insulted the English coast. But they were not long permitted to indulge in their bravado. On the 23rd of June, the English fleet, consisting of eighty sail of the line and nineteen fire-ships, under the command of Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, came up with the enemy off the North Foreland, when a desperate battle ensued, which terminated in the complete defeat of the Dutch, with the loss of twenty ships, 4,000 men killed, and 3,000 wounded. After having inflicted this severe blow on their enemies, the English swept the seas, insulted the coasts of Holland with impunity, and even burnt the Dutch ships in their harbours.

Having recovered from their consternation, on the 1st of June, 1667, the Dutch entered the Thames with a fleet consisting of seventy ships of war, besides fire-vessels. Surmounting every obstacle, they captured Sheerness, and either took or destroyed all the ships in the river. To divert the enemy from their object of attacking London, a fleet was dispatched northward, to intercept a richly laden Dutch convoy from Norway and the Baltic. For the defence of their commerce, the States-General commanded their admiral in the Thames to sail forthwith from the scene of his triumph, and proceed to the protection of the Baltic convoy. During the course of these counter-operations, both states acceded to a treaty, which was ratified at Breda, August 24th, 1667.

The next naval contest in which England was engaged with Holland, was that in which Louis XIV. induced the profligate Charles II., by the present of a French mistress and a French pension, to co-operate with him in his scheme of aggrandisement and universal dominion. The consequence of the French and English alliance was the battle of Solebay, May 19th, 1672, in which the Dutch, though with an inferior force, compelled the allied fleet to withdraw from the scene of action.

By this time, a third great naval power had risen in Europe, namely, that of France. Louis XIV., by his alliance with the Dutch, had taught his subjects to build ships, and, by his union with England in the late war, to fight them. He now waited for an opportunity to enter the lists with his rivals, and political events soon presented him with a favourable cause.

On the accession of William III. to the British throne at the revolution of 1688, the French king espoused the cause of the dethroned James, and endeavoured to reinstate him by expediting a powerful land force to Ireland. In the course of the year 1690 he sent a fleet, consisting of seventy-eight ships of war and twenty-two fire-vessels, to co-operate in the attempt. On the 3rd of June, the combined English and Dutch fleets, under the command of the Earl of Torrington, encountered the enemy off Beechy Head; when the English lost two, and the Dutch six, of their largest vessels. In the subsequent encounters between the French and the allied fleets, the former were so successful, that in the year 1694, the French styled themselves "Lords of both Seas"—namely, the Atlantic and the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding, however, these successes, and that Louis XIV. had, by his energy and encouragement, created and matured a French navy; before the end of the year the ocean sovereignty of England was, by the heroic exploits of Russell, Earl of Oxford, Torrington, Rooke, and Shovel, and the effects of the victories of Marlborough, so firmly established as to constitute her the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. During that period—namely, in the year 1704—Gibraltar was taken by the British fleet under Rooke and Shovel.

The most celebrated naval action during this period was that off Cape La Hogue, between the English and French fleets, in May, 1692. On the 18th of that month, Russell having received information that a French fleet, under the Count de Tourville, was at sea, sailed with the united English and Dutch fleets, consisting of ninety-nine ships of war, and stretched over to the French coast. The next morning at day-break, the frigate ahead of the allied fleet having made the signal of an enemy in sight, orders were given to form the line of battle. At ten, the French fleet, which consisted of sixty sail of the line, being to the windward, Tourville bore down, and at eleven the fight began. About one, the

French admiral's ship was so shattered in its masts and rigging, that it was towed out of the line. The battle continued to rage with great fury till four, when the French flag-ship was discovered bearing away to the northward, followed by the whole fleet in great disorder. Signal was immediately made for a general chase; but a heavy fog coming on, the united fleet was obliged to anchor, to enable them to keep in a collected state. As soon as the weather cleared they weighed again, and stood in pursuit of the fleeing enemy. About eight o'clock in the evening, the blue squadron having come up with the enemy, after half-an-hour's engagement the hostile fleet bore away for the Conquet-road, with the loss of four of its ships. On the two following days, the weather was so dark and foggy, that though the fleets were in sight of each other, no effective operations could be attempted; the French continuing the whole time standing to the westward, and the allies pursuing them.

On the 22nd, about seven in the morning, the allied fleet resumed the chase, and at eleven the French flag-ship ran ashore, when her masts were cut away. In the evening, many of the enemy's ships being seen standing off Cape La Hogue, were attacked and destroyed. By this signal defeat, the French sustained a loss of thirteen ships of the line and eighteen smaller vessels. The remainder of their fleet escaped by pushing through the Race of Alderney, and taking shelter in St. Maloes. It was in the course of this action that Albemarle, in the following heroic terms, addressed the council of war assembled to consider the means requisite to be adopted:—"If we had feared the number of our enemies we should have fled yesterday; but though we are inferior to them in ships, we are in all things else superior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow resolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. At the most, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own element, than to be made spectacles to the enemy. To be overcome is the fortune of war; but to flee is the fortune of cowards. Let us teach the world that Englishmen would rather be acquainted with death than fear." The consequence of this noble address was the glorious victory just narrated.

It is now the province of the naval historian, to record an exploit which has never



PASSAGE OF THE DOURO.



been surpassed, except by the daring and heroic attack of Lord Cochrane on the French fleet in the Basque-roads, during the war of the French revolution.

The Spanish galleons from the West Indies and South America, under a convoy of a French squadron, having put into Vigo for protection, on the 11th of October, 1702, Sir George Rooke appeared before that place with the combined British and Dutch fleet. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breastworks on each side; a strong boom composed of iron chains, topmasts, and cables, was moored at each end to a 70-gun ship; and the harbour and its entrance, internally, were fortified by five ships of equal strength, lying without the channel, with their broadsides to the offing. As the first and second-rate ships of the combined fleets were too large to enter the channel, the admirals shifted their flags into smaller vessels; and a division of twenty-five English and Dutch ships of the line, with their frigates, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, advanced to the attack; while the Duke of Ormond, to facilitate the operation, landed with 2,500 men, about six miles distant from the place, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of artillery, at the entrance of the harbour. No sooner was the British ensign seen flying on the captured fort, than the naval squadron advanced to the attack. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the *Torbay*, crowding all sail, ran direct against the boom, which being broken by the first shock, the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a most terrific fire, poured upon it from the enemy's ships and batteries. After a boldly sustained combat, during which the enemy's batteries were stormed, and his vessels placed on each side of the harbour silenced, the enemy finding himself unable to cope with his adversary, set fire to his war vessels and the galleons. Ten ships and eleven galleons, however fell into the hands of the victors, with seven millions sterling on board. More than this amount of value perished in the consumed vessels. The fortifications having been dismantled, the British fleet returned in triumph with its prizes and booty to England.

The glory, however, with which this gallant exploit invested the English arms, had just been tarnished by the misconduct of the captains of Admiral Benbow's fleet in the West Indies, in the encounter with the

French fleet under the command of the Count de Casse. Benbow hearing that the enemy was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, beat up for that island. At Leogane he fell in with one of the vessels of the fleet, numbering fifty guns, which he compelled to run ashore to escape capture. Pursuing his course, he bore away for Donna Maria Bay, on the coast of Carthage, whither he understood De Casse had steered. Discovering, on the 19th of August, the enemy's squadron, consisting of ten sail of the line, near St. Martha, steering along the shore, he instantly bore down on it, and forming line, an engagement commenced, in which he was so ill-supported by the captains of the fleet, as to be unable to bring the enemy to close battle, so that the conflict continued till midnight without any result. Next morning, he perceived all his ships, except the *Ruby* (commanded by Captain Walter), at the distance of three or four miles from his flag-ship. Undiscouraged by this treacherous conduct, he continued the pursuit, accompanied by the *Ruby*, and on the 21st came up with the enemy, when the *Ruby* was found so disabled that she was sent to Jamaica to be repaired. On the 23rd, the heroic Benbow, unsupported by any of his wayward-willed captains, renewed the battle with his single ship; and though his leg was shattered by a chain-shot, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, animating his gallant crew. Again he gave the signal for those ships of his fleet which remained in sight to join; but no regard was paid, they remaining aloof from the contest. He still continued the fight, and attempted in person to board the French flag-ship; but perceiving that all further efforts would be fruitless, he bore away for Jamaica. Two of his captains, Wade and Kirby, were tried for their treacherous conduct, and shot at Portsmouth. De Casse, on his arrival at Carthage, admiring the heroic conduct of his gallant foe, wrote to him the following letter:—

“Sir,—I had little hope on Monday last but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for by God they deserve it.—DE CASSE.”

From this period to the revolt of the British American colonies from the mother country, the principal British naval contest was with the Dutch admiral Zoutman, who

was protecting a rich convoy from the United States, with whom the republic of Holland had formed an alliance against England. The Dutch fleet and its convoy was encountered by Admiral Hyde Parker, with an equal force, off the Dogger Bank, in the month of August, 1781; when a battle took place, unparalleled for desperation among the events of the war consequent on the separation of the colonies from the mother country. For three hours and a-half the two fleets continued to cannonade each other, till they had sustained so much damage, that they lay like logs on the water, incapable of further annoyance. At last the Dutch fleet, with great difficulty, bore away for the Texel.

In the following year occurred the victory gained by Admiral Rodney, between the islands of Guadeloupe and Dominica, over the French fleet commanded by the Count de Grasse, which had been sent by the government of France to co-operate with the insurgent colonists.\* The French fleet consisted of thirty-four ships of the line, two of fifty guns, ten frigates, seven armed brigs, two fire-ships, and a cutter; while that of the English fleet amounted to only twenty-six sail of the line, besides frigates.

The battle commenced about seven o'clock on the morning of the 12th of April, 1782. It was fought in a large basin of water, lying between the islands of Guadeloupe, Dominica, and the Saintes. As soon as day broke the British admiral made the signal for close action, which was instantly obeyed by every ship in the fleet. The British line, instead of being, as usual, at two cables' length distance between every ship, was formed at the distance of only one. As each vessel came up, she ranged close alongside her opponent, passing along the enemy for that purpose, giving and receiving, while thus taking her station, a dreadful and tremendous fire. The action continued in this manner till noon; when Rodney, with his own ship the *Formidable*, supported by the *Namur*, the *Duke*, and the *Canada*, bore

\* Rodney had arrived at Barbadoes on the 19th of February, and soon after put to sea with the intention of joining Sir Samuel Hood, who had been attempting to relieve St. Christopher, which had been assailed by the Count de Grasse, and a land force under the Marquis of Bouillé. Rodney met Hood, who had with him only twenty-two ships of the line, and maintained an action with De Grasse, who had twenty-three ships of the line, and whom he had repulsed in two attacks with severe loss. On Hood's information that De Grasse had proceeded to Martinique to prepare for the attack on

down with all sail on the enemy's line, within three ships of the centre, and completely broke through it; the other ships of his division following him; they all wore round, and doubling on the enemy, placed the vessels which they had cut off from the rest of the fleet between two fires. As soon as the *Formidable* and her accompanying ships wore, Rodney made the signal for the van to tack, by which means they gained the windward of the French, and completed the disaster into which the breaking of their line had thrown them. Though the enemy continued the battle with great courage and firmness, and made an attempt to re-form their broken line by their van bearing away to leeward, all their gallantry was fruitless, as Sir Samuel Hood's division, which had been becalmed, came up and completed the conquest.

The consequence of this decisive victory was the loss of eight ships of the line to the enemy, six of which remained in the possession of the victors; one sunk; and the other blew up after she had been taken. Their loss in killed and wounded was great. Of the former, it was computed there were 3,000; and double the number of the latter. On board the British fleet the loss was also great. The number of the killed amounted to 237; of the wounded to 766. The disparity of the loss between the two fleets was occasioned by the French having on board between five and six thousand troops destined for an attack on Jamaica.

The following memorable occurrence took place during the heat of the action:—A gunner having been disabled and sent below, a woman (the wife of a sailor who had concealed herself on board) supplied his place at the gun. After the battle, having been brought before the admiral, she declared that she was not afraid of the French, and thought it her duty to supply her husband's place. Rodney threatened her for a breach of the rules of the service, but admiring her gallantry, privately sent her a purse of ten guineas.

Jamaica, Rodney sailed thither, and, on the 8th of April, discovered the French fleet coming out of Port Royal. On the 9th, De Grasse, tempted by the exposed situation of the British van, under Hood, attacked it. Hood gallantly maintained the unequal contest; when the British centre and rear coming up, De Grasse drew off, having the advantage of the wind. On the 11th the French fleet was scarcely visible; but on the evening of that day, a fresh and steady gale blowing, the British admiral having plied to windward all night, came up with the enemy.

# THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION OF SPAIN, 1702—1713.

CAMPAIGNS AND TRIUMPHS OF MARLBOROUGH—THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH'S EXPLOITS IN SPAIN, &c.

## MARLBOROUGH'S FIRST CAMPAIGN (1702.)

THE wars in which Marlborough was engaged originated in the designs of the French king, Louis XIV., to subjugate the various states of Europe, and obtain universal dominion: for though the vanity of that crafty and ambitious monarch had been mortified by the peace of Ryswick (1697), and his pride and arrogance humbled, he still harboured the design, and cherished the hope, through the medium of the Treaty of Partition, to renew his aggressions with the probability of success. To frustrate that design, and be prepared for the threatened aggression, was the anxious deliberation of the principal powers of Europe. The courts of London, Vienna, and the Hague, at length matured their plans; and on the accession of Anne of Denmark to the English throne, the confederacy which her predecessor, William III., had promoted between England, Austria, and the States-General of Holland (and which had been ratified by a treaty concluded between the contracting powers on the 7th of September, 1701), was adopted as the basis of operations for the resistance of the French king's designs, and the reduction of his exorbitant power. War was therefore declared against France on the 4th of May, 1702, and the three contracting powers—England, Germany, and Holland—agreed to carry on the war to the utmost extent of their disposable means; Germany to furnish a contingent of 90,000 men; England of 40,000; and Holland of 10,000. The Earl of Marlborough was appointed generalissimo of the confederate armies. With his command as captain-general of the Dutch armies, he received from the States-General an appointment of 100,000 florins per annum. The Emperor of Germany conferred on him many special marks of confidence and esteem.

In the beginning of June, 1702, Marlborough landed at the Hague to assume the command of the confederated armies. But hostilities had commenced six weeks previous to his arrival, in the name of the Elector Palatine, with the siege of Keiserswaert; preparations having been made during the winter by the belligerents assembling various corps at every point where danger

seemed to threaten. For this purpose, on the side of the allies, one army consisting of Germans, under Prince Louis of Baden, occupied a position on the Upper Rhine; a second, composed of Prussians, Palatines, Dutch, and some English, under the orders of Prince Nassau-Saarbruck, invested Keiserswaert; a third, commanded by the Earl of Athlone, took post at Cranenberg, near Cleves; and a fourth, under Cohorn, was collected at the mouth of the Scheldt, for the purpose of securing that frontier and threatening the district of Bruges. On the part of the enemy, one army, under the Count de la Motte and the Marquis of Bedmar, covered the western frontier of the Netherlands, in opposition to Cohorn; a second, under Marshal Tallard, was posted on the Upper Rhine, to raise the siege of Keiserswaert; while a numerous and highly equipped force, under Marshal Boufflers, occupied the line of the Meuse, and holding all the fortresses in the bishopric of Liège, formed the base of the system of operations, and afforded facility for their execution.

The first blow in this memorable war was by Saarbruck's investment of Keiserswaert on the 15th of April. To facilitate this operation, Cohorn made an irruption into Flanders, which movement drew towards him the corps of La Motte and Bedmar; and at the same time Tallard, leaving a considerable detachment to mask Maestricht, advanced on Nimeguen for the purpose of surprising that fortress. But in this design the French marshal was thwarted by the energy of Athlone, who, aware that that fortress was the gate of Holland on its eastern flank, broke up from his position, and by a tiresome and rapid night march, anticipated his design, took post on the heights which overlook the town, and threw reinforcements into it. Boufflers, finding himself foiled, fell back to his original position. On the 15th of July, Keiserswaert, after an obstinate defence, being almost reduced to a heap of ashes, surrendered.

In the midst of these operations, Marlborough arrived in the camp (July 1st), and on the following morning passed his army under review, when it was found to amount

to 60,000 men, with a train of sixty-eight guns, eight mortars, a few howitzers, and twenty-four pontoons. He proposed immediately to take the field, a corps of observation being posted at Nimeguen; while the main body passing the Meuse, should endeavour to draw Boufflers after it, and thus transfer the seat of war to the Spanish Netherlands; but notwithstanding the advantages which this plan of operation seemed to offer, it was opposed by the council as too hazardous, who proposed the protection of Nimeguen and the Rhine as the more desirable scheme.

Marlborough, thus reduced to the dilemma of a choice between risking a battle at a disadvantage or acting on the enemy's communications, preferred the last-mentioned measure. For this purpose he passed the Waal, and encamping on the 16th about two leagues from Boufflers' position, closely reconnoitred it. Having constructed three bridges over the Meuse, near Grave, on the 26th his whole army, with its train of carriages and artillery, was encamped on the opposite bank, between Udan and Zealand. On the 27th, the columns were again in motion; and on the noon of the 30th, they took post not far from the town of Hamont.

While he reconnoitred Boufflers' position, being accompanied by the field deputies of the States-General, he exultingly said—"Gentlemen, I will soon deliver you from these troublesome neighbours;" a declaration which soon proved itself neither a vain nor an idle boast; for Boufflers no sooner became aware that the Meuse was crossed, than apprehensive for his base of operations, he broke up from his intrenched camp, and made a hasty retreat. Crossing the river at Venloo and Ruremond, with rapid strides he reached Brey, almost at the same moment as Marlborough had fixed his head-quarters at Geldorp. A series of movements now occupied the hostile armies for many days, Marlborough endeavouring to interpose himself between Boufflers and the fortresses on the Meuse; the French marshal taking every precaution to prevent the accomplishment of that design. The result of these manœuvres was, that the English general, outflanking his adversary at all points, compelled him, in order to avoid a disastrous battle, to give up his communications with the fortresses threatened, and to fall back on Beringhen.

The same day (August 5th) on which the

enemy made his retrograde movement, the allies took post in rear of Peer, having their right on the Dommel, and their left at Erlicum. Here Marlborough destroyed the fortifications, as well as those of Brey, both of which stood in the way of his communications. No sooner had he effected this, and was on the eve of passing the Dommel, than Boufflers broke up from Beringhen, and assumed an offensive attitude. Detaching Marshal Berwick to Eyndhoven, for the purpose of intercepting the stores of the allies, he marched to Rythoven, from which position he made demonstrations with the object of attacking Marlborough's rear, or turning his position by the right. To counteract these manœuvres, Marlborough fell back on Everbeeck, a castle about a league distant from Hamont, and directed Tilly to move along the north road, to cover the approach of the stores; detaching two corps from his army, one to attack Weert, and the other to watch the garrison of Venloo; and at the same time opening a communication with Maestricht, by means of which he obtained a regular supply of provisions for his camp.

Having thus cleared the way to ulterior operations, the British chief again took the lead; and advancing on Diest, manœuvred for the twofold purpose of intercepting the enemy's supplies and drawing him from the district of Bois-le-Duc. On the 22nd he was at Bruegel, and on the following day pitched his camp between Helchren and Honthalen. He had scarcely taken up his position, when the enemy was descried moving along a line of road closed on both sides by swamps and marshes. Marlborough instantly commanded the divisions to get under arms, while he, with a select body of cavalry, rode forward to reconnoitre; but though the disorganised state of the enemy was favourable for attack, the field deputies of the States-General peremptorily refused to sanction a battle. Though the two armies were in front of each other for some hours, and exchanged cannon-shot at half range, the enemy withdrew with a trifling loss of their rear-guard, through the perverseness of Marlborough's coadjutors.

Though one feeling of chagrin and indignation pervaded the army at this perverse conduct of the deputies, the high-souled Marlborough, so far from indulging in complaint or reproach of his timid counsellors, prepared for the reduction of the fortresses which opposed his advance. For this pur-

pose he divided his army into two corps; to one of which, under the command of Cohorn, the conduct of the siege was committed, while, with the other, he himself took post in a position between Sutendal and Louaken.

On the 7th of June, Venloo was invested on both sides of the Meuse. On the 18th, Fort Michael, connected with the place by a bridge of boats, submitted; and, on the 23rd, the town itself capitulated. Immediately the siege train was transported to Shevenswaret and Ruremond, both of which fortresses were forthwith invested. So vigorously were the approaches pushed, that the former was in possession of the allies on the 5th of October, and the latter on the 7th of the same month. As Liége was now the only place of strength capable of affecting this line of operations of the allies, Marlborough determined to move forward in person to its investment.

As this fortress, from its situation, was of the highest importance to the enemy, as commanding the source of the Meuse at its junction with the Ourhe, affording favourable winter quarters, and thus presenting a protection for Brabant, Boufflers determined to undertake its defence; and for this purpose he assumed a position with his army, under its walls, to cover the place. Marlborough, nowise discouraged by the hostile attitude of his opponent, advanced to the blockade of the place; and no sooner was he within half cannon-shot of the enemy, than Boufflers hurriedly broke up his position, and retreated into the Spanish Netherlands. On the 29th, the place surrendered to the allies.

With the fall of Liége, and the mighty circle of works with which it was encompassed, ended Marlborough's first campaign; throughout the whole of which that illustrious chief was called in to struggle not only against an active enemy, but against

the perverseness and obstinacy of those with whom he acted. At its commencement, he found the enemy at all points holding the initiative; his timid allies hardly persuading themselves that they were safe behind the most formidable intrenchments, or under the guns of the strongest places. As if by magic, this consummate chief gave a new aspect to the state of affairs, and took the lead through the campaign. Though baffled at the outset, and thwarted in his plans—though repeatedly checked when about to force the enemy to battle, he continued, notwithstanding all the impediments thrown in his way, to maintain the superiority in every movement; out-marching an active adversary, repeatedly turning his position, and deranging all his plans. By a series of masterly movements, Boufflers was drawn so completely from the Meuse, that the base of operations from which he had designed to act was wrested from him by his skillful opponent; and the fortresses, on whose strength he had so confidently calculated, both for defence and annoyance, fell gradually into the hands of his adversary. Independently of the confidence excited in the breasts of the confederates by the exhibition of so consummate generalship, the Dutch frontier had been delivered from insult, and the command of the Meuse had facilitated the transport of their supplies.

The campaign being now closed, Marlborough ordered his army into cantonments at Liége and Maestricht.\* From the last-mentioned place he set out, on the 3rd of November, on his return to England, where his reception from the queen and the people was highly gratifying to his feelings. From the former he received the honour of a dukedom, with a pension of £5,000 a-year; by the latter he was greeted with the most rapturous applause: preferments and honours to which his patriotism and talents entitled him.

#### MARLBOROUGH'S SECOND CAMPAIGN (1703)

DURING the season of repose, the energetic preparations of the enemy threatened to deprive the allies of the advantages and acquisitions which their distinguished leader had secured to them. Marshal Villeroi

threatened the forts on the Meuse, and menaced the Dutch frontier; and Marshal Villars, who during the winter months had beaten up the quarters of the imperialists, and reduced Kehl, divided his army into

\* It was customary at this period of military service, as often as the belligerents retired into winter quarters, for the officers, especially those holding the highest rank, to visit their friends and rela-

tions, however far removed from the seat of war. The practice being tacitly recognised by the belligerent parties, an implied truce became the established practice.

two corps, one of which was in observation of the Prince of Baden at Stolhoffen, while the other, led on by himself, penetrated into the Black Forest in Bavaria. The Elector of Bavaria had also, after having driven in the Austrians from the Danube and the Inn, and possessed himself of Neuburg and Ratisbon, effected a junction with Villars at Dutlingen. Affairs in Holland were equally unpromising. On the death of Saarbruck and Athlone, Overkirk and Opdam, supplying their places, incompetency and supineness marked all their proceedings. In this discouraging state of affairs, Marlborough, on the 17th of March, 1703, reached the camp, and having inspected the condition of the troops in Dutch Brabant, in spite of Dutch timidity and German sloth, made immediate preparations for taking the field, so as to anticipate the project of the enemy.

Had the plans proposed by the English general been adopted, French Flanders and Brabant would have become at once the seat of war; but the States-General being of opinion that the reduction of Bonn would best promote the object of the league, Marlborough, for the purpose of preserving an harmonious feeling, waived his well-matured opinions in their favour; therefore, in the middle of April, leaving an adequate force under Overkirk to cover Liège, he was in full march towards the point of attack. Liège capitulated on the 3rd of May, notwithstanding Villeroi made strenuous efforts for its relief.

Villeroi having been thwarted in his design, Marlborough returned to his original plan of the campaign, and in its prosecution, proceeded to assail the two extensive chains of field-works which the enemy had constructed—in one direction from Antwerp to the Mehaigne, and in another from Antwerp to Ostend, for the security of the provinces of East and West Flanders and South Brabant. It was the object of Marlborough to render both these formidable lines untenable, first by the reduction of Antwerp, and then of Ostend.

With this intention, he instructed General Spaar, who had advanced as far as Hulst, to hold La Motte in check by frequent demonstrations; while Cohorn, who had established himself on the east of the Scheldt, was to communicate between Spa and Bergen-op-Zoom; and Opdam, from the last-mentioned fortress, was instructed to surprise Antwerp, or penetrate the enemy's

lines, and maintain himself there till supported. While these operations were in execution, Marlborough undertook to keep Villeroi in play by feigning an assault on his position, till having gained march or two, he might find an opportunity of piercing the enemy's lines between Antwerp and Lierre. Thus, by this masterly manœuvre, a junction would be effected with the Dutch army at the very moment when that of the enemy became separated, and Antwerp and Ostend necessarily fall into the hands of the allies.

Had these instructions been obeyed, widely extended as the line of operations was, there can be but little doubt that a series of brilliant victories would have been the result. But while Marlborough, by a series of skilful manœuvres, passed the Yaar unobserved, and pushed his opponents on Landen and Diest, the generals of the other corps not only failed to act up to the orders issued, but glaringly infringed them. Cohorn, instead of joining Opdam, in obedience to his orders, effected a junction with Spaar, and led his troops against La Motte. Opdam, being thus unsupported, became isolated in his position at Ekeren.

No sooner had the enemy obtained intelligence of these injudicious movements, than Boufflers, at the head of 20,000 men, hastened with rapid strides to attack Opdam; who, permitting himself to be surprised, escaped with difficulty and considerable loss: thus deranging a plan of operations which had been concocted with consummate skill, and laid down with extraordinary clearness and precision.

Marlborough, convinced now that his hope of success depended on a direct attack on the enemy's position, having established his camp at Thielen, repaired to Breda for the purpose of concerting arrangements, with the field deputies of the states, and then proceeded to Bergen-op-Zoom to confer with Cohorn and Slausenburg on the operations to be adopted; but while endeavouring to reconcile the differences subsisting between these commanders, receiving intelligence of the junction of Boufflers and Villeroi, and their advance on Sandhoven, he instantly repaired to his camp at Thielen. On his arrival there, finding his right threatened, and apprehensive for his communications, he moved forward to Vorstelar. A corresponding movement was made by the enemy, who, establishing themselves at Loo, Marlborough, hoping to bring them to

action, began to intrench himself; and made signals to Slaugenburg to join him at Lille. When he arrived on the heath of Antwerp, finding that the enemy had retreated, and had taken post behind their lines, as soon as Slaugenburg effected a junction with him, he prepared to attack their position; but no arguments inducing the Dutch general to co-operate in the assault, Marlborough was compelled, with a heavy heart, to retrace his steps to his old position on the banks of the Meuse, and abandon the prospect of a successful issue of his well-concerted plans, through the obstinacy and perverseness of his associates.

On the 15th of August, the allied army pitched its camp at Val Nôtre-Dame, Villeroi moving in a parallel direction behind his lines at St. Loo, and establishing himself at Wasseige. On the 16th, Marlborough detached a force to attack Huy, which surrendered soon after the bat-

teries began to play. Hoping that his colleagues would be emboldened by this success, he again urged on them the advantage of storming the enemy's lines; but all his arguments were again met with expressions of despondency and distrust. Chagrined but undiscouraged at the timidity and imbecility of his associates, he directed all his energies towards the reduction of Limburg and Guelder, both which fortresses opened their gates before the close of September; thus leaving the Dutch secure from all hostile irruptions, except on the side of Brabant, and relieving them from dread; while these measures paved the way in the ensuing campaign for enterprises more extensive and important. Having brought matters to this crisis, the English general placed his army in winter quarters, under the command of his brother, General Churchill, and on the 30th of October, set out on his return to England.

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MARLBOROUGH'S THIRD CAMPAIGN—BATTLES OF SCHELLENBERG AND  
BLENHEIM (1704.)

**THOUGH** Marlborough, like the illustrious and high-minded Wellington, was so thwarted and opposed by the intrigues and cabals not only of the powers abroad, but even by the irresolution, inconsistency, and party feuds of his own government, as to induce him to intimate in his correspondence his avowed determination of resigning his command, and retiring into private life; he, with the magnanimity of the hero and patriot, determined to sacrifice his private feelings, and once more make a great and decisive effort for the salvation of the liberties of Europe from the designs of the French king and his confederates.

Influenced by these magnanimous motives, he relinquished his determination of seceding from the command of the confederate armies, and prepared with unabated zeal to return to the scene of his past glories. On the 15th of January, 1704, he therefore, with an augmentation of 10,000 men to the army in the Netherlands, sailed for the Hague, where on the 19th he arrived.

For some time previous he had meditated the design of completely changing the theatre of the war. The outlines of this measure he communicated to Prince Eugene, with whom he had, during the last cam-

paign, entered into an intimate correspondence. To put the scheme into operation, on his arrival at the Hague, he proceeded to concert measures with the pensionary and the States-General. The result of that conference was, that Marlborough should open the campaign on the Moselle, while Overkirk, with the Dutch and the other auxiliaries, should act defensively in the Netherlands.

The commanding genius of this extraordinary man having made the necessary preparations, on the 18th of May he joined the assembled army at Bedburg, and, on the morning of the 20th, began his eventful and well-disguised march; and neither the fears of Overkirk, excited by Villeroi's passage of the Meuse, nor intelligence that Tallard had crossed the Rhine, diverted him from his purpose. Undaunted by these movements, he determined to advance to the relief of Austria, inducing both friends and foes to suppose, by his arrangements, that Bonn was to form the base of his ultimate operations. Thus, by these masterly conceptions, while the French were marching their columns towards the Moselle and in the direction of Alsace, the roads leading to the Danube were left open, and perfect facility of communication between Marlborough and Eugene was obtained and secured.

From Erpingen he dispatched instructions to Eugene to watch the Rhine, so as to hinder the threatened passage of Villeroi and Tallard, whose armies were on the eve of forming a junction. Reaching Mendelsheim on the 10th of June, he was visited by Prince Louis and Eugene, when the arrangements for the operations of the ensuing campaign were definitively settled. By these arrangements it was determined that Eugene should observe the Rhine; while Prince Louis was to act in union with Marlborough. The junction between Marlborough and Prince Louis was effected on the 22nd, between Launsheim and Ursprung, when, on reviewing the united force, it was found to muster ninety-six battalions, 202 squadrons, with a train of forty-eight pieces of artillery, and twenty-four pontoons. Marlborough, who was now commander-in-chief, had contrived to rid himself from the mischievous influence of the field deputies, who had hitherto thwarted all his measures.

The hostile armies were now within two leagues of each other. Marlborough, convinced that much depended on celerity of movement, passed the camp of the Elector of Bavaria in column of march on the 1st of July, and halted that night within fourteen miles of the unfinished works erected on the heights of Schellenberg.

To force the passage of the Danube, Marlborough, selecting 130 men from each battalion (amounting in all to 6,000 infantry), and adding to them thirty squadrons of cavalry and three regiments of imperial guards, placed himself at their head, and marched forward at three o'clock A.M., to storm the heights of Schellenberg. The remainder of the army, under Prince Louis, was instructed to follow as rapidly as possible, and to co-operate, as each brigade reached the scene of action, according to the circumstances in which those preceding it might require.

About nine o'clock the advanced guard of Marlborough's select corps came within cannon-shot of the enemy's position, which, though imperfectly fortified, the British general found, on reconnoitring, to be exceedingly formidable, being strengthened by a chain of works which extended from the covered way of Donawerth to the very bank of the river.

Having made his dispositions, Marlborough advanced to the attack. No sooner had the allied guns opened, than those of the enemy replied to them with great alacrity.

In a few moments the hostile lines approached each other, and the conflict began. The English troops, though mowed down by grape, and repeatedly driven back to the verge of the ditch, returned on each occasion with fresh ardour. After a fearful carnage and the loss of almost all the principal officers, the cavalry under General Lumley being ordered up to their support, dismounted within a short space of the works, and pressed forward sword in hand; when Prince Louis, with the main body of the army, reaching the scene of conflict, the united assailants rushed forward, and, in a few moments, were in possession of the intrenchments. A dreadful carnage ensued, and, as the bridge across the Danube broke down with the weight of the fugitives, scarcely 3,000 men escaped out of the French and Bavarian army, originally amounting to 14,000 men. The loss of the allied army was 1,500 killed, and 4,000 wounded. By this victory the British general obtained an advantageous base for his ulterior operations, and secured the rich province of Franconia for the supply of his magazines.

While these operations were in progress, Marshal Tallard forded the Danube, and soon afterwards effected a junction with the Bavarian army. Eugene, apprehensive that his communications with Marlborough would be interrupted, immediately broke up his camp, and, marching rapidly forward, arrived on the plains of Hochstadt, almost at the same moment that Tallard had effected a junction with the Elector of Bavaria. The situation of the allies was now critical. The position of the French and Bavarian armies was central, commanding the base of the arc, at the extremities of which Marlborough and Eugene were posted.

All now depended on celerity of movement on the part of Marlborough, and a judicious disposition of his force by Eugene. The prince fell back on the Kessel, and took post on a range of difficult ground in its rear; while Marlborough made vigorous efforts to sustain him. On the night of the 10th of August, the British general and his army were encamped between Mittelstadt and Penchingen, when an express arrived from Eugene, announcing that the enemy had crossed the Danube, and that the prince was in hourly expectation of being attacked. Instantly the British army was under arms, the baggage packed, and the tents struck; and ere midnight they were in motion in two columns, one by the route of Merxheim,

the other on Donawerth. At six o'clock P.M. of the same day, the patrols of the several divisions fell in with Eugene's forces, and by ten at night the armies were united and in position; their left on the Danube, their right at Kessel-Ostheim, and the river Kessel covering their front. Marlborough and Eugene, in a council of war, having determined to place themselves in the vicinity of Hochstadt, proceeded to reconnoitre the enemy's position, which they found to be strong by nature, being protected by the defile of Dapfheim, and advantageously covered by the river Nebel; while the villages of Blenheim, Oberglauh, and Lutzingen, offered admirable points of defence to their flanks and centre. Though all efforts to turn so formidable a line seemed likely to end in inevitable failure, the allied generals determined to undertake its immediate attack.

For that purpose, as soon as midnight of the 12th arrived, Marlborough issued orders for the army to muster, and before two hours had elapsed, the combined corps of Marlborough and Eugene, amounting to 52,000 men, with fifty pieces of artillery, moved from their ground, and passed the Kessel in eight columns of attack. On the right, eighteen battalions of infantry and seventy-four squadrons of cavalry acted under the orders of Prince Eugene. To them the task was allotted of driving the enemy from Lutzingen, while at the same time they threatened Oberglauh, and occupied the attention of the corps posted between that village and the extreme left. While this movement was in operation, Marlborough, with forty-eight battalions of infantry and eighty-six squadrons of cavalry, moved in four columns against the centre of the right; while the pickets, instead of joining their respective corps as they advanced, were instructed to form a separate column, and after covering the march of the artillery along the main road, to storm the village of Blenheim. Such were the arrangements made for the battle of Blenheim.

On the morning of this memorable day (August 13th, 1704), the drums of the allies beat the *générale* at two o'clock A.M.; and as the morning was very hazy, the allied columns were close on the enemy's patrols ere a suspicion was entertained of their advance. But the fog dispersing about seven o'clock, the heads of Eugene's columns were distinctly visible to the enemy, moving along the base of the heights in the rear of

Berghausen. Immediately the French and Bavarians stood to their arms; and Marshal Tallard and the Elector, with the rest of the chiefs, galloped from station to station to range the several corps in battle array. As the Nebel was supposed to be impassable from Oberglauh to the three water-mills on its banks, the centre of the line consisted entirely of cavalry, the infantry being posted on the flank, with artillery arranged on the commanding eminences. But Tallard concluding that Blenheim was designed as their main point of attack, crowded into it twenty-eight battalions of infantry and twelve squadrons of cavalry. The churchyard was strongly occupied, and every facility of communication from post to post was provided for by bridges thrown over the Meulweyer. A division of *gendarmes à cheval* was posted on the extreme right, with instructions to charge the allies as soon as they had passed the Nebel. The village had been previously strongly fortified.

The allied columns having reached their points of formation, immediately deployed under a heavy fire from the enemy's artillery, to which their own, as occasion served, briskly replied. During this operation, Marlborough, surveying with eagle eye the enemy's arrangements, observed its defects. He saw that though Blenheim and Oberglauh were strong, they were too far distant to support each other, or to sweep the space intervening between them with a destructive flanking fire; and that the Nebel was almost entirely unguarded throughout this interval. He immediately determined on the nature of his attack. For this purpose, he marshalled his cavalry so as to pass the rivulet here, supported by a strong corps of infantry; while by making at the same moment a furious assault on Blenheim, all succour would be kept from the threatened point. But as no operation could be advisedly undertaken till Eugene's fire was heard on the right, Marlborough issued orders that the chaplains of the several battalions should perform divine service at the head of their respective corps.

In this juncture of affairs noon had passed. At that moment an aide-de-camp arrived from Eugene, with information that he was ready to begin the attack. Marlborough, who was seated on the ground, eating a hasty meal, rose hurriedly, and springing with the utmost alacrity into his saddle, with an animated countenance and in a tone of voice which conveyed to all

who heard him the assurance of victory, exclaimed to his personal staff and the several generals of division who had been participating in his meal—"Now, gentlemen, to your posts!" In less than five minutes the whole line was in motion; and before half-an-hour had elapsed the battle raged with incredible fury from one end of the field to the other.

The village of Blenheim, attacked on three different sides, set every effort of its daring assailants at defiance. Secure behind their barricades and intrenchments, the garrison poured forth a fire so murderous and rapid, that the storming party, after having reached the very palisades, was driven back with a loss of two-thirds of its complement, among whom were almost all the superior officers. The French *gendarmes*, observing this discomfiture of the assailants, rushed from their station on the extreme right, with the intention of overpowering the remnant of the survivors; but five squadrons of dragoons and a brigade of hussars being dispatched to the aid of the fugitives, the enemy were driven back, with the loss of their colours and many slain and prisoners.

During these operations, Marlborough ordered General Churchill, with his division, to pass the Nebel at Unterglauch—a village which, as it lay in front of the line of their position, the enemy had set on fire. Churchill, marching between two rows of burning cottages, crossed the rivulet, and formed on the opposite bank. Simultaneous with this movement was the advance of the main body of the cavalry, who, throwing fascines and boards into the stream to render it passable, effected its passage, though exposed to a destructive enfilading fire from the guns above Blenheim. Before they were completely formed on the opposite bank, the enemy's cavalry, rushing furiously down the steep, charged, broke, and drove them to the very brink of the stream. But at this critical moment, the British infantry wheeling to the left, checked the assailants with a close and well-delivered fire of musketry. A reserve of cavalry at the same time passing the stream, rode furiously on the retreating French, and completed their overthrow. The French cavalry re-forming, returned to the attack, when repeated and alternate charges took place, sometimes one side, and sometimes the other being successful; the artillery of both, in the meantime, maintaining a murderous fire, which produced dreadful carnage.

Hitherto the sound of firing had not been heard beyond the distance of half a mile from Blenheim; but the rapid and furious advance of the British on Oberglauch and its neighbouring heights, soon produced a tremendous increase of the tumult. Every inch of ground was disputed with inconceivable obstinacy. A corps of eleven battalions, led on by the Prince of Holstein-Beck, were, in their attempt to pass the stream above Oberglauch, so roughly handled by the Irish brigade in the French service, that their annihilation would have ensued, had not Marlborough led up a fresh division to its support. By a happy movement, at the same time, of the imperial cavalry, he overthrew the French marshal's (Marsin) cavalry, and took his infantry in flank. These masterly manœuvres were decisive of success in this part of the field. The entire centre of the enemy's line was now forced on their rear: Oberglauch and Blenheim were partially invested; and the left wing of the allied army was enabled to form in perfect order on the communications of the enemy.

While these decisive movements were in operation, Eugene had been warmly, but not very successfully, engaged with the Bavarians, who held the left of the enemy's position. After suffering severely from the enemy's artillery, he caused a battery to be stormed by the Prussians and Danes under his command, who carried it in gallant style; but were quickly driven out of it by a charge of cavalry. To cover their retreat, and give them time to rally, Eugene led his cavalry forward, who, falling unexpectedly within the range of a heavy enfilading fire, took to flight. The prince, riding from rank to rank, entreated his men to halt and face the enemy again, but all his entreaties were fruitless; the men were panic-struck, and never drew rein till they had repassed the Nebel. Fortunately, however, for the issue of this memorable day, Marlborough's right was by this time so far advanced as to command the village of Oberglauch, and to threaten the Bavarian left. This position of the British general's force enabling Eugene to rally his dispirited men, he again led them to the attack, but was once more doomed to the disappointment and mortification of seeing his cavalry, on whom he mainly placed reliance, give way and precipitately desert the field. In a transport of indignation and shame, he put himself at the head of his infantry, who following him

with a gallantry and resolution worthy of their chief, succeeded, after a sanguinary struggle, in driving the enemy into the wood of Boschberg and across the ravine beyond Lutzingen.

It was now five o'clock in the afternoon; the Nebel was at all points crossed; and the left wing under Marlborough had formed anew, with the cavalry in front, and the infantry in support. In this order they advanced, masking Blenheim and Oberglauch; Tallard endeavouring to oppose their advance by interlacing his infantry and cavalry in one extended line. This disposition of the enemy's force was promptly met by Marlborough. Three battalions of Hessian infantry, moving into the intervals between the cavalry, pressed forward. A tremendous collision ensued, in which the allies at first recoiled a space of sixty feet; but resuming fresh spirit, and admirably supported by their reserves, they eventually bore down all opposition. Tallard, seeing the fate of the day determined, rallied his broken squadrons for safety in the rear of his camp, and dispatched urgent messages to Marshal Marsin and the Elector of Bavaria, for assistance; but these officers being themselves too hard pressed to comply with the requisition, he used all his exertions to draw off his troops from Blenheim; but that village was too isolated to allow him to accomplish his purpose. All was now confusion and dismay in the French army. Part dispersed and fled; multitudes were cut down or surrendered to the allied cavalry; while numbers, in their vain endeavours to pass the Danube, perished in that river.

The rout of the Bavarians and French on the left was not so decisive, because less complete. There the Elector and Marssn, unable to resist Eugene, and aware of the advance of Marlborough, retreated in haste, and, under cover of the night, withdrew the wreck of their army on Dillingen.

The battle\* was now won, and Blenheim in possession of Marlborough. The trophies of this splendid victory—one of the completest, except that of Waterloo, of which any tradition remains in military history—were 13,000 prisoners, among whom was

\* This battle is differently termed: the English call it the battle of Blenheim; the French the battle of Hockstet. The battle of Malplaquet is styled by the French the battle of Blareguies. The same discrepancy exists in other cases. The French call the battle of Waterloo the battle of Mont St. Jean. Many of the Pensular battles are variously designated.

Marshal Tallard; together with all the baggage, artillery, and colours of the vanquished. The enemy's killed and wounded exceeded 12,000 men. On the side of the allies, the killed were 4,500; the wounded, 7,500. Before the battle-sounds had ceased, darkness having set in, the allies were compelled to bivouac on the scene of their victorious achievement; and, as the army was too much disorganised by the effects of the battle, Marlborough found himself unable to follow up the victory by a rapid pursuit. As soon as possible, the different corps of the army advanced forwards; and on the 8th of September, they were all reunited in a strong position near Spies. On the 9th they moved towards Queich, to lay siege to Landau, which was invested on the 12th by the *corps d'armée* under Prince Louis; while Marlborough and Eugene established themselves at Cron-Weissemburg, so as to cover the siege.

As the siege, by the listless operations of the Austrians, was protracted beyond Marlborough's anticipations, and unwilling that the enemy should be enabled to recover from the panic of his recent reverses, he delivered over the charge of the covering army to Eugene; while, at the head of the light troops, amounting to 12,000 men, he set out on a secret expedition, for the purpose of possessing himself of the ports of Trèves and Traerbach, to enable him to open the next campaign with the invasion of France. For this purpose he began his daring work on the 8th of October. On the 29th, Trèves was in his possession; and on the 4th of November, Traerbach experienced the same fate; when, returning to the camp at Cron-Weissemburg with scarcely the loss of a man, he soon received the submission of Landau. With this event the campaign, one of the most memorable in the annals of military history, was closed. The Emperor of Germany was so convinced of his obligations to his illustrious deliverer, that he again pressed on Marlborough the acceptance of a principality; but, as the offer was unaccompanied with the *honorarium* of a grant of lands, it was declined by the British chief. The campaign being finished, Marlborough, on the 11th of December, embarked for England, where he arrived on the 14th. The manor of Woodstock, with the hundred of Wootten, were voted by parliament to him and his heirs for ever, and a palace—namely, the castle of Blenheim—was built upon them at the public expense.

## MARLBOROUGH'S FOURTH CAMPAIGN (1705.)

On the 31st of March, Marlborough set sail from Harwich, for the purpose of carrying into execution the campaign which had been planned by himself, Eugene, and Prince Louis. But on his arrival at the intended scene of action, instead of the 90,000 men which it had been agreed should assemble between the Moselle and the Saar on the approach of spring, less than one-third of that number was disposable; and even those were sadly deficient of horses, cars, and the other muniments of war; but undiscouraged, he determined to begin operations, though he was compelled to abandon the mighty projects he had contemplated; and to turn to the best possible account the resources within his reach, though with a painful consciousness that the results would disappoint his wishes.

In the meantime the French king had been actively employed in exerting all his energies in providing for the approaching contest. He had collected armies more numerous and better appointed than had yet been engaged on the theatre of warfare. In the Low Countries, the Elector of Bavaria, assisted by Villeroy, took the field at the head of 75,000 men, with whom he stood ready to act on the offensive as Marlborough should approach the Moselle. Marsin covered the Upper Rhine with 30,000 men; and Marshal Villars, with a powerful corps, was in a strong position near Trèves, for the purpose of covering the broken country between the Moselle and the Saar. To meet these dispositions, Marlborough concentrated his army at Trèves. On the 3rd of June, the English and Dutch crossed the Moselle at Igel, and, effecting a junction with the rest of the confederated troops, the whole passed the Saar in two columns at Consaarbruch. In order to secure the defiles of Tavernen and Omsdorf, Marlborough put himself at the head of the right column, and, pushing forward with rapidity, gained their possession. Villars, apprehensive of having his communications interrupted, withdrew his army—though numerically superior to that of the allies—to a range of wooded heights, which extend from Haute-Sirtz on the right, to Chartreuse and the Nivelles on the left, where, with each flank protected, and his front covered by impassable ravines,

he communicated with Luxembourg, Thionville, and Saar-Louis.

Marlborough advanced against his opponent, and, during nine days, remained opposite the hostile frontier, in expectation of being joined by Prince Louis, and if that junction should be effected, to make a dash for the passage of the Nied. While in this position a messenger arrived from General Overkirk with intelligence which induced Marlborough to adopt an immediate change of plan.

Overkirk had occupied an intrenched camp near Maestricht, to watch Villeroy and the Elector of Bavaria, who threatened the Low Countries; and being alarmed at the advance of his opponents, sent to apprise Marlborough of his hazardous position. A strong corps of cavalry being appointed to watch the enemy, immediate orders were, on the 17th, issued to the troops to be under arms a little before midnight; and at the appointed hour they began their march, with Marlborough at their head, in the direction of Maestricht. No sooner had he reached the intrenched camp near that town, than he concerted with Overkirk an offensive movement against the enemy, who, alarmed at his sudden approach, and holding his name in too much respect to hazard a battle, evacuated Liège, and withdrew within his lines. But the position, though so well covered by natural and artificial defences as to be deemed impregnable, was too extensive to be manned at all points by an army of 70,000 men, which was the complement of the Gallo-Bavarian army; and therefore it was assailable by him who had sufficient genius to conceive a plan for its attack, and sufficient promptitude to avail himself of the opportunity presented.

Marlborough having carefully reconnoitred the position, and observing an assailable point between the forts Leuwe and Heilishcim, he determined to hazard the attack. No entreaties, however, could induce Overkirk to accede to the measure till it was approved of in a council of war. Its consent having with difficulty been obtained, on the 17th of July, Overkirk passed the Mehaigne with his corps, and advanced on Bourdin; while Marlborough, pushing on detachments to the very edge of the ditch between Meffe and Namur, moved as if for the purpose of supporting him. Villeroy, apprehensive of his extreme

right, strengthened it with a corps of 4,000 men from the centre. Marlborough, whose eagle eye discovered his adversary's error, immediately availed himself of the opening. At the head of his English and German troops, he rushed forward, and before the enemy were fully aware of the danger which threatened them, their line of intrenchments was penetrated, and the whole of this section of their lines was in the hands of the allies; and thus the immense chain of fortifications which had cost the enemy so much labour and expense to throw up, being no longer tenable, they withdrew, and passed the Dyle in haste, breaking down the bridges in their rear, and taking up a new position behind the river.

It had formed part of Marlborough's arranged plan to prevent this retrograde movement of the enemy, by throwing himself between Villeroi and the Dyle, and thus separate the wings of the enemy from each other; but the Dutch generals, with their usual perverseness, refused to co-operate, alleging that their men were incapable of the requisite exertion. Undiscouraged by this perverseness—if no worse accusation can be laid to their charge—of the Dutch generals and field deputies, Marlborough, hoping once more to “cheat his stubborn and incompetent allies into victory,” on the 14th of August began his march, in three columns, towards the sources of the Dyle.

The object of this movement was to turn the flank of the enemy's position. On the 16th, the whole army was united at Genappe; and on the 17th, head-quarters were established at Fishermont, in the vicinity of the forest of Soignies. After a trifling skirmish at Waterloo (since so renowned in military story), the allies began to penetrate the forest. At an early hour in the evening of the 18th, two columns debouched into the plain between the Ische and the Laue; a third, under General Churchill, defiled to the left; but finding the enemy intrenched behind an abbatis near the convent of Groendale, they halted till further orders. In the meantime, Marlborough having closely reconnoitred the enemy's position, observed that the ground in front of Over-Ische presented advantages to an assailing force, and that Halberg, though the key of the position, was but slenderly garrisoned. His arrangements were instantly made. As the infantry came up, they were formed in two columns of attack, each threatening one of

these points; while the cavalry was moved *en masse* towards Neer-Ische, for the purpose of diverting attention from the points of attack, or to seize any opportunity which might present itself of assailing the enemy. But at the very moment the signal of onset was about being given, and victory seemed assured, the field deputies interfered; and in consequence of their dissent to the admirable arrangements of the British chief, the troops, after remaining all day under arms, were ordered to pitch their tents. So chagrined was Marlborough at the perverseness of those obstinate and incompetent men, that, on retiring to his quarters, he exclaimed, in bitterness of heart, “I am at this moment ten years older than I was four days ago!” Nothing now, therefore, remained but to abandon a project which had received all but its accomplishment, and to withdraw the troops from a country where the means of subsistence were wanting. On the 19th, this disastrous step was taken; on the 24th the allied armies were stationed in their old quarters between Bossut and Meldert; and towards the end of October the campaign came to a formal close, by the establishment of the troops in winter quarters.

In this unpromising state of affairs, there appearing but little possibility of keeping the alliance together, Marlborough, armed with full powers from the governments of England and Holland, and transferring his command to Overkirk, on the 22nd of October proceeded to Vienna. There, by his persuasive arguments, he removed all prejudice from the emperor's mind, which had threatened to interrupt the general union; and was, in acknowledgment of his merits and services, created a prince of the empire, with the *honorarium* of the lordship of Mindelsheim. From Vienna he proceeded to Berlin, where, by the exercise of his extraordinary address, he moulded the capricious Frederick to his will. From Berlin he bent his steps to Hanover, for the purpose of presenting to the Elector and Electress of Hanover, who were the presumptive heirs to the British crown, the bill for the naturalization of the electoral family, as the guardians of the protestant succession. Having succeeded in reconciling those parties to the measure, he, on the 15th of December, proceeded to the Hague, for the purpose of removing the difficulties which the States-General had presented to his measures. By the exertion of

those powers of persuasion which he knew so well how to employ, he effected his object, and in the early part of January, 1706, set sail for England, where he arrived on the 7th of that month, and was enthusiastically welcomed by the nation and the court.

#### MARLBOROUGH'S FIFTH CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF RAMILIES (1706.)

ON the return of spring, Marlborough again quitted England, for the purpose of returning to the scene of his former exploits.

When the British chief sailed from the Downs, he had determined, at all hazards, to transfer the seat of war from Flanders to Italy, for the purpose of co-operating with Eugene, and affording assistance to the Duke of Savoy. But he soon found insuperable obstacles opposed to his daring and judicious project. The Dutch, fearful for their own frontier, were unwilling to supply either men or money for the purpose. The courts of Berlin and Hanover were now alienated from the league; and the Danes and Hessians refused to advance towards the south. Marshal Villeroi, reinforced by Marsin's corps, had also suddenly advanced to the Upper Rhine, forced the German lines on the Motter, reduced Drusenheim and Haguenau, and was on the eve of advancing into the Palatinate.

Influenced by this aspect of affairs, Marlborough relinquished his plan of transferring the war into Italy, and proposed to enter on a fresh Flemish campaign. For that purpose, he, at the head of the combined English and Dutch armies, advanced on Tirlemont, where he assumed a position which enabled him to watch the movements of Villeroi, and take advantage of any attempt which might be made on Namur, with the principal inhabitants of which town he had engaged for its betrayal in his favour. At this period, Villeroi's army consisted of 62,000 men; while that of Marlborough was 60,000 of all arms. But while his forces were made up of the off-scourings of all nations, those of his opponent were composed of chosen regiments, exclusively French or Bavarian. With that formidable force, Villeroi quitted his strong position on the Dyle, and for the purpose of protecting Namur, advanced to meet the threatened danger. At this moment, the Dutch and English forces were encamped at Bilsen; their right lay at Borchloer, their left at Corswaren.

Marlborough being informed by his

scouts that the enemy were already across the Great Gheet, and were advancing towards Judoigne, hoping to come up with them in a country which afforded no decided advantage to either party, he ordered the line of march to be formed at an early hour of the morning of May 23rd; and at dawn, the army advanced in eight columns in the direction of the sources of the Little Gheet. Scarcely had the allied columns crossed the demolished lines between Wasseige and Orp-le-Petit, and debouched into the plain of Jandrinœuil, than the enemy was seen ranged in order of battle in two lines. The left, which consisted of infantry, extended between the Jauche and the Little Gheet, from the village of Autreglise to that of Offuz; the centre, composed likewise of infantry, took post from Offuz to the village of Ramilies; while the right, consisting of a hundred squadrons of cavalry, occupied the open space in front of the tomb of Ottomond, between Ramilies and the Mehaigne. Each of the villages was strongly garrisoned; in Ramilies alone, twenty battalions were posted. Clouds of skirmishers lined all the hedges from Franquinay to Ramilies. The defects of this position were:—the left of the enemy being planted in the rear of a morass, though safe from all direct attack, was necessarily immovable, at least for offensive purposes. The right was too much detached either to give or receive support; while the whole line, being formed on the arc of a semicircle, was liable to be assaulted at all points in superior numbers, by a force manœuvring along the chord. As the heights on which the tomb of Ottomond stands formed the master-key of the position, it was evident that if they were carried, the flank of the cavalry would not only be uncovered, but the assailants would be able to enfilade all the parts to the left. Marlborough having reconnoitred this defective disposition, prepared to avail himself of its disadvantages.

As the allied columns came up, the British chief formed them into two lines, with the left on Boneffe, and the right on Foulz.

At one o'clock P.M., the artillery on both sides began to open. In the midst of this cannonade, the allied infantry composing the right of the line, suddenly breaking into column, pushed rapidly forward, as if to carry Autreglise by assault. Villeroi, jealous of his left, withdrew several brigades from his centre, and dispatched them to support the menaced point. Marlborough, with his usual intuition, perceiving his opponent's error, dispatched orders to the moving column from his right to arrest its advance, the leading battalions alone keeping their ground, in extended order, along the brow of the heights which they had just ascended; while those in the rear, filing rapidly to the left, passed under the screen of those heights to the real point of attack. Thus, on this part of the enemy's line giving a preponderating influence, the contest began in earnest. A corps of infantry, after dislodging the skirmishers about Franquinay, invested the village of Tavieres on every side. A mass of cavalry, passing by their rear, bore directly on the enemy's horse, while twelve battalions, in columns of companies, supported by double the number in line, assaulted Ramilies with indescribable fury. Villeroi now seeing that his antagonist had out-maneuvred him, and that his right, and not his left was in danger, exerted himself to the utmost to repair an error of which the consequences threatened to prove fatal.

For that purpose, dismounting twenty squadrons of dragoons, he dispatched them to the support of the brigade which had been posted in Tavieres; but these having unexpectedly fallen in with the allied cavalry under Overkirk, were cut to pieces. The first line of the French cavalry then advanced, and was also charged, broken, and overthrown by Overkirk's victorious corps; but the second line coming up while Overkirk's men were disordered by the pursuit, the battle was restored for an instant. At this critical juncture, Marlborough having collected every disposable man from the right, led on a charge in person at the head of seventeen squadrons, who dashing among the enemy's cuirassiers, a desperate conflict ensued; the batteries from Ramilies and the heights beyond playing fatally among the assailants. Being recognised, some French troopers rushed furiously on him, and cutting all down before them, placed him in the midst of a throng. He fought his way out sword in hand; but in his attempt to leap

an opposing ditch, was thrown into it. Mounting again, he effected his escape; though his secretary, who held the stirrup, was struck dead at his side by a cannon-ball.

The allied cavalry having rallied, advanced again to the attack, and were gallantly opposed by the Bavarian cuirassiers; and though twenty French squadrons from the right appeared rushing at full speed over the plain to their aid, the enemy, panic-struck, took to flight. The heights of Ottomond—the great object of the struggle—were now in possession of the allies. In the meantime, the village of Ramilies was bravely assailed, and as bravely defended; but at length it also remained in the hands of the allies.

On their right and centre, the enemy were now completely defeated; but the efforts made to obtain this success had necessarily occasioned great confusion in the ranks of the victors. To remedy this, Marlborough had made a halt, of which Villeroi endeavoured to take advantage by forming a second line out of the remnant of his shattered squadrons in the rear. But the ground upon which he attempted to effect this formation being cumbered with carts, ammunition-waggons, &c., all his exertions proved ineffectual. In the midst of these abortive attempts, Marlborough ordered the allied cavalry to charge, and in the course of a few minutes the plain was covered with dead bodies, riderless horses, and fugitives fleeing for their lives. Neither were the troops further to the right inactive. One column, passing the swamp, charged the enemy and captured Autreglise. Another rushed on Offuz, which finding evacuated, they fell upon the enemy's rear-guard, and utterly annihilated it. Thus, in the course of five hours, during which no interruption of the contest had taken place, the battle was won, and the enemy in full retreat, broken and disorganised.

The pursuit was continued by the whole army to Meldert, which was about fifteen miles from the field of battle; but the light cavalry did not draw bridle till they had reached the vicinity of Louvain, about two o'clock in the morning. From the fury and duration of the strife, the loss on both sides had been great. On the part of the enemy, above 13,000 men had fallen or were taken; on that of the allies, the killed were 1,066, and the wounded, 2,567. The

trophies of the victors were, besides the prisoners, eighty standards, the whole park of artillery, with the baggage, tents, and other equipments. The immediate consequences of this victory were the surrender of Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, Alost, Lierre, and almost all the chief towns and cities of Brabant; together with Ghent, Bruges, Daun, and Oudenarde, in Flanders. Antwerp, Ostend, Nieuport, and Dunkirk, were still in the enemy's possession. The dissensions existing between the French regiments and the Walloon guards in the first-mentioned place, inclined Marlborough to direct his attention to it. No sooner had he appeared before it, than an offer of surrender was forwarded to him, on condition that the French were permitted to depart with their baggage and arms. Having obtained possession of that important city, he prepared to march against Ostend; which, in the course of eight days from his appearing before it, opened its gates.

From Ostend he led his victorious troops against Menin, which, from being situated in a flat arid country that could be readily flooded, was considered impregnable. But a breach being at length effected, and the assault on the point of delivery, the

governor surrendered the place; but the obstinacy of his defence cost the besiegers 3,000 men. The surrender of Dendermonde and Ath followed this victory; and thus the complete conquest of Brabant and Flanders was effected. The campaign having now closed, the army was placed in winter quarters, and Marlborough proceeded to the Hague to reconcile the States-General, who influenced by the intrigues of the French king, under the promise of an extension of the republic in the Low Countries, had indicated an inclination to withdraw from the league. Having accomplished the object of his mission, he returned to England, where he was received with the warmest congratulations; and as a further acknowledgment of his services, the estate at Woodstock was not only entailed on the title, but the dignities which had been conferred on him were made hereditary through the female line; the sons of his daughters, with their sons, in perpetuity, being appointed heirs according to their seniority. The pension of £5,000 a-year, which had been granted to him and his heirs, out of the revenues of the post-office, was also secured to his wife in the event of her widowhood.

#### MARLBOROUGH'S SIXTH CAMPAIGN (1707.)

EARLY in the spring of this year, Marlborough returned to the Hague. He was once more doomed to experience the perverseness and irresolution of the States-General. They had again relapsed into their old habit of distrust, and again empowered their field deputies to thwart Marlborough in all his movements. They scarcely concealed, that in the further prosecution of the war, they felt no interest. Though equal in numbers and quality of his troops to the enemy, the British general was not allowed, during many months, to hazard a single aggressive movement. A variety of marches were undertaken for the purpose of covering the principal towns in Brabant; and more than once Marlborough cherished the sanguine hope of forcing his confederates to a battle; but at the very moment that the object of his combinations began to develop itself, the field deputies interfered, and the enemy escaped from the toils. This provoking and pernicious intervention of those headstrong and incompetent men was parti-

cularly displayed on the 27th of May, when after a series of able manœuvres, the duke had succeeded in bringing the hostile armies in presence of each other at Nivelles. Because the pass of Ronquieres was strongly occupied, through which it would be necessary to penetrate, a council of war, in which the deputies preponderated, determined that a battle was too hazardous to be attempted. Marlborough was, consequently, compelled to fall back to Beaulieu, in order to protect Brussels and Louvain.

Having induced the enemy, by this movement, to relinquish his designs on those cities, Marlborough advanced again as far as Meldert; Vendome, who had succeeded Villeroi in the command of the French armies in Flanders, moving at the same time in a parallel direction towards Gembloux. Though these operations took place at the end of May, the energies of the British commander were so cramped, and his speculations so thwarted by the senseless opposition of the field deputies, that the summer months

passed away in a species of armed truce, as distasteful to the feelings of Marlborough, as it was injurious to the cause in which he stood forth the principal defender. At length fortune presented the British general an opportunity of action.

In July, Marlborough ascertaining that Vendome had detached thirteen battalions of infantry and twelve squadrons of cavalry to reinforce the French army in Italy (designed to compel Eugene to raise the siege of Toulon), on the 8th of that month the British general concentrated his army on the Dyle. On the 10th the river was passed; and, on the following day, head-quarters were established at Genappes. Vendome, informed of this movement, and abandoning his lines at Gembloux, pushed forward on Seneffe. Marlborough, marching towards Nivelles to accept the proffered battle, Vendome retreated with precipitation to the strong position of St. Denis, where, covered by the confluence of the Haine, and one of its tributary streams, he ventured to make a halt. Marlborough had scarcely begun to threaten him, ere he again quitted his ground, never halting till he had gained Chievres, whence a single day's march would carry him beyond the Scheldt, and into possession of the chain of forts which command it. To intercept this march, Marlborough was prevented by the incessant rains, which rendered the roads impassable for artillery. From this cause the allies were detained during a whole fortnight at Soignies. On the 1st of September, however, the British general was enabled to put the army in motion. On the 5th he crossed the Scheldt above Oudenarde; and, on the 7th, reached Helchin, the enemy

retreating precipitately behind the Marque, where an intrenched camp was ready formed under the guns of Lisle. In this attitude the hostile armies remained for some time; Marlborough anxious to seize the slightest opening for battle; and Vendome being specially on his guard that no such opening should be afforded. While the armies were in this position, the British general having the mortification of hearing of the absolute failure of Eugene in Toulon, and at the same time winter being on the eve of setting in with unusual severity, he dispersed his army into winter quarters, and prepared for his return to England, where he arrived on the 7th of November. Again the illustrious British chief found himself exposed to the insidious combinations of his enemies in the cabinet to undermine his reputation, and neutralize his efforts to uphold the glory and interests of his country. At the same time, the nation becoming alarmed by the threat of invasion from the French, for the purpose of restoring the exiled Stuart family to the British throne, Marlborough, by virtue of his authority as commander-in-chief, applied himself with his usual ability and promptitude to meet the threatened danger. So decisive and effectual were his measures, that the Chevalier St. George, finding himself intercepted in all his attempts by the English squadrons, after fruitless endeavours to land in the Forth and at Inverness, returned to Dunkirk. The success of these measures not only contributed to secure Marlborough's triumph over his enemies, but to obtain the confidence and gratitude of the crown and the nation.

#### MARLBOROUGH'S SEVENTH CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF OUDENARDE (1708.)

MARLBOROUGH having secured his country from the possibility of hostile invasion, prepared to return to the scene of his triumphs, and to assume the command of the army which he had so often led to victory. For that purpose he set sail for the Hague, which he reached on the 2nd of April.

On his arrival there, he immediately, in concert with Eugene, devoted his attention to the arrangement of the plan of the approaching campaign. In a council of war, it was agreed that a grand effort should be made in the Low Countries, but that the design should be masked by the formation of two

powerful armies—one under Marlborough in Brabant; the other under Eugene on the Moselle; and that while the Elector of Hanover acted defensively on the Rhine, Eugene should march suddenly and form a junction with Marlborough; and, with their united force, compel the enemy to accept battle.

During these intended operations, Louis XIV. was straining every nerve to bring into the field a force superior, on all points, to that of the allies. In the Low Countries, Vendome's army was recruited to the amount of 100,000 men; and secret negotiations had been entered into with the influential in-

habitants of the great towns of the Netherlands for their betrayal into the hands of the French; the Flemish people being generally discontented with the Dutch harsh and oppressive government.

The junction of Marlborough and Eugene having at last been effected, the united force took up a position near Soignies. Vendome—his army considerably surpassing that of the allies in number—made a forward movement as if for the purpose of attacking them; but when at the distance of three leagues from their lines he halted; and suddenly breaking up his camp, he filed rapidly to the right through Bois-Seigneur-Isaac to Braine-la-Leude; where, in a position placing him on the flank of Marlborough, and in some degree threatening both Brussels and Louvain, he again made a halt. The British chief, now apprehensive for the safety of Brussels, rapidly fell back on Anderlecht, where his tents had been scarcely pitched, when information reached him which indicated that the enemy's design was to attack Louvain. Though several marches had been lost by the retrogression of the allies to Anderlecht, Marlborough determined, if possible, to save so important a place as Louvain, by anticipating the intentions of the enemy. With that view he immediately put his columns in motion, and by a rapid march through a perfect deluge of rain, he reached, on June 4th, the strong position of Parc in the course of a few hours; and having firmly established himself there, his strategic triumph over the calculations of his opponent was so decisive that Vendome retreated to his old ground at Braine-la-Leude.

Vendome, calculating on the successful issue of his secret negotiations with the inhabitants of the principal towns of Flanders for their betrayal into his hands, was aware that if he possessed himself of Ghent, which commanded the course of the Lys and the Scheldt, as well as of Bruges (the centre of Marlborough's water communications), he would accomplish a greater object than even by a victory in the field; whilst the consequent reduction of Oudenarde would entirely destroy the allies' connecting link between Flanders and Brabant. For this purpose, on the evening of the 4th of July, the French army broke up from Braine-la-Leude and marched rapidly on Halle and Tubize. On the 5th, several light corps, falling off from the main body, advanced against Ghent, which was immediately delivered over to

them. Within an hour afterwards Bruges opened its gates to the same corps. Damme and the fort of Plassendael were as readily delivered up. To check the enemy in his prospective uninterrupted course of conquest, Marlborough put his columns in motion at an early hour of the morning of the 5th.

The allies reached Tubize just in time to witness the enemy's passage of the Senne, without being able to present any effectual opposition. A variety of evolutions now took place between the contending hosts, the common object of which was the occupation of the strong position of Lessines on the Dender, by which the approaches to Oudenarde was commanded. On one hand, Vendome, after having invested Oudenarde on two sides, broke up his position; on the other, Marlborough, leaving 4,000 men to protect Brussels, broke up his camp at Asche, and pushed forward on Herselingen. The enemy, who had taken the initiative in these movements, had obtained the advantage, having had a shorter distance to traverse than that to which the allies had been subject; and Marlborough's disadvantage was further increased by the Dender lying between him and the ground in the occupation of which his safety was involved. Notwise daunted by these discouraging circumstances, the British general began his march in four columns, at two o'clock in the morning of the 9th of July. Having accomplished five leagues, he halted for a few hours, at the termination of which his columns were again in full march, preceded by a strong advanced guard commanded by General Cadogan; and such was the promptitude of that body, that by midnight it had crossed the Dender on flying bridges; thus securing the camp at Lessines, at the very moment that the heads of the enemy's columns appeared in view. The gallant little body taking up its ground, resolutely maintained it till the main force of the army had established themselves in position.

Great was the disappointment of Vendome that he was anticipated by his skilful opponent in his designs. He had confidently calculated on Marlborough's disinclination to expose the towns in his rear, and had hoped to press the siege of Oudenarde at his leisure, should he be able to establish his covering army at Lessines. All his hopes were now frustrated. Marlborough was not only master of the defences of Oudenarde, but was posted between the French army

and the frontier of France. The consequence of this masterly manœuvre of Marlborough was, that Vendome issued immediate orders for a retrograde movement on Gavre; where crossing the Scheldt, he restored his communications, which the decisive manœuvre of his opponent had cut off.

No sooner was Marlborough apprised of the enemy's movement towards Gavre, than his columns were put in pursuit, with the double intention of delivering Oudenarde from investment, and, should a favourable opportunity present itself, of forcing the enemy to accept battle. For this purpose a strong advanced guard, under General Cadogan, was ordered to march at daybreak on the 15th, and at eight o'clock of the same morning, the main body of the army was in motion. At half-past ten, Cadogan reached the Scheldt, and by noon, bridges having been completely constructed over that river, the whole of the allied cavalry, with twelve battalions of infantry, effected their passage, and took up a position along the high road which extends between Eyne and Bevere.

While Marlborough had thus, by his promptitude and decision, anticipated the intention of his opponent, Vendome and his army, in absolute ignorance that only two leagues intervened between them and Marlborough's advance, were leisurely crossing the river. Having effected their passage about noon, they, in fancied security, began to move. Immediately that the head of the hostile columns were visible to Cadogan, he charged them, and drove them back in confusion. The enemy charged in turn; but, believing the whole of the allied army was before them, they precipitately withdrew. Recovering their courage, they again pressed forward. Happily for the perilous situation of Cadogan and his little corps, Marlborough, at the head of the whole of the allied cavalry (the main body of the army having only just effected its passage of the bridge), pressing forward at full gallop, induced the enemy to withdraw. New dispositions were made by both sides for one of the most obstinate battles on record.

The tract of country about to become the site of this battle, is thus graphically described by one who had carefully surveyed its locality:—

“At the distance of a mile north of Oudenarde is the village of Eyne. Here the ground rose into a species of low but capacious amphitheatre. It sweeps along a mo-

derately-sized plain, southward to near the glaciis of Oudenarde, where it is crowned by the village of Bevere and numerous windmills. Turning westward it then rises into another broad hill, under the name of Boser Couter; and the highest point is near a *tilleul*, or lime-tree, and a windmill overlooking the village of Oyceke. Thence the ground curves towards Marolen; and the eye glancing over the narrow valley watered by the Norken, is arrested by another upland plain, which trends by Huyse, gradually sinking till it terminates near Asper. A line, representing the chord of this semicircle, would commence about a league from the confluence of the Norken with the Scheldt, and traverse the plain of Heurne, which is nearly as high as the amphitheatre itself. Within this space, two scanty rivulets, gushing from the base of the hill of Oyceke, at a small distance asunder, embrace a low tongue of land, the middle of which rises into a gentle elevation. The borders of these rivulets, and a part of the intervening surface, are intersected with enclosures, surrounding the farms and hamlets of Barwaen, Chobon, and Diepenbeck. At the source of the one is the castellated mansion of Bevere or Brian; at that of the other, the hamlet of Rhetelhoek, situated on a woody and steep recess. These streams uniting near a hostelry, called Schaerken, proceed partly in a double channel along a marshy bed to the Scheldt, near Eyne. The Norken, rising near Morlehem, beyond Oyceke, runs for some distance almost parallel to the Scheldt; then passing by Lede, Mullem, and Asper, it meets another streamlet from the west, and terminates in a species of canal, skirting the Scheldt to a considerable distance below Gavre. The borders of the Norken, like those of other rivulets, are fringed with underwood, coppices, and thickets; and from Mullem to Herlehem the woods are skirted with avenues. Behind are inclosures surrounding a small plain, which terminates beyond the mill of Royeghem. Between these is a hollow road, which leads up to the hill of Oyceke.” Such was the battle-field on which Marlborough and Vendome were about to dispute the palm of victory.

Now was on the eve of commencing one of those memorable battles which have placed the military renown of England on the highest pinnacle of fame, when her resistless and invincible soldiery were properly led and officered.

As fast as his brigades came up, Marlborough posted them upon the high grounds between Bevere and Mooreghem-hill, while Vendome marshalled his battalions across the plain of Aspe: on the left, almost to Wanneghem on the right.

While the respective lines were forming in the order described, Vendome kept a corps of infantry and cavalry in Eyne, of which he had taken possession when Cadogan's cavalry had been driven back. No sooner had Marlborough brought a sufficient force into position, than he issued orders for the recovery of that village—a duty which Cadogan's division gallantly executed. For that purpose the infantry crossed the rivulet near Eyne, while the cavalry passing a little higher up, penetrated to the rear, and cut off all communication between the village and the main body of the enemy. In the contest which ensued, three battalions of the enemy laid down their arms, and eight squadrons of cavalry, in their attempt to escape across the Norken, were cut to pieces. This preliminary measure convincing Vendome that a general battle was inevitable, he determined to venture its issue.

Vendome accordingly began to make his dispositions for an attack on the allied right, which Marlborough perceiving, he prepared to meet it by making such dispositions as the nature of the ground allowed. For this purpose, twelve battalions were promptly moved up from Eyne to the support of the light troops which lined the hedges about Groenevelde; while twenty battalions, under the Duke of Argyle, threw themselves upon Schaerken. In the meantime Vendome was, by large drafts from the left, lengthening out his line to the right, till it outflanked the allies; and then pushing forward his line at quick time, he attacked every hedge, field, and farmhouse with the greatest fury. A fierce and obstinate hand-to-hand contest ensued; and such was the precipitancy with which both sides had rushed to the contest, that scarcely a field-piece could be brought to bear.

While this desperate struggle was in operation, Marlborough withdrew brigade after brigade from his right to his left: by thus gradually shifting his ground, he rendered the point of his line which was assailed, not the centre, but almost its extreme right; at the same time keeping the enemy's left in check, by drawing up along the edge of the morass which skirts the

Norken, a corps of Prussian cavalry; while with his own left he manœuvred to overlay the enemy's right, and cut it off. In the progress of this masterly evolution a corps of cavalry, which he had sent forward to clear the plain about Royeghem, was annihilated by the musketry from the inclosures; and while dislodging the enemy's tirailleurs from the hedges and coppices about the castle of Bevere and Schaerken, his infantry suffered heavily; but notwithstanding these disadvantages, his strategy was completely successful: for Overkirk, pushing his Dutch division rapidly round the slope of the Boser Couter, gained the mill of Oycke, where, bringing up his left shoulder, he completely turned the enemy's position; while Argyle, in his assault, carrying everything before him, broke off all connection between the troops at Groenevelde and those posted behind the mill. Thus was the right of the French army separated entirely from its centre and left; the only road of communication being by the mill of Royeghem, and the ravines and passes of Marolen.

Though daylight, which had long been waning, had now totally disappeared, the contest continued with the utmost obstinacy and fury. The respective battalions of both armies fought singly, in open fields, behind hedges and ditches, or in gardens, barn-yards, and other inclosures; and the horizon seemed on fire with the lurid and ceaseless flashes of musketry. The enemy's left, encumbered by the morass, could bring no support to their right; while the allies, doubling round that devoted wing, swept it on both flanks, in the rear and front at the same moment, with the most murderous fire. But as, on account of the darkness, the different corps of the allies frequently fired on each other, it became necessary to cease the firing—an occurrence of which the enemy joyfully availed themselves, and quickly proceeded to steal off the field. But in consequence of Eugene's ordering the drums of his own battalions to beat the French *assemblée*, and the refugee officers in his army to call aloud the numbers and titles of such French regiments which they knew were in the field, many thousands of the fugitives being thus deceived, fell into the hands of the allies. Vendome now perceiving that the battle was lost, issued orders for a retreat; and panic-struck, his disheartened troops fell pell-mell along the road to Ghent. In thi-

hardly contested battle, the loss of the enemy was 6,000 men in killed and wounded, and 9,000 prisoners; while that of the victors was 5,000.

After the issue of the battle of Oudenarde, Vendome fell back behind the canal of Bruges, where he was joined by the Duke of Berwick at the head of a large reinforcement, which increased his army to above 110,000 men. As France now lay open to invasion, Marlborough strongly urged the policy of carrying the war into the enemy's country; but Eugene considering the attempt too hazardous, Marlborough relinquished his design, practicable as it was, and likely to be attended with an auspicious result, and coincided in his colleague's proposal, of laying siege to Lisle, the capital of French Flanders, and considered one of the strongest fortifications in the world. To Eugene was entrusted the siege of that fortress, who invested it with an army composed of fifty battalions of infantry, a train of 120 battering-guns, forty mortars, and twenty howitzers; while Marlborough, with the covering army, occupied a position between Noyelles and Péronne. Vendome and Berwick had taken up a corresponding alignment in his front, with the intention of availing themselves of every opportunity to raise the siege. A variety of evolutions took place between the opposing generals; the object of which were, on one side, to interrupt the operations of the siege, while those on the other side were to out-manceuvre the enemy.

On the 22nd of August the trenches were opened. In the course of the siege, Eugene being wounded, the double load of duty and anxiety—of keeping the besieging corps to their duty, and superintending the covering army—was imposed on Marlborough. On account of the deficiency of ammunition and supplies, the siege proceeded so slowly, that it was not till the 22nd of October, after sixty days of open trenches, that the governor offered to capitulate. As an acknowledgment of the gallantry of his defence, he was permitted to dictate his own terms. Availing himself of the generosity of the proposal, he agreed to yield up the town and retire with his garrison into the citadel, to sustain there its siege.

No sooner had the French troops withdrawn from the town, than the attack—under Eugene, who had recovered from the effects of his wound—on the citadel commenced with all the vigour which the ex-

hausted state of the magazines would permit. To recruit these, foragers were repeatedly sent into France, who swept away the corn, cattle, and other necessaries from the open country; while Marlborough, in a commanding position, covered the besiegers and the foragers. As any direct attempt to interrupt the siege would be fruitless, Vendome endeavoured to distract his opponent's attention by making a dash on Brussels, where the principal magazines of the allies were deposited; and with that design he instructed the Elector of Bavaria to make an attempt on Tournay, the capital of Brabant, for the purpose of separating the allies from the threatened point.

With the foresight of intuitive genius Marlborough had foreseen this design, and was prepared, as soon as the enemy's object was developed, to counteract it. Having caused reports to be circulated that he intended breaking up his army for the winter, he suddenly marched towards the Scheldt, which he passed at three points. Assembling his army on the heights of Oudenarde, he advanced against the corps intrenched there, and drove it back on Grammont. Thus the road to Brussels being opened, the British general, on the 29th, entered that city in triumph.

After this brilliant manœuvre, Marlborough, forwarding stores to Eugene for the prosecution of the siege of Lisle, withdrew to a position on the Rhône, to cover the operations against the beleaguered fortress; which having capitulated on December the 11th, the enemy, deeming the campaign finished, went into winter quarters. Marlborough, however, prosecuted his operations against Ghent and Bruges, both which towns were soon in his possession.

This memorable campaign having thus been brought to a successful termination in favour of the allies, the French king, for the purpose of alienating the allies from one another, had recourse to the insidious design of proposing favourable terms for the re-establishment of peace. Though Marlborough was not blind to the artifices of diplomacy to which Louis had recourse for the purpose of misleading and overreaching the allies, and that bribes had been offered to him to an enormous amount by Louis's agent (the Marquis de Torcy) to further his master's designs, he crossed the sea in February, 1709, to lay these proposals before the British cabinet. Counter-propositions were offered by the British govern-

ment, which being rejected by Louis, both sides again prepared to resume the war with fresh vigour, by recruiting their re-

spective armies, and bringing them early into the field, in the campaign of the ensuing year.

MARLBOROUGH'S EIGHTH CAMPAIGN—BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET 1709.)

THOUGH Marlborough found not only the confederates, but even his own government, lukewarm and remiss in their preparations to meet the approaching contest, by consummate address and indefatigable exertions, he contrived to find a force of 110,000 men at his disposal. On the side of the enemy, Marshal Villars, one of their ablest generals, commanded an army of equal force, which covered the north-eastern frontier of France from molestation, and lay in rear of a chain of fortified villages, between Douay and Bethune, having his right covered by canals and morasses, and his left by streams and swamps; while the port of La Bassée, strengthened by numerous field-works and redoubts, constituted a *point d'appui* for his centre.

On the breaking up of the negotiation for peace, Marlborough and Eugene quitted Brussels, and moved their forces towards the enemy. On the 13th of July they arrived at Alost, where forming a flying camp, they occupied some days in reviewing the respective divisions of the allied army, which, on the 21st, they concentrated on a line between Courtrai and Menin. There holding a council of war, the plan of the approaching campaign was decided on. That plan was for the present to be a campaign of sieges; and operations were first to be began against Tournay, masking these so that Villars might be induced to believe that Ypres was threatened.

For that purpose, while Marlborough pushed his battering train up the Lys, his army passed the Dyle in three columns. Villars, deceived by the stratagem, took ground considerably to his left, and withdrew a portion of the garrison of Tournay, placing it *en potence* in the space evacuated. No sooner was Marlborough aware of the movements of his opponent than he ordered his heavy artillery to descend the Lys, and ostentatiously summoned a council of war, announcing, that by dawn the following morning the post of La Bassée should be attacked. But in the course of the very night in which he had proclaimed his feint attack, he led his brigades (disposed in two *corps*

*d'armee*, one commanded by himself, the other by Eugene) near the French outposts, and passing rapidly by Pont à Bovines and Pont à Tresin, took the road to Tournay. On the 27th Marlborough invested the town, and on the following day a line of circumvallation was formed; Eugene taking post between the besiegers and the enemy with his corps as a covering army. On the 29th of July, the town surrendered; but the garrison withdrawing into the citadel, here the strife was so fierce and deadly, that M. Surville, the governor, did not surrender till the 5th of September.

During these operations, Villars had been industriously employed in strengthening his lines between Douay and Bethune, so that nearly thirty leagues of country were embraced within his formidable fortifications. Marlborough, aware of the advantages likely to result from his taking the initiative, at midnight of the 3rd of September, ordered the besieging force opposite Tournay to strike their tents; and, on the 4th, forming a junction with the covering army under Eugene, the united force marched towards Siraut, and on the same day took up a position about four miles in rear of the Haine. By noon of the 6th, Lord Orkney, who had been detached, at the head of all the grenadiers of the army and forty squadrons of cavalry, towards St. Ghislain on the Haine, with orders to attempt the surprise of that post, penetrated the enemy's works there; and having thus executed his orders, the line was broken. The Prince of Hesse, who had been instructed to pass the Haine and invest Mons on the south-west, also successfully accomplished his object. Thus Marlborough's detached corps were interposed between Mons and the French army; and as early as the dawn of the 6th, the whole of the allied army was in position between Obourg and Hyon.

As the position of Mons, in reference to Villar's lines between Douay and Bethune, was in the highest degree important, and the necessity of saving it from capture imminent, Villars earnestly addressed himself

to the means of release from the toils into which the adroitness of his skilful adversary had inveigled him. Leaving a few brigades to guard his intrenchments, he drew the whole of his disposable force to his right, until he could muster in position, between Montreuil and Attiche, 120 battalions, 260 squadrons, and a train of eighty pieces of artillery. Marshal Boufflers having arrived in the camp to co-operate with Villars, the enthusiasm of the troops was so raised by his presence and their confidence in victory, that a general *feu-de-joie* was fired throughout the camp. To prevent the enemy from throwing reinforcements into Mons, Marlborough took ground upon a plateau, with his right in front of the village of Genlis, and his left thrown back on Quevy.

The hostile armies were now encamped at the distance of less than two leagues from each other, upon a plateau fertile in strong military positions, having the towns of Mons and Bavay and the villages of Quevrain and Givry at its angular points, and was partly encompassed by the rivers Haine, Trouille, Honeau, and Hon. Extensive woods clothed the face of the country, while villages, hamlets, and farmhouses were scattered over the plateau; and towards the immediate vicinity of Malplaquet, lay a heath of some extent. Such was the battle-field of Malplaquet. The contending hosts arranged on its site mustered each 100,000 combatants. In the French general's camp fifteen marshals of France were assembled to assist him with their advice and co-operation. Marlborough established his head-quarters at Blaregnies; and Villars took possession of Malplaquet.

On the night of the 10th of September, the hostile hosts lay down in anxious expectation of the morrow. Marlborough's instructions issued to his lieutenants during that night of suspense were, simultaneously to gain the rear of the enemy, or at all events their extreme left, and thus take their position in reverse at the farm of La Folie, while the centre and the right were threatened at the same time. In connection with these operations, a double attack was to be made on the works which Villars had thrown up in the wood of Taisniere.

At three o'clock on the morning of the 11th the allies were under arms, and, forming into open squares of divisions, listened with profound attention to the performance of divine service. In less than an hour the

whole army was in position. A battery of forty pieces was planted in advance of the farm of Cour-Tournant, against the enemy's works which covered the wood of Taisniere while another of equal might marched to the left, for the purpose of acting against the farm of Bleron. The remainder of the artillery was distributed along the line, according to the nature of the ground and the aspect of the enemy's intrenchments. In the meantime both infantry and cavalry broke into order of march, the several columns diverging towards the points against which they were respectively to march, till having closed up the advanced posts, they took up their position preparatory to the grand attack. About eight o'clock, the fog clearing up, eighty-six battalions, under the Prince of Orange, General Schuytemberg, and the Duke of Argyle, advanced to the attack of the enemy's right; while twenty-two battalions, under Count Lottum, marched on their left. The heavy lumbering of artillery, the trampling of the cavalry, and the measured tread of the infantry, having apprised the enemy of the approach of the foe, on reaching their destinations the allies found their antagonists ready to receive them, drawn out in magnificent array, in confident anticipation of victory.

The signal for battle was now given by a general discharge from the allied batteries, and in a moment the columns of attack were in motion. On Lottum's reaching his point of attack, a perfect tempest of musket-balls greeted him. Immediately a fierce and desperate struggle ensued. After alternations of success and repulse, the enemy abandoned his position in this quarter, and the allies remained in its possession. On the divisions of the Prince of Orange reaching their position, the contest was maintained with the most desperate courage on both sides; the Dutch obliged the French to quit the first intrenchment, but were repulsed from the second with great slaughter.

In this juncture of affairs, Villars, anxious to recover his ground on the left, had materially weakened his centre to obtain a sufficient force for the purpose. Marlborough, with the intuitive glance of a consummate commander, perceived the error of his adversary. Lord Orkney was directed to advance with his battalions, supported by a cloud of cavalry. The British general penetrating through a chain of redoubts which covered the French centre, bore down all opposition; while the cavalry, sweeping

through the intervals, spread themselves over the plain. In a moment, the formidable position which Villars had so diligently laboured to strengthen was no longer tenable. Pierced in the centre, and turned on the left, he was now menaced on every side, without the possibility of extricating himself from the difficulties which environed him, or of retrieving the fortune of the day. His entire alignment, thus cut into morsels, and no longer defensible, dispositions were made for a retreat, which was conducted in three columns towards Bavay; and the discomfited host took post between Quesnoy and Valenciennes. The allies were too much exhausted with the operations of the day—which had lasted from eight in the morning till past three in the afternoon—to pursue further than the heath of Malplaquet and the level grounds about Taisniere. In this hardly contested battle—a battle more terrible than Blenheim or Ramilies, and of greater consequence in its moral effects than either of those brilliant victories—the loss of the

allies, in killed and wounded, exceeded 20,000 men; while that of the enemy scarcely amounted to half that number: the great disparity of loss having been occasioned by the impetuosity of the Prince of Orange. The trophies of the victors were forty colours, sixteen pieces of artillery, and many hundred prisoners.

Having provided for their wounded, the allies proceeded to resume the investment of Mons, which surrendered on the 20th of October. The winter season having now set in, Marlborough put his army into quarters. In consequence of the results of this campaign, and the French having been driven within the limits of their own country, Louis XIV. had recourse to his old policy of suing for peace,—despairing, in consequence of the bloody tragedy of Malplaquet, and his empty claim of victory, or succeeding in his designs on the independence of the states of Europe. Various proposals having been made and rejected, the hostile armies again prepared to enter on the arena of contest.

#### MARLBOROUGH'S NINTH AND TENTH CAMPAIGNS (1710—1711.)

THE conferences at Gertruydenberg leaving unobstructed the operations of the approaching campaign, Marlborough and Eugene set out from the Hague on the 15th of March, to assemble the forces which were quartered on the Meuse, in Flanders, and Brabant. According to the plan of the campaign, Douay, an important place on the Scheldt, was invested as a base of their operations. Villars, who still commanded the French army, though he advanced within sight of the town with a numerous and well-appointed force, declining to attempt its relief, and falling back (his lines beginning at Bouchain on the Scheldt to Conché, which were so formidably defended by redoubts and other works, that Villars, judging they were impregnable, had called them the *ne plus ultra* of Marlborough), it capitulated on the 26th of June. Marlborough having outmanœuvred the French general, compelled him to abandon his impregnable lines. The surrender of Béthune, Aire, and St. Venant, was the result of this masterly manœuvre. A line of works, not less formidable than those which had been so gloriously pierced, still covering the frontiers of France, its army presented a bold and unbroken front:

the allied army went into winter quarters; and on the 26th of December, Marlborough landed at Solebay.

The British chief soon, however, prepared for the last time to return to the wars which have invested his name with splendour, and conferred on his country an imperishable renown. No sooner had he taken the field than he contrived, with admirable generalship, so to distract the attention of Villars, that he again entered (May 2nd) his lines—established from Bouchain to Conché, at Arleux—without the loss of a single soldier. Having forced his opponent from his supposed impregnable position, he proceeded to the investment of Bouchain, which was in his possession in the course of twenty days. This was the last of those brilliant exploits which have rendered the fame of Marlborough's campaigns of enduring glory. He was now doomed to experience the ingratitude of courts, and to see the fruits of his services rendered useless by the folly and imbecility of cabinets. He was recalled; and the command of the army which he had so often and so gloriously led to victory, was delivered over to the Duke of

Ormond. On his arrival in England, the queen having in her speech insinuated that he had unnecessarily protracted the war,\* Marlborough, who was present in the house, rose and said—"I can declare with a safe conscience, in the presence of her majesty (who knows me, and now hears me), of this illustrious assembly, and of Almighty God,

who is infinitely above all the powers upon earth, and before whom, according to the ordinary course of nature, I must soon appear to give an account of my actions, that I ever was desirous of a safe, honourable, and lasting peace; and far from any design of prolonging the war for my own private advantage, as my enemies have most falsely insinuated."

#### THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH'S CHIVALROUS MILITARY EXPLOITS IN SPAIN.

It is now the office of the military historian to record the chivalrous and daring exploits of the eccentric Earl of Peterborough, whose meteor-like course in the war of succession to the Spanish throne, between the rival claimants, the Archduke of Austria, and Philip the nephew of the French king, Louis XIV., forms one of the most sparkling episodes in the military history of any country. Often, by the bold front which his little flying parties of cavalry presented, and the gallant and audacious manner in which the earl manœuvred them, were six or seven thousand of his opponents kept at bay, or paralysed in all their efforts by a mere handful of cavalry. By spreading wherever he went exaggerated reports of the amount of his force, he often impressed his enemies with an idea that the whole of the British army was on the eve of attacking them, though only a few weary cavalry were in their presence. Frequently these small scouring parties, penetrating through mountain defiles and unfrequented paths, by showing themselves now on the right, now on the left, and now in the rear of the stationary or retreating enemy, excited their fears of being overwhelmed by a powerful force. His surprise of Barcelona, and his circumvention of Mahony at Murviedro, are masterpieces in the art of strategics.

The Spanish war of succession,—to which England was a party, for the purpose of enabling the Austrian claimant, the Archduke Charles, to displace the Bourbon intruder, Philip, the nephew of the French king, Louis XIV.,—which was begun in 1702, having languished for the space of three years, under the incompetent conduct of the Duke of Schomberg and his successor,

the Earl of Galway; the English ministry determined, in 1705, to send an expedition, under the command of the Earl of Peterborough (from whose skill and military enterprise great hopes were entertained), to support the cause of Charles, which was reduced to a low ebb by his rival's lieutenant the Duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II., by the Duke of Marlborough's sister, Ann Churchill. Towards the end of May of that year, the earl sailed from St. Helen's with 5,000 men, and on June 20th arrived at Lisbon; where, having embarked the requisite supplies and stores, and exchanged with the Earl of Galway two newly raised regiments for two regiments of dragoons, he set sail on the 28th of the following month on his destination. His instructions were, "to make a vigorous push in Spain," and to commence his operations by the siege of Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia, and situated on the coast of that province.

As Peterborough was, by the tenor of his instructions, left in a great measure to his own discretion, he began his "vigorous push" by entering the mouth of the Guadalquivir, and capturing the castle of Denia. He then resolved on the daring attempt of attacking the strong city of Valencia, which, if captured, a passage would be opened to make a dash on Madrid. But the Archduke Charles, and his timid counsellors, startled at the boldness of the proposal, required the original instructions to reduce Barcelona to be complied with. Peterborough accordingly prepared to proceed to his destination, and cast anchor on the 15th of August, in the Bay of Barcelona. Even then the romantic spirit of the English earl was doomed to be thwarted in its ardent and daring aspirations: three months were exhausted in unprofitable debate with his timid coadjutors, before measures were adopted for carrying out Peterborough's

\* The queen's precise words were—"I am glad that I can tell you now, that notwithstanding the acts of those who delight in war, both place and time are appointed for opening the treaty for a general peace."

desperate idea of surprising Monjuick, a fortress of immense strength, built upon a hill about a mile from the city, and by which the inland approach to it was defended. Peterborough, undiscouraged by his coadjutors' prognostications of failure and the apparent hopelessness of the attempt, determined to assail the formidable fortress by surprise. Attended only by a single aide-de-camp, he reconnoitred the place, and observing the heedless security in which the governor and garrison indulged, he prepared to put his design into execution. On the night preceding the morning appointed by the council of war for the army to quit the lines on account of the hopelessness of the earl's desperate resolution, Peterborough withdrew part of his artillery from its position as if for the purpose of re-embarking, and secretly commenced his march in the dark, with a column of 1,800 men, towards Monjuick. After a circuitous march of two hours, the resolute band reached the fortress. No sooner had the morning dawned, than the signal was given, and the assailants, divided into three columns, rushed to the onset, received the enemy's fire without returning it, and having surmounted the *fossé*, scaled the bastion and rampart with the utmost impetuosity. Thus the outworks were secured; but the advantage was almost lost as suddenly, by one of those panics which frequently control the fate of daring military exploits. The victors hearing that a powerful force was rapidly advancing from Barcelona to attack them, were on the point of abandoning the bastions which they had so gallantly won, when Peterborough, who had returned from reconnoitring, at the critical moment threw himself from his horse, and seizing a standard, waved it over his head; then calling to the troops that they had mistaken their way, he led them back to the posts they had abandoned. In the meantime, the governor of the castle of Monjuick believing that Peterborough was at the head of the whole British army, and fearing that his retreat would be cut off, hurriedly withdrew his forces from the castle, and retired to the city.

Thus the land approach and principal defence of Barcelona having been won, the eccentric English chief, disregarding all rule and precedent, ordered batteries to be immediately erected against it. In a few days, a practicable breach having been made in the walls, preparations were made

for storming; when the governor, in dismay, proposed a capitulation. In consequence of the submission of this strong place, almost all the principal towns of Catalonia submitted to Charles's authority.

Contrary to Peterborough's urgent desire to prosecute the campaign, Charles and his advisers caused the army to go into winter quarters. Philip having thus obtained breathing-time to recover his resources, in the ensuing spring laid siege to San Mateo, defended only by 500 Miguelets. Peterborough was dispatched to its relief with 1,200 men; but finding that the place was invested by 7,000 men, under the Marquis de las Torres, he resolved to supply his deficiency in force by stratagem. Having directed a letter—which he contrived should fall into the enemy's hands—to the governor of the place, stating that he was advancing with a strong force to its relief, as soon as he reached the heights at a small distance from Mateo, he so disposed his little force among the coppice and brushwood, that Las Torres, apprehending a powerful force was on the eve of attacking him, hurriedly broke up the siege and retreated; when Peterborough and his little band immediately entered San Mateo amidst the applause of its inhabitants.

Having liberated the garrison of Mateo from its jeopardy, the gallant Peterborough, with 200 weary horsemen, went in pursuit of Las Torres, although in cavalry alone the enemy's force was 3,000 strong. He pursued with incredible speed; hung on his opponent's front, flank, and rear, and cut off his stragglers and patrols so effectually, that Las Torres, believing a mighty host was ready to pounce upon him, took to precipitate flight. This belief the earl so effectually contrived to confirm in the whole course of his meteor-like progress, that his handful of followers was invariably mistaken for the advanced guard of the army; and thus towns and whole districts were kept in subjection by the mere terror of his presence, and that of his slender band of adherents.

Valencia being now closely besieged by the Duke of Arcos, Peterborough resolved on its relief. Having, in that desperate attempt, entrenched his little band so ingeniously as to give it the appearance of a powerful army, he opened negotiations with the enemy, during the course of which he contrived to make General Mahony, the superintending engineer, suspected of treachery by the

Duke of Arcos. Arcos accordingly put Mahony under arrest, and hurried away to secure his own safety; while Mahony's corps, being left without their commander, disbanded themselves; when Peterborough, finding his way open to Valencia, entered the town without the least opposition. Towards the resumption of the siege of Valencia, Las Torres was appointed to the command, and 4,000 men were dispatched to reinforce the investing army: a quantity of heavy artillery was also embarked at Alicant. Peterborough, who had intelligence of these proceedings, determined to counteract them. He intercepted both the battering train and the reinforcement—measures which induced the relinquishment of the resumption of the siege.

While Peterborough was thus actively employed in frustrating the operations of the enemy, Charles and his councillors remained inactive in Barcelona. His opponent, Philip, having in the meantime collected a powerful army, marched into Catalonia, and on the 2nd of April appeared before Barcelona. Many a hurried despatch was sent to Peterborough for aid; who, as quick as possible, repaired to the relief of the place with 2,000 men. But as his force was much too weak to attack the besiegers, he kept them in a constant state of alarm by hovering on the heights, and resorting to his usual stratagem—of inducing them to believe that his force was much greater than it really was. The fort of Monjuick having been reduced, and, in the course of a short time after, the walls of Barcelona being breached, preparations for assault were made; but the operations of the enemy were nullified by the following manœuvre of Peterborough.

On the night preceding the intended assault, Peterborough marched his little army to the town of Layette, where collecting all the fishing-boats and feluccas which could be found in the neighbourhood,

he ordered the soldiers, as soon as the English fleet appeared in sight, to embark on board of it, and sail directly for the harbour of Barcelona. He then proceeded to the British squadron, which he ordered to sea; for his commission gave him authority by sea and land: the movement was accordingly made, with which the French admiral was so disheartened, that he cut his cables and fled in confusion. Peterborough's daring troops immediately embarked in their crazy skiffs, and sailed triumphantly into Barcelona, where they were hailed by the garrison in a frenzy of delight. All hope being now extinguished of taking the city, the enemy broke up the siege in the greatest disorder.

Romantic as were these exploits, they formed but a slight portion of the daring designs of the chivalrous earl. Thrice he projected an advance on Madrid. His first plan was, that Charles, instead of apathetically remaining in Barcelona, should penetrate into Portugal, where the Earl of Galway was at the head of 25,000 men, by whose aid the road to Madrid might be commanded; while Peterborough preserved the security of Valencia and Catalonia. His second proposal was, immediately after his successful raising of the siege of Barcelona, to advance against the enemy. His third proposal was the recovery of Madrid with 5,000 men. But in each case, the phlegmatic cautiousness of Charles and his advisers, sat like a nightmare on the English earl's spirit of enterprise. Peterborough, thwarted in his plans, obtained leave to separate himself from so timid coadjutors; and as Charles was glad to be relieved from the authority of so severe a schoolmaster, the proposal was accepted. His cause, however, soon suffered; and that of his rival, Philip, was now everywhere successful; until at last, the bloody field of Almanza rendered it completely triumphant.

## THE WAR OF THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION, 1740—1748.

BATTLES OF DETTINGEN, FONTENOY, AND MINDEN (1743—1759).

THE moving cause of the battles of Dettingen, Fontenoy, and Minden, was the dispute between Maria Theresa, daughter of the Emperor Charles VI., and the Elector of Bavaria, to the imperial dignity and suc-

cession to the hereditary estates of the empire. Maria Theresa founded her claim on the will of her father and the authority of the Pragmatic Sanction, in virtue of which her rights had been guaranteed by all the

great powers of Europe. The Elector of Bavaria, besides some antiquated claims to the imperial dignity, maintained that the female line was disqualified to succeed. The king of England, George II., was the only potentate who adhered to the conditions of the Pragmatic Sanction. Louis XV., the French king, favoured the claims of the Bavarian elector.

In furtherance of the engagement of the Pragmatic Sanction, the English king, in April, 1742, dispatched 16,000 English troops to the great ground and battle-stage of Heaven's European vicegerents on this nether world of ours. With the British contingent, 12,000 Hanoverians and 6,000 Hessians were to co-operate as auxiliaries. The French king dispatched 60,000 men, under Marshal the Duc de Noailles, to the aid of the Elector of Bavaria.

The allied army, consisting of about 35,000 English, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops, began their march for the Rhine about the end of February, 1743; and, in the following May, encamped near Hoech, on the northern bank of the river Maine, under the command of the Earl of Stair. To prevent the junction of the allied forces with Prince Charles of Lorraine, who was advancing from Vienna, Marshal the Duc de Noailles, with an army amounting to 60,000 men, took post on the northern bank of that river. Having remained in front of Noailles for some time, for the purpose of establishing his communication with the prince, the English general broke up his encampment. Noailles followed so closely, and manœuvred so skilfully, as to cut him off from his magazines at Hanau, so that he was without bread and forage, and separated from the 12,000 auxiliary Hanoverians and Hessians who were advancing on Hanau. While affairs were in this state, the united army was cooped up in the narrow valley which runs along the river Maine, from the town of Aschaffenburg to the village of Dettingen; when the English king, George II., and his son, the Duke of Cumberland, reached the allied camp from Hanover. In a council of war it was determined to extricate the army out of the narrow valley, and force a passage to Hanau. But Noailles, conjecturing the intention of his opponent, changed his position, so as to point on the flank and rear of the allied army; and, at the same time, he detached the Duc de Grammont to secure the defile of Dettingen.

While the allied army, on the 27th of June, was marching towards Dettingen, the

advanced guard came suddenly on the defile, but was driven back by the enemy, who were in great force in the pass. The English king immediately halted his columns, and galloping from the rear to the front, made his arrangements for the approaching battle. At this moment he was completely shut up in the valley, and the enemy was drawn up in battle array in the village of Dettingen. The only safety of the allied army now consisted in cutting their way through the defile. Happily the rashness of Grammont relieved the English king from his jeopardy: he rushed from the defile into the ravine, and, crossing the rivulet, attacked the allies. The enemy rushing forward with a tremendous shout, the English king's horse took fright, and nearly carried him into the midst of the foe; but being fortunately stopped, George dismounted, and putting himself at the head of the English and Hanoverian infantry, he flourished his sword, and thus addressed his men—"Now my boys," he exclaimed, "now for the honour of England! fire and behave bravely, and the French will soon run." At the first onset, Grammont and his impetuous cavalry threw the allies into some confusion: but the infantry soon rallied; when the English king and his son formed them into one dense column, and charged so furiously that, completely breaking Grammont's force, it took to headlong flight, and was driven over the bridges of the Maine before the main body under Noailles could advance to its aid. The loss of the enemy in this battle, in killed and wounded, exceeded 6,000 men; while that of the allies was about 2,000. In consequence of this disastrous battle, Noailles, on the 17th of July, retreated towards France; and, as the autumnal rains had set in, the allies went into winter quarters, and occupied nearly the same cantonments from which they had moved at the opening of the campaign.

On the death of the Elector of Bavaria, who had been selected for the imperial dignity, his son and successor declining the Germanic crown, the Grand-duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, was, in the imperial diet, chosen emperor. As the French king could not prevent the succession of the grand-duke to the imperial throne, he resolved to humble the house of Austria by making a conquest of the Austrian Flemish provinces. For that purpose an army, consisting of 80,000 men, was assembled under Marshal Count de Saxe, in Flanders; who

suddenly invested Tournay in the beginning of May, 1745. To resist the design of the French, the Duke of Cumberland, who had been appointed to the chief command of the allied army, assembled at Soignies, marched to the relief of Tournay, and, on the 28th of April, took post at Maulbre, in sight of the French army, which was encamped on the heights that rise from the right bank of the Scheldt, with that river and the village of Antoine on their right, the village of Fonteno in their front, and the wood Vezon on their left. Fonteno and Antoine were strongly fortified and garrisoned; and redoubts were thrown up between these two villages.

On the 30th of April, the Duke of Cumberland, having made the requisite dispositions, began his march against the enemy's position about four o'clock in the morning. A brisk cannonade was soon sustained by both sides; and, before nine A.M., both armies were closely engaged. Cumberland, with the British and Hanoverian infantry, advanced against the left of the French line. Immediately the contest became terrific; but at length the enemy was driven beyond their lines, and that part of their position carried. But when the victorious infantry looked with the eyes of conquerors to their right, they could see nothing of their allies the Dutch, who had advanced to the attack of the French right. That portion of the allies, disheartened by the galling effects of the French batteries, had fallen back in confusion, giving unequivocal proofs of cowardice; indeed, the regiment of Hesse-Homburg was in so dreadful a fright that it galloped with full reins to Alby; from which town its colonel wrote a letter to the Dutch government, informing them that the allied army had been cut to pieces. Undiscouraged, however, by the cowardice of their allies, the heroic British and Hanoverian infantry advanced to the charge of the enemy on the right with redoubled ardour; but, after a terrific struggle, being exposed both in front and flank to a destructive fire, the Duke of Cumberland judged it most judicious to retreat, which was effected in tolerable order about three o'clock P.M. At this moment the English cavalry coming up, the invincible infantry halted, and presenting a formidable front to the enemy, the pursuit was checked.

There is no other example on record of a body of unsupported infantry penetrating a position in the face of a force five times more numerous than itself, under the cross-fire of redoubts full of heavy artillery, and overthrowing successive charges of cavalry and infantry. Though, by the contraction of the ground, it was compressed into a dense and elongated mass of narrow front, it still preserved its stern, undaunted aspect; and pursuing its daring and deliberate advance, the bravest efforts of the chivalric nobility of the French household troops, as well as those of the Irish brigades, in succession, were in vain employed to arrest its progress: and it was only when it had reached the heart of the enemy's position, and its ranks were mowed down by artillery, and overwhelmed in front and on both flanks by a simultaneous onset of all the cavalry and infantry whom it had repeatedly repelled, that the gallant band was at last cut down and swept off the field, without a symptom of dismay or an effort to disperse.

In this battle, the loss of the English in killed and wounded was about 4,000 men; and that of the Hanoverians, 2,000. The French acknowledged to the loss of 7,000. The allies left behind them but few pieces of artillery, and lost no standards or prisoners.

The immediate cause of the battle of Minden was the electorate of Hanover, which the French king, Louis XV., treated "as a kind of whipping-boy to the royalty of England." To avert the chastisement, George II. dispatched a body of English infantry and cavalry to co-operate with the Hanoverians and Hessians under Prince Ferdinand, who, determined to make a bold effort for the defence of the country, had taken post near Minden. At the dawn of day on the 31st of July, 1759, Marshal Coutades, with an army exceeding 60,000 men, attacked the allied position. At five o'clock both armies briskly cannonaded each other; and at six the action became very hot; six English regiments of infantry sustaining for a time the efforts of the whole French army. At length about noon the French fell into disorder; and, reeling back from a field covered with their dead, left forty-three cannon and several stand of colours in the hands of the victors.

# ENGLAND'S CONTESTS, VICTORIES, AND DISASTERS,

ON

## THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE WARS AGAINST THE FRENCH,  
AND THE GREAT WAR OF AMERICAN LIBERATION.

### INTERNATIONAL ANGLO AND FRANCO-AMERICAN COLONIAL WAR.

By the time the Spanish war of succession had come to a close, the whole of North America, from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the river Mississippi, had been wrested from its aboriginal possessors, and was claimed or occupied by the subjects of the three European empires of France, England, and Spain. France held possession of the Canadas, including a portion of New Brunswick, with the islands of St. John and Cape Breton, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In 1722, the beginnings of a French colony were made at New Orleans, which, in the course of some years, extended their ramifications over the fertile province of Louisiana. Detached settlements were soon created along the banks of the Mississippi, which, by connecting the whole with the Canadas, seemed to promise the connection of all the vast tract of territory between the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi into one gigantic colony, subject to France.

In the meantime, England, after subduing by force of arms the Swedish and Dutch settlers, spread her colonists over the central portion and eastern coasts of the continent, beginning at Nova Scotia, and ending with South Carolina. The Spaniards possessed the Floridas.

As the importance of the New World was daily increasing in the estimation of Europeans, the question of boundaries began to be considered of consequence by the three nations who had usurped dominion in that territory. The English insisted that their occupation of the coasts on the

Atlantic, entitled them to the possession of all the country lying between it and the Pacific. The French, on the other hand, maintained that all the territory which stretches in a semicircle round the Alleghany mountains, was theirs. The English colonists seized every opportunity of advancing indefinitely from east to west; the French, of extending their settlements transversely from north to south.

By the treaty of Utrecht, Nova Scotia, or, as it was then called, Acadia, had been ceded to the English by the French; but as the latter asserted that its eastern boundary line was the Kennebec, and the former that the cession embraced the whole territory south of the St. Lawrence, the seeds of dispute began to vegetate, which soon ripened into an ample and a bloody harvest. An event presented the opportunity of gratifying the respective passions of the disputants.\*

In the early part of 1750, six hundred thousand acres of land, situated in Nova Scotia (a district to which the rival countries laid claim), were granted by the British parliament to the Ohio Company, for the purpose of driving a fur trade with the Indians. The settlers were attacked and driven away by the French, who to secure their possession of the disputed territory, erected a redoubt on the Ohio, called Fort du Quesne. Early

\* The British colonists amounted to one million and fifty-one thousand; while those of France were only fifty-two thousand. All the Indians, except the "Five Nations," were on the side of France.

in the spring of 1755, Major Washington took the command of a regiment raised in Virginia for the protection of the frontiers. He defeated a party of the French and Indians, under Dijonville, and was proceeding to occupy the post at the fork of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, when he was encountered at the Little Meadows by a superior force; but, after a gallant resistance, was compelled to surrender.

On receipt of intelligence of these transactions in England, the secretary of state transmitted orders to the provincial governors to repel force by force; and early in 1755, General Braddock set sail from England with a body of troops. On the arrival of the expedition, it was arranged by the provincial governors and General Braddock, that the campaign should commence by the conjoint operation of four distinct expeditions. The first against Fort du Quesne, with the British, Maryland, and Virginian forces, under General Braddock; the second against Fort Frontignac, under Shirley, governor of Massachusetts, with the regular forces of that province; the third against Crown Point, with the New English and New York troops, under General Johnson; and the fourth against Nova Scotia, with the Massachusetts provincials, amounting to 3,000 men and 300 British regulars, under Lieutenant-colonel Winslow. The last-mentioned expedition was the first in movement. It advanced on the 20th of May to its point of action; and by the middle of June, had reduced the whole of Nova Scotia to subjection, with the loss of only three men.

About the same time, General Braddock advanced with 1,200 select men against Fort du Quesne, leaving Colonel Dunbar to bring up the main body and the baggage. Reaching the Monongahela on the 8th of July, the general resolved to attack Fort du Quesne the next day; and for that purpose, Lieutenant-colonel Gage was dispatched with an advanced guard of 300 British regulars, the main body following under the command of Braddock. Washington, who accompanied the English general as his aide-de-camp, cautioned him to provide against an ambuscade by sending forward some provincial troops to scour the country; but this advice was unheeded. Having crossed the Monongahela about seven miles from Du Quesne, the little army was pressing forward in an open wood, through high and thick grass, when the advanced guard

was thrown into disorder by a well-directed volley of musketry, from an enemy so artfully concealed behind the trees and bushes, as to be perfectly unseen. The advanced guard immediately fell back on the main body, and in an instant the panic and confusion became general, so that the greater part of the troops fled with precipitation. Braddock ordered the few officers and men who remained with him to form and advance against the hidden foe. In a few minutes the desperate band were almost all killed and wounded; and Braddock himself, after having had three horses shot under him, received a musket-shot through the lungs. The confusion of the surviving few was immediately converted into a disorderly flight, which was continued until they met the last division under Dunbar, then forty miles in the rear. Infecting their companions with the panic, both parties hastily retreated to Fort Cumberland. In this calamitous affair, sixty-four officers out of eighty-five, and about 700 privates, were either killed or wounded; and the whole of the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army, fell into the hands of the enemy. Braddock expired a few days after the battle.

Neither of the two northern expeditions succeeded in attaining the object proposed. General Johnson, in his march to Ticonderago, detached Colonel Williams with a thousand men to reconnoitre the enemy who were advancing under the command of Dreskau, from Quebec. Williams met the French general at the distance of about four miles from the Anglo-American camp, and offering battle, was defeated; but Dreskau, when not 150 yards from the camp, imprudently halting, was so suddenly and vigorously assailed, that his panic-struck troops, throwing away their arms, fled in the utmost confusion to their posts on the lakes. General Shirley, who succeeded to the chief command on the death of General Braddock, was so dilatory in his operations against Niagara and Fort Frontignac, that in a general council of war, convened on the 27th of September, it was resolved to defer the expedition to the succeeding year. Thus ended the campaign of 1755: by its mismanaged operations, the whole frontier was exposed to the ravages of the Indians, which were accompanied by their usual acts of barbarity.

The colonists, however, far from being discouraged by the misfortunes of the last campaign, determined to renew the war. Ex-

peditions were planned against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point. But General Shirley, having been superseded by General Abercomby, who soon gave place to the Earl of Loudoun, a contest for priority of rank ensued among the chiefs, which prevented the adoption of any military movement.

While these differences were being adjusted, the Marquis of Montcalm (the successor of Dreskau) marched with 5,000 French, Canadians, and Indians, against Oswego, which he so vigorously assaulted, that it surrendered in the course of a few days after he had appeared before it. This operation compelled the Anglo-American army to assume the defensive; and the three intended expeditions against Du Quesne, Niagara, and Crown Point were consequently abandoned. Thus ended the second campaign.

At the commencement of the year 1757, New England, Nova Scotia, New York, and New Jersey, having raised a considerable body of men, Lord Loudoun, leaving the posts on the lake strongly garrisoned, set sail from New York for the purpose of effecting a junction with 5,000 British regulars under Viscount Howe, who had arrived at Halifax. Loudoun's intention was to attack Louisburg; but hearing, on his arrival at Halifax, that that place had been strongly reinforced by a French fleet which had sailed from Brest, he deferred undertaking the enterprise till the next year, and led his forces back to New York.

The Marquis de Montcalm, availing him-

self of the absence of the principal force of the English, advanced with an army of 9,000 men, laid siege to Fort William Henry, and urged his approaches so vigorously, that within six days after investment it surrendered, though garrisoned by 3,000 men. By the terms of capitulation, the garrison was to be allowed the honours of war, and to be protected against the Indians until within reach of Fort Edward; but the next morning, a large number of Indians having been allowed to enter the lines, began to plunder, and, meeting with no opposition, they fell upon the sick and wounded, and massacred them. Their appetite for carnage being excited, the defenceless troops were attacked with fiend-like fury. Montcalm was in vain implored to provide the stipulated guard, and the massacre continued. All was horror and confusion; on every side the savages butchered and scalped their defenceless victims. Their hideous yells, and the frantic shrieks of their victims, were heard by the French unmoved. The fury of the savages was permitted to rage till fifteen hundred of the garrison had been slain or carried captive into the wilderness.

Thus ended the third campaign; in the course of which the French, by the acquisition of Fort William Henry, had obtained possession of the lakes Champlain and George; and, by the destruction of Oswego, they had acquired the dominion of the other lakes which connect the waters of the St. Lawrence with those of the Mississippi.

#### FOURTH AMERICAN CAMPAIGN—WOLFE'S ATTACK ON QUEBEC.

THE British nation, being indignant at the folly and mismanagement of the war, William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, having been appointed to the head of the British ministry, a circular letter, dated May, 1757, was sent to the colonial authorities of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, commanding a levy of 15,000 men for the vigorous prosecution of the war. Twelve thousand regular troops, and a fleet, were dispatched from England to co-operate with them. General Abercromby was appointed commander-in-chief and, in the spring of 1758, he prepared to open the campaign at the head of 50,000 men.

Three points of attack were marked out for this campaign: the first Louisburg; the second, Ticonderago and Crown Point; and

the third, Fort du Quesne. On the first-mentioned expedition, Admiral Boscawen sailed from Halifax on the 28th of May, with a fleet of twenty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, bearing an army of 14,000 men under General Amherst, and arrived before Louisburg on the 2nd of June. The garrison of that place was composed of above 3,000 men, under the Chevalier du Drucourt. The harbour being secured by five ships of the line, one 50-gun ship, and five frigates, three of which were sunk across the mouth of the basin, it was found necessary to effect a landing at some distance from the town. This being accomplished, and the artillery and stores brought on shore, General Wolfe was detached with 2,000 men to seize a post occupied by the enemy at Lighthouse

Point, from which the ships in the harbour and the fortifications of the town might be annoyed. On the approach of Wolfe, the post being abandoned by the enemy, several strong batteries were erected there. Approaches were also made on the opposite side of the town, and the siege was pressed with so much vigour and resolution, that three of the largest ships were destroyed. On the occurrence of this disaster, the English admiral sent 600 men in boats into the harbour, to make an attempt on the two ships of the line which still remained uninjured; one of which being aground was destroyed, and the other was towed off in triumph. This gallant exploit putting the English in possession of the harbour, and several breaches being made practicable in the works, the place was deemed no longer defensible, and the governor offered to capitulate. The garrison surrendered as prisoners of war. Louisburg, Island Royal, St. John's, and Cape Breton, also fell into the possession of the English. The garrisons of these places, amounting to nearly 6,000 men, were carried prisoners to England, and the inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English vessels.

The armies destined to execute the plans against Ticonderago and Fort du Quesne amounted to upwards of 15,000 men, under General Abercromby; and being embarked (July 5th) at Lake George, on board of 125 whale-boats and 900 *bateaux*, commenced operations against Ticonderago. After debarkation the troops were formed into four columns—the British in the centre, and the provincials on their flanks. In this order they marched towards the advanced guard of the French, who destroyed the log camp in which they were posted, and precipitately retreated. But when the columns were within two miles' march of Ticonderago, Abercromby having ascertained from the prisoners the strength of the garrison and the condition of the fortress, made instant dispositions for its assault. The troops received orders to advance rapidly and rush on the enemy's fire, reserving their own till they had passed a breastwork. But unexpected impediments occurred. At a considerable distance in front of the breastwork, trees had been felled, with their branches entwined; so that the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but, becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed to a galling fire. Finding it impracticable to pass the breastwork (which

was about nine feet high), after a contest of near four hours, Abercromby ordered a retreat, and recrossed Lake George. In this brave but ill-judged assault, nearly 2,000 of the assailants were either killed or wounded; while the loss of the enemy was but trifling.

The campaign was not, however, destined to close unpropitiously. Colonel Bradstreet prepared an expedition against Frontignac, a fort which, by being situated on the north side of the St. Lawrence, just where it issues from Lake Ontario, was the key of the communication between Canada and Louisiana. It also contributed to keep the Indians in subjection, and was the general repository of stores for the enemy's western and southern posts. Late on the evening of the 26th of August, Bradstreet landed within a mile of the place with 3,000 men, eight cannon, and three mortars. A bombardment was opened, and as every shell took effect, the garrison soon surrendered at discretion. The reward of the victors was sixty cannon, nine armed vessels of from eight to eighteen guns, and military stores to a large amount. Bradstreet having destroyed the fort and the shipping, recrossed the Ontario.

General Forbes, in June, advanced against Du Quesne; but on account of the necessity of cutting a new road, did not appear before the fort till November, when he found it deserted; the Indians having, the evening before the arrival of the British, escaped down the Ohio. The fort having been regarrisoned, had its name changed to Pittsburg. The Indians, as usual, joining the strongest side, a peace was concluded with all the tribes between the Ohio and the lakes; in consequence of which, the frontier inhabitants of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia were relieved from the terrors of fire and scalping-knives. Thus ended the campaign of 1758, and which had been honourable to the British arms in comparison with the preceding campaigns.

In consequence of the circular letter of the British minister (Mr. Pitt) to the respective governors of the colonies, vigorous preparations were made for opening the next campaign; the plan of which was, that three armies should penetrate the enemy's possessions by three different routes, and attack all their strongholds simultaneously. It was resolved that Brigadier-general Wolfe, who had distinguished himself at Louisburg, should, as soon as the season of the year would admit, ascend the St. Lawrence with 8,000 men, aided by a

considerable squadron of ships, and lay siege to Quebec; that the central and main army, consisting of 12,000 men, under General Amherst, should proceed against Ticonderago and Crown Point, and, after the reduction of these forts, should cross the Lake Champlain, and descending the St. Lawrence, form a junction with Wolfe's army before the walls of Quebec; and that a third army, composed principally of provincials, reinforced by a strong body of friendly Indians, should, under General Prideaux, advance against Niagara, and, after the reduction of that place, embark on Lake Ontario, and descend the river St. Lawrence against Montreal.

Early in the winter, General Amherst commenced preparations for his part of the enterprise; but it was not till the 22nd of July that he appeared before Ticonderago. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to withstand so strong a force as that of Amherst's. Ticonderago was immediately abandoned; the example was followed by Crown Point; and the only mode which the enemy deemed calculated to preserve their Canadian province, was by retarding the progress of the English army with the appearance of resistance till the season of operation should have passed, or till, by gradual concentration of their forces, they should become sufficiently strong to make an effectual stand. They, therefore, from Crown Point retreated to Ile-aux-Noix, where Amherst understood they had collected about 4,000 men and a fleet of several armed vessels. He accordingly made great exertions to secure a naval superiority; but on account of a succession of adverse storms upon the lake, he was not able to undertake his intended operation; and thus, instead of being in a condition to effect a junction with Wolfe before Quebec, he was obliged to go into winter quarters at Crown Point.

In prosecution of the enterprise against Niagara, Prideaux having embarked his army on Lake Ontario on the 6th of July, landed without opposition within three miles from the fort, which he immediately invested. While directing the operations of the siege, being killed by the bursting of a cohorn, he was succeeded in the command by General Johnson, who pushed the attack so vigorously against the fort, that the besiegers were soon within a hundred yards of

the covered way. The enemy, fearful of losing a post which was the key to their interior empire in America, collected a large body of regular troops from the neighbouring garrisons of Detroit, Venango, and Presque-Isle, with which, and a body of Indians, they resolved, if possible, to raise the siege of Niagara. Apprised of their intention of hazarding a battle, Johnson ordered his light infantry, supported by a body of grenadiers, to take post between the cataract of Niagara and the fortress, placing the Indians on his flank, and taking effectual measures for securing his lines and bridling the garrison. About nine on the morning of the 24th of July the enemy appeared, and the horrible sound of the war-whoop from the hostile Indians was the signal for battle. The French charged with great impetuosity, but were received with firmness, and in less than an hour were completely routed. The battle decided the fate of Niagara, which surrendered next morning; and thus, by its reduction, the enemy's communication between Canada and Louisiana was cut off.

Of the three expeditions, that under General Wolfe against Quebec was the most important. That city, which was so strong by nature and art that it had obtained the appellation of the Gibraltar of America, stands on the north side of the river St. Lawrence, and consists of an upper and a lower town. The lower town lies between the river and a bold and lofty eminence which runs parallel to it far to the southward. At the top of this eminence is a plain, upon which the upper town is situated. Behind this town lies a range of hills, rising abruptly with a steep ascent from the banks of the river, called the Heights of Abraham. The French army lay strongly intrenched in encampment between the rivers St. Charles and Montmorency, which fall into the St. Lawrence a little below the town. The fleets from England destined to co-operate in this expedition arrived at Halifax in May; and taking on board the 8,000 troops under General Wolfe and his assistants (Brigadier-generals Monckton, Townshend, and Murray), sailed on their destination, and near the end of June landed the whole force on the island of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec.

The necessary works for the security of the hospital and stores having been completed in July, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats and encamped on

the Montmorency, which separated them from the left division of the enemy's camp. Having remained in this position until batteries were erected at Point Levi, on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, dispositions were at length made for attacking the enemy's intrenchments, in order to bring on a general engagement. Accordingly, it was resolved, on the last day of July, to storm a redoubt built close to the water's edge, and within gunshot of the intrenchments. The French abandoning the redoubt, thirteen companies of grenadiers impetuously rushing on against the enemy's intrenchments, without waiting for the debarkation of the rest of the forces, were repulsed; and being thrown into disorder, were obliged to seek shelter in the abandoned redoubt. The plan of attack being thus disconcerted, orders were issued for repassing the river and returning to the Isle of Orleans.

Compelled to relinquish the attack on that side without being able to bring Montcalm to an engagement, Wolfe determined to abandon his camp at the Isle of Orleans. The army was accordingly embarked on board the fleet, and a part of it was landed at Point Levi, and the rest higher up the

river. Montcalm apprehending from this movement that the invaders might, by a distant descent, retrograde on Quebec, detached M. de Bourgainville, with 1,500 men, to prevent their disembarkation.

Baffled and harassed in his previous measure, Wolfe determined to accomplish his design by a bold and desperate effort. Having reconnoitred the position, he resolved on the attack, by landing the troops within a league of Cape Diamond, below the town, in hopes of ascending the heights of Abraham, that they might gain possession of the plain in the rear of the city, which on that side was but weakly fortified. Early in the morning of the 12th of September, Admiral Holloway, pursuant to his instructions, sailed several leagues up the river, making occasional demonstrations of a design to land troops, while strong detachments of forces silently fell down the river in flat-bottomed boats, to a point about a mile distant from the city. Though the beach was shelving, and the bank high and precipitous, the army was completely landed an hour before dawn, and by day-break was marshalled upon the plains of Abraham, ready to accept battle from the gallant foe in their front.

#### BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM.

As soon as Montcalm received intelligence of the daring attempt of his opponent, he hastened to prepare for battle. Marching from his camp at Montmorency, he crossed the St. Lawrence, with the intention of attacking Wolfe in flank. To prevent this design, Brigadier Townshend was detached with the regiment of Amherst and two battalions of royal Americans, and by forming his force *en potence*, he presented a double front to the enemy. Wolfe at the same time formed his order of battle. His little army consisted of six battalions and the Louisburg grenadiers. The right wing was commanded by Brigadier Monckton, and the left by Brigadier Murray. The reserve consisted of one regiment, drawn up in eight divisions, at large intervals. The disposition for battle made by Montcalm was equally masterly. The English right and left wings were composed of European and colonial troops. The centre consisted of a column formed of ten battalions of regulars. The French army was advantageously posted;

being screened in its front with bushes and thickets lined with 1,500 Indians and Canadians. These men, who were excellent marksmen, began the battle with an irregular galling fire; but this was soon silenced by the steady fire of the English. About nine a.m., the main body of the French advanced impetuously to the charge, and the battle now became general. Montcalm having taken post on the left of the French army, and Wolfe on the right of the English, the two generals were opposed to each other where the battle raged the severest. The English line reserved its fire until the French were within forty yards, when, by a general discharge, they made terrible havoc among their ranks. The battle was vigorously maintained on both sides. At length Wolfe, who was in front animating his battalions, being wounded in the wrist, he wrapped a handkerchief round his arm, and continued to encourage his men. Soon after he was pierced by a musket-shot in the groin: but concealing his wound, he

was pressing on at the head of the grenadiers in a charge against the enemy, when a third ball struck him in the breast. The command now devolved on Monckton, who, receiving a ball through his body, soon yielded the command to Townshend. Montcalm received a mortal wound about the same time; and General Senezergus, the second in command, also fell. The British grenadiers and the rest of the line were pressing forward to the charge; the centre of the French army was broken; and the highlanders, rushing forward with their drawn broadswords, completed the confusion; when the right and centre of the enemy were completely driven off the field. The left was about following their example, when Bourgainville appeared in the rear with the 1,500 men who had been detached to oppose the landing of the English; but two battalions having been sent to oppose him, he withdrew, and the British were left the undisputed masters of the field. On receiving his mortal wound, Wolfe was carried off to a short distance in the rear, where, roused from fainting fits, in the agonies of death, by the cry of, "They run! they run!" he, with great eagerness, inquired, "Who run?" and being told the French, and that they were defeated, he added in a faltering voice—"Then I die contented!" and immediately expired. The conduct of his opponent, Montcalm, was equally heroic. Being told that his wound was mortal—"So much the better," exclaimed the hero, "I shall not then have to witness the surrender of Quebec;" and almost instantly expired. The loss of the English, in killed and wounded, was about 600 men; that of the French much greater: the French regular force had been almost annihilated. Although Quebec was still strongly defended by its fortifications (as immediately after the battle, the British fleet sailed to attack the lower town, and General Murray with the land forces was about to assault the upper), a flag of truce was sent, with proposals for capitulation; which were accepted.

But the fall of Quebec did not produce the immediate submission of Canada. The main body of the French army, which, after the battle on the plains of Abraham, had retired to Montreal, and which still consisted of ten battalions of regulars, had been reinforced by 6,000 Canadian militia and a body of Indians. With these forces, M. de Levi, who had succeeded to the chief

command, resolved to attempt the recovery of Quebec, which he hoped to carry by a *coup-de-main* during the winter; but, on reconnoitring the place, he found the outposts so well secured, and the governor so vigilant and active, that he postponed his enterprise till the approaching spring. In April, when the upper part of the St. Lawrence was sufficiently open to admit of transportation by water, his artillery, military stores, and heavy baggage were conveyed down the river under convoy of six frigates, and the general, after a march of ten days, reached Point-au-Tremble, which lies within a few miles of Quebec. Brigadier Murray, the governor of that place, had taken every precaution to preserve it; but the garrison had suffered so severely from the extreme cold of the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provisions, that of the original complement of 5,000 men, only 3,000 were fit for service. Small, however, as his force was, he marched out, on the 28th of April, to the attack of the enemy, who were posted at Sillery, near the heights of Abraham. The enemy received his impetuous attack with firmness; but after a fierce encounter, Murray, finding his little corps outflanked, and in danger of being surrounded by superior numbers, withdrew from the scene of contest, and retired into Quebec. In this fiercely contested battle, the loss of the English was near 1,000 men; while that of the enemy was above that number. The French general losing no time in improving his advantage, on the very evening of the battle opened trenches before the city; but it was not till the 11th of May that he could mount his batteries, and bring his guns to bear on the fortifications. By that time the governor had completed some outworks, and had planted such a number of artillery on the ramparts of the place, that his force was so superior to that of the enemy, as in a measure to silence their batteries. A British fleet opportunely arriving about the same time, the French immediately raised the siege and withdrew to Montreal. There the Marquis de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, determined to make his last stand; and for that purpose called in all his detachments, and collected the whole force of the colony.

The English were resolved on the utter annihilation of the French power in Canada, and General Amherst prepared to overwhelm it with an irresistible force. For this purpose, the armies assembled at Quebec,

from lakes Ontario and Champlain, were concentrated before Montreal. The French governor-general deeming resistance fruitless, prepared terms of capitulation, on condition that the French troops were transplanted to France, and that the Canadians should retain their civil and religious privileges. By the terms of the treaty all New France was ceded to the English.

The progress of the British conquests—namely, the French islands of Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, the Caribbee Islands, and the Spanish settlement

of the Havannah, the key of the Mexican Gulf,—which threatened all the remaining French and Spanish colonial possessions, was arrested by preliminary articles of peace, which, towards the close of 1762, were interchanged at Fontainebleau by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and Spain; and on the 10th of February of the following year, ratified by a definitive treaty signed at Paris. By that treaty, France ceded to Great Britain all the conquests which the latter had made in North America.

## THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

(1775—1783).

### THE FOUNDATION OF THE REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES.

#### ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIAL HOSTILITIES; OR THE CIVIL WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER AMERICAN COLONIES.

THE origin of the civil war between Great Britain and her American colonies originated in a fiscal dispute—whether the parent state had the right of compelling her dependencies to contribute to the general taxation of the empire.

In consequence of the succession of wars undertaken to resist the designs of the French king, Louis XIV., for universal empire, the maintenance of Maria Theresa's succession to the imperial throne of Germany, and the recent contest between Great Britain and France for colonial power in America, the English national debt now amounted to one hundred and forty-eight millions sterling, for which an interest of near five millions were annually paid. Among the plans devised for diminishing this load of debt, a substantial revenue was expected from the British Transatlantic colonies, in form of taxes imposed on them by the parliament of the parent state. In consequence of the severity with which these taxes were levied (the trade of the colonies greatly diminishing), the colonists first began to remonstrate:

and when their appeals were disregarded, they proceeded to agitate the question—whether the parliament of the parent state had a right to tax unrepresented communities like themselves? To compromise the dispute, the revenue or stamp act of 1765 was repealed; but to satisfy the importunities of the East India Company, the duty on tea was exempted from repeal.

The colonists, to be consistent in their denial of the parent state's right of taxation, discontinued the importation of that commodity, the merchants finding the means of supplying their country with it by smuggling from places to which the power of Great Britain did not extend. The expected tea revenue falling from the diminished exportation to the colonies, and above seventeen millions of pounds of tea lying in the company's warehouses, for which a market could not be procured, the ministry, unwilling to lose the revenue on the sale of the commodity, and the company its commercial profits, devised a measure by which they supposed both would be secured.

The East India Company was, by law, authorised to export their tea free of duty to all places whatever. By this regulation, tea, though loaded with an exceptionable duty, would become cheaper to the colonies than when it was made a source of revenue; for the duty taken off it, when exported from Great Britain, was greater than that on its exportation into the colonies. Confident of success in finding a market for their tea, the company freighted several ships with tea for the different colonies, and appointed agents for its disposal. This measure united several interests in opposition to its execution. The merchants in England, alarmed at the loss which would accrue to them from the exportation and sale of the company's teas going through the hands of consignees, wrote to the colonists urging them to oppose the project. The colonial smugglers were also opposed to the measure, as they would be undersold in the market, and thus lose a profitable branch of business.

The colonists were no less active. The cry of endangered liberty resounded from New Hampshire to Georgia. Meetings were held in the capitals of the different provinces, and combinations were formed and resolutions adopted to obstruct the sale of the tea imported by the East India Company.

As the time approached when the arrival of the tea ships might be expected, measures were adopted to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The tea consignees appointed by the East India Company were, in several places compelled to relinquish their appointments. Those who indicated an intention of not complying with the requisition, were stigmatised as unpatriotic, and had their windows broken. To create a prejudice against the commodity, reports were spread that it was sent by the British government for the purpose of enslaving and poisoning all freeborn Americans. The pilots on the river Delaware were warned not to conduct any of the tea ships into the harbour. In New York, popular vengeance was denounced against any one who should contribute to forward the views of the East India Company. The captains of the New York and Philadelphia tea ships, on being apprised of these measures, prepared to return to Great Britain without having made any entry at the custom-house.

At Boston in Massachusetts, however, the consignees refused compliance with the

requisition of the colonists; and the governor of the province, on the collector refusing to give a clearance unless the tea vessels were discharged of dutiable articles, ordered Admiral Montague to suffer no vessels to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. Thus the people of Boston had no option but to prevent the landing of the tea, or to destroy it. They adopted the latter alternative. About seventeen persons, dressed as Mohawk Indians, repaired to the tea ships at Griffin's wharf, broke open 342 tea-chests, and discharged their contents into the river. The same proceedings were adopted in various places. Thus the people of Boston and other parts had incurred the sanction of penal laws. In the preceding year (1772), the people of Rhode Island had boarded and burnt the *Gaspee* schooner, which had been very actively employed in preventing the smuggling of tea. The universal indignation which was excited in Great Britain by this act of the people of Boston, was soon followed by a fit of legislative vengeance to be inflicted on that town. In rash hour, the ministry determined to compel the refractory Bostonians to submission; and five regiments, under the command of General Gage, the governor of Massachusetts, were ordered to Boston. The colonists being convinced that the mother country would be satisfied with nothing short of absolute submission, bound themselves by a covenant to abstain from all commerce with her, and then proceeded to form a general congress, by which a new form of government should be organised. As the year 1773 terminated with all expectation for the redress of grievances, the colonists prepared for the approaching struggle. They furnished themselves with arms and ammunition, trained the militia, and collected and stored provisions in different places, particularly at Concord, situated about twenty miles from Boston. Money was voted to purchase warlike stores; and *minute-men*, as they were called (from the conditions of their service, which was to turn out with musket or rifle at a minute's notice) were enlisted. Mills were erected for the making of gunpowder, and manufactories established for fire-arms: cannon and field-pieces had been collected at Salem.

In the beginning of 1774, hostilities commenced by General Gage sending a body of troops, consisting of the grenadiers and light infantry of the army, under Colonel

Smith, to destroy the military stores collected at Concord. While the men were on their march, their ears were saluted with the firing of guns and the ringing of bells—demonstrations intended by the colonists as signals of alarm. Colonel Smith detached six companies of light infantry to secure the bridges. As the detachment approached Lexington, about fifteen miles from Boston, it was fired on from behind a wall and from the houses by a body of the militia of the province. A skirmish ensued, in which the advanced guard of the royal troops was compelled to fall back on the main body. But a more serious encounter took place on the following day at Lexington, where the royal troops were worsted with the loss of sixty-five killed, 180 wounded, and twenty-eight prisoners; while that of the provincials was only fifty killed, thirty-eight wounded, and twenty-two missing—a disparity occasioned by the former being assailed in their march along the main road by the latter crossing fields and fences, and acting as flanking parties against their opponents. War now commenced in melancholy earnest.

As the provincial congress of Massachusetts was in session at the time of the encounter at Lexington, so elated was it with that skirmish, which was termed "The glorious victory of Lexington," that an army of 30,000 men, of which 13,600 were to be furnished by its own province, was immediately voted to be raised. In consequence of this vote, recruiting was begun; and in a short time a provisional army, consisting of 20,000 men, was paraded in the vicinity of Boston. General Ward was appointed to its command, and money was struck for its maintenance. For the blockade of Boston, the army was placed in cantonments, forming a line of twenty miles in extent, with its left leaning on the Mystic river, and its right on the town of Roxburgh; thus enclosing Boston in the centre. The head-quarters were established at Cambridge. This force was soon joined by a strong detachment from Connecticut, under General Putnam. As a martial spirit had pervaded the colonies, all arms, ammunition, forts, and fortifications which could be seized, were taken possession of. Resistance being resolved on, the pulpit, the press, the bench, and the bar laboured to encourage it; and coeval with the resolution for organising an army, a day (20th July) of public humiliation, fasting, and prayer was appointed. For this purpose,

Rushworth's account of the civil war between Charles and his parliament, was diligently rummaged for a precedent.

About the end of May, large reinforcements, under Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived from England\* at Boston. General Gage, thus reinforced, prepared to act with decision. He published a proclamation, offering pardon to all (except Samuel Adams and John Hancock) who should forthwith lay down their arms. The colonists, deeming this proclamation a prelude to hostilities, accordingly made preparations. A considerable height, known by the name of Bunker's-hill, at the entrance of the peninsula of Charlestown, was so situated as to make the possession of it a matter of consequence to either of the contending parties. As the royal generals had overlooked its advantage, the provincial commanders therefore ordered 1,000 men to form intrenchments on it. By some mistake, Breed's-hill, situated nearer Boston, was intrenched, instead of Bunker's-hill. As the eminence called Breed's-hill overlooked Boston, General Gage detached Major-general Howe and Brigadier-general Pigot, with four battalions, ten companies of grenadiers, and ten of light infantry, to drive the provincials from it. When these troops had landed at Moreton's Point, they were reinforced by a second detachment; thus augmenting the royal troops to the number of 3,000 men. In the meantime, the provincials had pulled up some adjoining posts and rail fences, and having reset them in two parallel lines, at a small distance from each other, filled the space between with hay which had been just mowed, and lay on the adjacent ground.

The royal troops being formed in two lines, advanced slowly, to give their artillery time to demolish the enemy's works. The colonists reserved their fire till their adversaries were within ten or twelve rods, when they threw in a destructive volley. The stream of fire from cannon and musketry was so incessant, and did so great execution, that the royal troops gave way in several parts of the line. Their officers rallied them, and forced them forward at the points of their swords; but they returned to the attack with great reluctance. The colonists, reserving their fire till their adversaries were near, again put them to flight. General Howe and his officers redoubled their exertions, and again bringing the troops back, forced them on to the at-

tack with fixed bayonets. By this time the powder of the colonists began to fail them, so that they could not keep up a sufficient fire; and, at the same time, the royal troops bringing some cannon to bear, so raked the inside of the breast-work from end to end, that the redoubt was untenable. The engagement was still kept up with great resolution; but at length the colonial troops were so galled with the incessant fire of the field artillery, the batteries, and the ships, that they were compelled to retreat. The loss of the royal army, in killed and wounded, amounted to 1,054, among whom were eighty-nine officers: that of the colonists was, in killed, 139; and in wounded, 314; with five pieces of cannon. After the battle, the royal troops advanced to Bunker's-hill, where they threw up works for their security; and the provincials did the same on Prospect-hill, in front of them.

The action at Breed's-hill, or Bunker's-hill, as it has been commonly called, produced important consequences. It imparted confidence to the colonists, and taught them to rely on their exertions.

In the second congress, assembled 10th May, 1775, a united military opposition to the armies of Great Britain being resolved on, George Washington, who for three years after the defeat of Braddock had been commander-in-chief of the forces in Virginia, against the incursions of the French and Indians from the Ohio, was now appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces raised, or to be raised, for the defence of the colonies; and four major-generals, one adjutant-general with the rank of brigadier, and eight brigadier-generals, were appointed in subordination to him. These officers were Major-generals Ward, Lee, Schuyler, and Putnam; Adjutant-general Gates; and Brigadier-generals Pomeroy, Montgomery, Wooster, Heath, Spencer, Thomas, Sullivan, and Greene. The continental army, placed under the command of General Washington, amounted to 14,500 men, and was distributed into three divisions: the right wing under General Ward, at Roxburgh; the left under General Lee, at Prospect-hill; and the centre under General Washington, at Cambridge. Armed vessels were also fitted out to cruise on the American coast, for the purpose of intercepting warlike stores and supplies designed for the use of the royal army. In a short time the *Lee* privateer captured an ordnance ship laden with can-

non, arms, ammunition, and military stores; and very soon afterwards, several store ships fell into the hands of the colonists. The congress was so pleased with its naval success, that before the close of the year, five vessels of 32 guns, five of 28 guns, and three of 24 guns, were ordered to be built.

Some weeks previous to the battle of Bunker's-hill, the congress convened at Philadelphia, flushed with "the glorious victory at Lexington," entertained the idea of seizing Canada; and as the possession of Ticonderago (situated on a promontory formed at the junction of lakes George and Champlain, and the key of all communication between New York and Canada) was of consequence to their success, it was necessary that that fort should be reduced. But before the congress had fixed on the plan of operations, one Eltham Allen, with a band of adventurers, had obtained possession of it, as well as Crown Point, which is situated at the extremity of Lake Champlain. Ticonderago, which was garrisoned by only forty men, he obtained possession of by stratagem; and of Crown Point from its having been evacuated by the garrison. The obstacles to the advance into Canada having been thus removed, the congress dispatched Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with 3,000 men, to Crown Point, to proceed on the projected conquest. Schuyler falling sick, the command devolved on Montgomery, who immediately laid siege to Fort St. John, the only place of arms which covered Montreal. Arnold was also dispatched from the camp at Cambridge with 1,200 men, on the mission of conquering and revolutionising Canada.

Montgomery, advancing from Ticonderago, effected a landing at St. John's, and laid siege to the place; which the governor of the province not being able to raise, the fort surrendered. By this success, the Americans became possessed of about fifty pieces of artillery and 800 stand of arms, in addition to a hundred pieces of cannon and much military stores taken at Ticonderago.

After the reduction of St. John's, Montgomery marched against Montreal. The few royal forces forming the garrison, unable to withstand the assault, repaired for safety on board their shipping, in hopes of escaping down the river; but were intercepted. By this capture, the colonists became possessed of eleven vessels laden with ammunition, intrenching tools, mili-

tary stores, and provisions. As soon as Montreal had been evacuated by the royal forces, the inhabitants gave up the town to the colonists. Leaving some troops in the place, Montgomery advanced against Quebec; but the insubordination of his men, whose period of service was on the eve of expiring, compelled him to desist from the undertaking and return to Montreal.

About the time that Montgomery had begun his invasion of Canada, Colonel Arnold, with his detachment from the American army at Cambridge, ascended the river Kennebec, and descended by the Chaudiere to the river St. Lawrence; and at length, after an arduous and a toilsome march for thirty-two days, through a wilderness covered with swamps, forests, and savannas, reached, on the 9th of November, Point Levi, opposite Quebec, and effected a junction at Point-aux-Tremble with Montgomery; but the disasters which had occurred in both detachments had been so severe, that when the junction was formed, the serviceable force did not amount to 1,200 men. Arnold had reached his position first; but, after parading some days on the heights of Quebec, he drew off his troops, and determined to await the arrival of Montgomery, who had promised to effect a junction with him.

A union having been completed between Montgomery and Arnold, the siege of Quebec was undertaken. In a few days, a 6-gun battery was opened at the distance of 700 yards from the walls. But little progress had been made in the siege before the extremity of winter was fast approaching, and as the period of service for which the colonial troops had been enlisted was about to expire, Montgomery determined to carry the place by assault, or perish in the attempt.

Having divided his little force of 800 men into four detachments, he ordered two feints to be made against the upper town; reserving to himself and Colonel Arnold the two principal attacks against the lower town. At five o'clock on the morning of the 31st of December, and in the midst of a violent storm of wind and snow, the gallant band advanced to the assault. Montgomery having reached his point of attack, passed the first barrier, and was about attacking the second, when he was killed. This so dispirited his men, that Colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, drew them off. In the meantime Colonel Arnold, at

the head of 350 men, passed through St. Roques, and had approached near a 2-gun battery without being discovered. This he attacked, and though it was well defended, carried; but having received a severe wound, he was removed. His party, nevertheless, continued the assault; and pushing on, made themselves masters of a second barrier. But after three hours' desperate conflict, finding themselves hemmed in, those brave men were obliged to surrender. The loss of the Americans was 100 in killed and wounded, and 300 prisoners. Thus Quebec was relieved from all apprehension for its safety; but notwithstanding his repulse, Arnold encamped within three miles of the town, for the purpose of cutting off the supplies of the garrison; and being at length reduced to great straits, he abandoned his position and retreated towards Crown Point.

The repulse of the colonists from Quebec did not discourage them in their designs on Canada. Fresh reinforcements were expedited for the purpose, and General Gates was appointed to the command. But as the royal troops under General Tarleton had already reached St. John's, in their pursuit of that army which had lately excited so much terror in Canada, the colonists found themselves under the necessity of preparing to repel an invasion of their own provinces.

As the forts of Ticonderago and Crown Point are situated on the confines of lakes George and Champlain, which stretch almost from the sources of the Hudson to the St. Lawrence, their possession was of primary importance in a contention for the obtainment of the adjacent country, as they afforded an eligible stand for its annoyance or defence. In furtherance of this object, General Gates was posted with an army at Ticonderago; and a fleet of fifteen vessels, fitted out at Skenesborough, was stationed, under Colonel Arnold, at the Split Rock in Lake Champlain.

The royal forces had, as just observed, urged the pursuit of the fleeing colonists as far as St. John's; but as the appearance of the American flotilla was likely to impede their advance, it was necessary to have a naval force on the lakes. As soon, therefore, as a fleet was equipped from materials of vessels brought from England, it was in motion, and proceeded to face the American naval force. After a short contest, night coming on, the American vessels escaped during the darkness; but being dis-

covered next morning near Crown Point, a smart action ensued, which was well sustained by both sides for about two hours. Some of the American vessels which were ahead escaped to Ticonderago. Two galleys and five gondolas remained, and resisted an unequal force with a spirit approaching to desperation. At length Arnold ran the galley on board of which he was, and five gondolas, on shore; and, having landed their crews, blew them up. The American naval force being thus nearly destroyed, the British had undisputed possession of Lake Champlain.

This year was remarkable for the general termination of the royal government in the colonies; the governors voluntarily abdicating their posts, and retiring on board ships of war. The royal government still existed in name; but the real power which the colonists obeyed was exercised in the respective provinces by a provincial congress, a council of safety, and subordinate committees.

During these operations, the royal troops under General Gage, in Boston, were suffering from the inconveniences of a blockade. As the troops in Washington's camp, and the reinforcements that he expected and which were daily coming in, would amount to 17,000 men, and several advances having been made on the besieged, the American general made preparations for the assault of the town. A heavy bombardment was accordingly opened on it, during which 2,000 men were dispatched to take possession of Dorchester heights, in order to enable Washington to attack the town. To conceal his design, and divert the attention of the garrison from the formation of the works on the heights, the town was bombarded for three successive days; and on the following day it was the intention of Washington to force his way into Boston at the head of 4,000 men, who were to have embarked at the mouth of the Cambridge river. But in the course of the night a violent storm so damaged the works, that the design was suspended. In the meantime a flag of truce was sent out by the minute-men, intimating that Howe had declared he would not destroy the place if no interruption was offered during the evacuation. A few days after (on March 17th, 1776), the British troops, amounting to 7,000 men, evacuated the town, and embarked on board the fleet for Halifax. The boats employed in the embarkation had scarcely received the last of

the garrison, when Washington and his army marched into Boston. The evacuation of the place had been previously determined on by the British ministry, with the view of selecting a more central position for their operations; but the American works at Roxburgh no doubt expedited its execution. By the evacuation, 250 cannon, 25,000 bushels of wheat, besides other stores, fell into the hands of the colonists. Also, by Howe's neglect to station vessels, the *Hope*, laden with 1,500 barrels of gunpowder and other muniments of war, and transports with 700 men under Colonel Campbell, became the prize of the colonists.

But now a reverse of fortune was to attend the colonial cause. Defeats and retreats were almost uninterruptedly to be their lot; but in the midst of these trying difficulties, the high moral energy and commanding talents of Washington were conspicuous. He ably concealed the deficiency of his forces, and confined his operations to a war of posts, marches, and surprises; in which he was eminently successful.

At this period of the contest, the colonists were declared out of the royal protection; and for the purpose of subduing the malcontents, a powerful force, to which was added 16,000 mercenary Hessians, was dispatched from England. It was determined to open the campaign by an attack on New York; and for that purpose Admiral Lord Howe and his brother, General Sir William Howe, were appointed to the command. In addition to their military powers, they were constituted commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies. New York was selected for three reasons:—1st, that its central situation and contiguity to the ocean enabled its possessors to transfer their operations to any part of the sea-coast; 2ndly, that its possession was easily maintainable; for, being surrounded on all sides by water, it was defensible by a small number of ships; and, 3rdly, that the Hudson river being navigable for ships of the largest size to a considerable distance, afforded an opportunity of severing the eastern from the southern states, and of almost preventing any communication between them.

Experience having taught the colonists the difficulty of attacking an enemy after he had effected a lodgment, Washington, receiving intelligence of the British general's intention, marched from Boston to New York; and in order to habituate his new levies to the sound of fire-arms, and

gain time for raising a permanent army, he determined in his future operations to adopt a war of posts. With that view he erected batteries, built redoubts, &c., about New York, on Long Island, and the heights of Haerlem. Slight as these defences were, the campaign had nearly come to a close before they were so far reduced as to enable the royal army safely to penetrate into the adjacent country.

The royal army, under Howe, from Halifax, having on the 8th of June effected a landing on Long Island, between the towns of Utrecht and Gravesande, advanced against the colonial army under Sullivan. In the action which ensued on the 27th of August, in consequence of defeat and loss—viz., 1,000 prisoners, and 1,500 killed and wounded, and of the desertion of large numbers of the levies to their homes,—Washington ordered the public stores to be removed to Dobb's Ferry, about twenty-six miles from New York; and leaving 4,500 men for the defence of that city, conveyed the remaining 12,000 to the northern extremity of New York Island, with the intention of supporting New York or Kingsbridge, according as exigencies might require.

General Howe having made the necessary preparations, began to land his forces on New York Island, between Kepp's Bay and Turtle Bay. After a few inconsiderable encounters, in which the colonists were routed, Washington determined to evacuate New York. On his retreat, a British brigade immediately marched into the city. Howe having obtained the object of his wishes, prepared to put into execution a plan for cutting off Washington's communication with the eastern states, and enclosing him so as to force on a general engagement. With this view, the greater part of the royal army landed on Throg's Neck, in Winchester county. They then advanced to New Rochelle, on the road to White Plains; where Washington, after his retreat from New York, had taken post behind intrenchments. An action ensued, in which the colonists having sustained considerable loss, Washington crossed the North River, and took post in the neighbourhood of Fort Lee.

Howe now determined on the reduction of Fort Washington, the only post which the colonists then held in New York Island; which, after four assaults, surrendered. The loss of the British, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to 1,200 men; that of the colonists was much severer, besides

the loss of 2,700 prisoners. Shortly after the surrender of Fort Washington, Lord Cornwallis, who on the 3rd of May of this year landed with seven regiments on the coast of the Carolinas, took possession of Fort Lee, on the opposite Jersey shore.

The surrender of Washington and Lee forts, and the diminution of the American army by the departure of those whose term of service had expired, left no other expedient to Washington than retreat. As he retired successfully to Newark, Brunswick, Princetown, Trenton, and to the Pennsylvanian side of the Delaware, he was so closely and rapidly pursued by Cornwallis, that the rear of one army, while demolishing bridges, was often within sight and shot of the other while reconstructing them. By the advance of the royal army into New Jersey, the neighbourhood of Philadelphia became the seat of war.

The American general now prepared for putting his war of posts and surprises into execution. On the evening of Christmas-day he recrossed the Delaware in three divisions, and pushed them forward so promptly on Trenton, that they arrived at the enemy's advanced posts within three minutes of each other. The outposts of the Hessian troops at that town fell back so confusedly, that their main body, consisting of twenty-three officers and 886 privates, being hard pressed, laid down their arms. Again, on the 3rd of January, 1777, he surprised the 17th, 40th, and 55th regiments of British infantry, and three troops of light dragoons, in Princetown, and compelled them to take to flight, with the loss of sixty killed, a large number wounded, and 300 prisoners.

This stage of the contest is memorable for the declaration of the freedom and independence of the colonies. The motion for declaring that freedom and independence was made in congress assembled at Philadelphia June 7th, 1776, and the act of declaration passed on the 4th of the following July. Georgia having sent in its adhesion, the style of "The Thirteen United Colonies" was assumed. For the purpose of soliciting assistance, they dispatched envoys to Paris, Madrid, Naples, the Hague, and St. Petersburg. Hitherto the colonists had been regulated in their intercourse with one another by the force of ancient habits, and by laws under the style of *recommendations*: and though the recital of the kingly office was dropped in their law proceedings, the ancient forms and

names were retained in the greater part of the subordinate departments of government.

The experience of two campaigns demonstrated the impolicy of trusting the defence of the country to militia, or to levies raised only for a few months. Soon after the declaration of independence, the authority of congress was therefore obtained for raising an army which would be more permanent than the temporary levies which had hitherto been brought into the field. The proposal of the alternative of enlisting either for three years or during the war, was now adopted. Those who engaged for permanent service were provided with a hundred acres of land, in addition to their pay and bounty. But though in the course of the year 1776, congress had ordered 104 battalions to be raised, the business of recruiting made so little progress, that when Washington, for the purpose of opening the campaign of 1777, had quitted his winter quarters at Morristown, and taken up a strong position at Middlebrook, his army amounted to only 7,272 men.

At the time of Washington's movements, General Howe advanced from his winter quarters at Brunswick, and crossing over to the Jerseys, he left no manœuvre untried to provoke the American general to an engagement; which being unable to accomplish, he relinquished his position in front of the American army, and retired to Amboy, as if to pass the bridge which he had thrown over the narrow channel to Staten Island. The feint retreat of the royal forces was followed by a considerable detachment of the colonial army, amounting to 3,000 men, under Maxwell and Sterling; and Washington advanced from Middlebrook to Quibbletown, to be near at hand for its support. The British general, dispatching Lord Cornwallis to take a circuit and secure some mountain passes, for the purpose of compelling Washington, should he resume his strong line of heights along Middlebrook, to accept battle, immediately advanced from Amboy, hoping to bring on a general engagement on equal ground; but Washington falling back, and taking up an advantageous position, Howe, perceiving the impossibility of accomplishing his purpose, and deeming the passage of the Delaware too hazardous while the country was in arms and Washington in his rear, determined to prosecute the campaign by another route, and accordingly passed over to Staten Island.

During these movements, the designs of Howe were involved in so much obscurity, that there was no possibility of conjecturing his determinate object; and Washington's embarrassment on this account was increased by intelligence that General Burgoyne was advancing in great force from Canada towards New York. Succeeding advices favouring the idea that a junction of the two royal armies was intended near Albany, Washington detached a brigade to reinforce the northern division of the colonial forces; while he and the main body of his army remained encamped near the Clure. At length Howe, with 16,000 men, on the 25th of August set sail from Sandy Hook, and on the 3rd of September landed at the eastern head of Chesapeake Bay. On the 8th of September he moved forward towards Philadelphia, and on the 10th came in sight of the American army, which was strongly posted on the high ground near Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine Creek, with the intention of disputing his passage, and for the purpose of protecting Philadelphia. A general action therefore ensued.

The royal army advanced at daybreak on the 11th of September, in two columns, under the command of Lieutenant-general Kniphausen and Lord Cornwallis. Kniphausen's column advanced by the direct road to Chadd's Ford, and made a feint of passing it, in front of the main body of the colonial army. Simultaneously Cornwallis's column moved forward on the west side of the Brandywine to its fork, and crossing both its branches, marched down on its east side, with the view of turning Washington's right wing. No sooner had Cornwallis commenced his attack, than Kniphausen crossed the ford, and vigorously assaulted the troops posted there for its defence. After a severe conflict the colonists were put to flight, and precipitately retreated to Chester. The killed and wounded in the royal army amounted to 500; the loss of the Americans was more than double that number, among whom were 400 prisoners. The American general was still desirous to risk another battle to save the city. Halting with that intention, the hostile armies drew up in battle array on the Lancaster-road; but a violent thunder-storm, accompanied by a deluge of rain, and which lasted during a day and night, thwarting their design, Washington, on the following morning, drew off his army, as its ammunition had been rendered unservice

able by the wet. The American general now relinquishing his intention of defending the line of the Schuylkill and covering Philadelphia, fell back to Warwick Furnace, and left the road open to that city. On the 22nd Howe crossed the Schuylkill, taking post at the village of German Town; and on the following day he dispatched Cornwallis, with a considerable detachment, to take possession of Philadelphia.

Being now in possession of Philadelphia, the British, for the purpose of obtaining a free communication between their army and shipping, prepared to open the passage of the Delaware, which was impeded by formidable obstructions.

Besides providing on the water side for the protection of Philadelphia, and constructing floating batteries, fire-ships, and rafts, the colonists had erected a fort and battery on Mud Island, which was situated near the middle of the river, about seven miles below Philadelphia; and opposite to that fort a battery was placed on the height called Red Bank. Two ranges of *chevaux-de-frise*, consisting of strong wooden piers fixed in a line of frames, with large projecting points of iron, were sunk in the channel, about 300 yards from Mud Island. The only open passage left was between two piers lying close to the fort on Mud Island; and that was secured by a strong boom, and could not be approached but by a direct line to the battery. Another fortification was erected upon a high bank on the Jersey shore, called Billingsport; and opposite to it another range of *chevaux-de-frise* was deposited, leaving only a narrow and shoal channel on one side of it.

The British now strained every nerve to open the navigation of the river. For that purpose, Lord Howe had taken the most effectual means for conducting the fleet and transports round from the Chesapeake to the Delaware, and drew them up on the Pennsylvanian shore, from Reedy Island to Newcastle.

Early in October, a detachment from the British army crossed the Delaware, with the view of dislodging the colonists from Billingsport. On its approach, the place was evacuated. As the season advanced, more vigorous measures were concerted. Batteries were erected on the Pennsylvanian shore, for the purpose of bombarding the fort on Mud Island; and at the same time Count Dunlop, with 2,000 men, crossing into New Jersey, marched down the eastern

side of the Delaware to attack the redoubt at Red Bank, garrisoned by 1,400 men, under the command of General Greene; but was repulsed with the loss of 400 men in killed and wounded. An attack was made about the same time on the fort on Mud Island, by men-of-war and frigates; but it was equally as unsuccessful as the assault had been. The *Augusta*, of 64 guns, and the *Merlin*, two of the vessels engaged in it, grounded; the first of which was fired and blown up; the latter was abandoned.

Undiscouraged by these failures, it was now resolved to effect a passage between the island and the Pennsylvanian shore, by deepening the current of water which had been diverted by the *chevaux-de-frise* from the Delaware stream into a new channel. Through the passage thus made, the *Vigilant*, cut down so as to draw but little water, and mounted with 24-pounders, made her way to a position from which she could enfilade the works on Mud Island. A vigorous cannonade was then opened at the end of September. After a gallant defence continued till the 11th of November, the fort being no longer tenable, the garrison evacuated it in the night, and retreated to Red Bank. In the course of the third day after the evacuation of Mud Island, the garrison of Red Bank withdrew on the approach of Lord Cornwallis with a large force for its reduction. Thus the royal army obtained a free communication for its shipping, and was ready for new enterprises.

While the royal forces were busily engaged in preparations for reducing the forts and removing the obstructions in the Delaware, Washington, who was encamped at Skippack Creek, about seventeen miles from German Town, determined to attempt a surprise of the British on the Chesnut-hill road, and about three-quarters of a mile in advance of the main body. Accordingly, at the dawn of the 3rd of October, an attack was made in four different directions; but after a severe conflict, the colonists were repulsed with the loss of 1,200 men, among whom were 400 prisoners. The loss of the royal army, including the wounded and prisoners, was about 500.

After this event, Sir William Howe, who loved his ease and good living, prepared to go into winter quarters and accordingly located himself in Philadelphia, where he received the disheartening intelligence that Burgoyne and his whole army had surrendered prisoners of war.

Washington having received a reinforcement of 4,000 men from the victorious army of the north, advanced from Skippack Creek (whither he had retired after the affair of German Town) to Whitemarsh, only fourteen miles from Howe's winter quarters at Philadelphia. Howe, compelled to bestir himself, marched from Philadelphia, and took post upon Chesnut-hill, in front of Washington. On the night of the 6th of December, Cornwallis attacked a strong body of the colonists posted on the crest of Edgehill; but Washington declining to risk a battle in the open country, Howe, on the 8th, withdrew to Philadelphia; and as the winter had set in with great severity, Washington took up his quarters at Valley Forge, twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, and put his army into fortified hutted cantonments. He adopted this position as being calculated to give the most extensive security to the country from the ravages of the royal army. Thus ended the campaign of 1777 in the south.

While these movements were in operation in the south, the contemporary movements in the north were of no less moment.

To effect a free communication between New York and Canada, and to maintain the navigation of the intermediate lakes, and thus cut off all communication of the colonists between the northern and southern provinces, was the principal object of the British ministry; and for that purpose, an army consisting of about 8,000 British and German troops, under the command of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, was prepared to advance by the Canadian lakes. The plan of operations was, that General Burgoyne, with the main body, should advance by the Lake Champlain; and a detachment of about 700 regulars and Indians, under Lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, was to ascend the St. Lawrence as far as Lake Ontario, and penetrate to Albany by the Mohawk river.

The necessary preparations being concluded, Burgoyne, on the 16th of June, 1778, marched from Fort St. John, on the Sorel river, and proceeding up Lake Champlain on the 30th, landed near Crown Point, when, finding the fort evacuated, he took post in its neighbourhood. Having established his magazines there, he advanced to Ticonderago, which, on his approach, the American garrison evacuated and retired to Fort Edward, on the Hudson, where General Schuyler was stationed with be-

tween four and five thousand men—a force now augmented, by reinforcements from New England, to 13,000 men. The colonists, after having fallen back from place to place, at last took post at Saratoga, situated lower down the Hudson, where General Gates resumed the chief command. While Burgoyne was forcing his way towards Albany, St. Leger was co-operating in the Mohawk country; and having ascended the St. Lawrence, and crossed Lake Ontario, he laid siege to Fort Schuyler; but on account of the dissensions of the Indians, and their deserting him, he was obliged to raise the siege and retreat.

On the 13th of September, Burgoyne crossed the Hudson, and on the 17th encamped on the heights of Saratoga, about ten miles from Gates's camp, which was three miles above Stillwater. On the 19th, Gates determined to attack the royal army. A little before mid-day, Arnold, who had recently joined, attacked Burgoyne's right wing. Soon the conflict became general, and continued till after sunset. Each party seemed determined on death or victory. Both were alternately successful and repulsed. The British repeatedly made bayonet charges, but without their usual success in the use of that weapon. At length night coming on, each army drew off; both parties having sustained a loss of between five and six hundred men. The victory of this first battle of Stillwater being claimed by both sides, the two armies lay in sight of each other from the termination of the battle to the 7th of October, when Burgoyne—having on the 21st of September received intelligence in cypher that Sir H. Clinton, who commanded in New York, was about making a diversion in his favour by attacking the fortresses on the Hudson which obstructed the communication between New York and Albany—determined to make another trial of strength with his adversary. In expectation of the promised co-operation, he sent word to Clinton that he would hold his present position till the 12th of October; and at the same time he took post between Stillwater and Freeman Farm. The situation of Burgoyne now became perilous. He had been deserted by his Indian allies, their period of hunting season having approached; his provisions in being conveyed to him from Ticonderago had been intercepted on Lake George; and the co-operation which he expected from St. Leger had been prevented by the defeat

and annihilation of his force. The 12th of October—the term for which he had agreed to wait for aid from New York—was on the eve of approaching, and no intelligence of the expected co-operation having arrived, Burgoyne resolved, by a desperate effort, to extricate his army from its hazardous position. For this purpose, he advanced with 1,500 chosen men on the American left; but when within half a mile of their intrenchments, he was attacked by so superior a force under Arnold, that he was obliged to retrograde to his camp, with the loss of six cannon; and he had scarcely gained the lines, before Arnold made a furious attack on the German quarter of the position, and effected a lodgment there. To prevent his being surrounded, Burgoyne withdrew to his former position on the heights of Saratoga. The trophies of the victors were 200 prisoners, nine guns, and a considerable quantity of ammunition. The royal army was under arms the whole of the following day, in expectation of a renewal of the conflict; but nothing more than skirmishing took place.

The dangerous position of the royal army rendered an immediate retreat necessary. Gates had posted 1,400 men on the heights opposite the fords of Saratoga, 2,000 in the rear to prevent a retreat to Fort Edward, and 1,500 at a ford higher up. Burgoyne receiving intelligence of these movements, concluded that Gates intended to turn his right; a movement which would have entirely enclosed the royal army. He therefore determined on an immediate retreat to Saratoga; but when he reached that town, he found the colonists posted on the heights to impede his passage.

The only practicable route of retreat which now remained, was by a night march to Fort Edward. Before this attempt could be made, scouts returned with the intelligence that the enemy was intrenched opposite to the fords on the Hudson river, over which the retreat was purposed; and that they were also in force on the high grounds between forts Edward and George. They had also parties down the whole shore, and posts so near, that they could observe any motion of the royal army.

As the 12th of October had now arrived, and no prospect of assistance appeared, a flag of truce was dispatched to Gates, proposing a capitulation, who in the first instance demanded that the royal army should surrender as prisoners of war: he also pro-

posed that they should ground their arms; but Burgoyne replied—"This article is inadmissible in any extremity sooner than this army will consent to ground their arms in their encampments, they will rush on the enemy, determined to take no quarter." After much negotiation, it was stipulated that a free passage should be granted to the royal army to Great Britain. By the convention, 4,689 men surrendered; and the trophies of the colonists were thirty-five cannon, and about 5,000 muskets. On intelligence of the calamitous event, the troops left in garrison at Ticonderago destroyed their cannon and retired to Fort St. John, and Montreal in Canada.

Only ten days before the humiliating convention of Saratoga was signed, Clinton had begun his operations for a diversion in favour of the northern army. Embarking 3,000 men, he proceeded up the Hudson to Verplank Point, where he disembarked on the 6th of October. Dividing his force into two columns, he advanced at the head of one of them to storm Fort Clinton, and dispatched Colonel Campbell with the other to storm Fort Montgomery. The garrison (800 men) of Fort Montgomery, after a slight resistance, deserted their works and took to flight. That of Fort Clinton (400 men), after a resolute defence, laid down their arms and cried for quarter. On the 13th of October a detachment of the royal army was within thirty miles of Saratoga. But Gates being, in consequence of the convention, enabled to detach troops to the scene of Clinton's operations, and Putnam's force which opposed Clinton being thus augmented to 6,000 men, the latter recalled his detachments, and re-embarking his forces, returned to New York, and went into winter quarters. Thus ended the unfortunate campaign in the north; one of the main sources of the misfortunes of which, as also of all the transactions of the mismanaged contest of England with her colonies, was the committing the direction of its military operations to the members of the cabinet at home, who were influenced in their decisions by the defective maps of the country and the vague reports of their retainers. The scheme of the march of Burgoyne's army through the impracticable country between Canada and New York, by way of Albany, instead of conveying it from Quebec by sea, to co-operate with Sir William Howe in the south, originated in that quarter.

During this year, American privateers, and French ones under American colours and commissions, infested the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland with uncontrolled audacity; and one of them landed its men at Penzance, to plunder the farms on the coast. Among these desperadoes, John Paul, or, as he called himself, Paul Jones,\* and to whom that class of romance writers who confound fact and fiction have imputed the renown of an heroic corsair, was pre-eminent; particularly on the 23rd of September, 1779, when he attacked the Baltic fleet, under the convoy of Captain Pearson of the *Serapis*, of 40 guns, and Captain Piercy of the *Countess of Scarborough*, of 20 guns. That fleet had arrived off the Yorkshire coast, when Jones appeared with a flying squadron, consisting of the *Bon Homme Richard*, of 20 guns, two frigates of 36 and 32 guns, a brig of 12, and an armed cutter. When the hostile armament appeared in sight, Captain Pearson made a signal for his convoy to disperse and gain the nearest ports, while he and Piercy encountered the enemy. When within musket-shot, Paul, having fired two or three broadsides, backed his topsails, dropped within pistol-shot of the *Serapis*' quarter, and then filling again, attempted to board; but being repelled, he sheered off. After a little manœuvring again by both opponents, the contending vessels dropped alongside of each other head and stern, and so close, that the muzzles of their guns came in contact. In this position the contest lasted for two hours, during which the *Serapis* was set on fire several times. As yet Pearson had the best of the battle; when one of the hostile

frigates, after having assisted in disabling the *Countess of Scarborough*, came up to the assistance of the *Bon Homme Richard*, and sailing round and round the *Serapis*, raked her fore and aft, till almost every man on the quarter or main deck was killed or wounded. The calamity was increased by the accidental explosion of some cartridges, which blew up all the officers and people who were quartered abaft the mainmast. Captain Pearson now made a desperate effort to board, but failing in the attempt, he struck his colours; two-thirds of his men being either killed or wounded. Captain Piercy, after a conflict no less resolute with the frigate of 32 guns, the 12-gun brig, and the cutter, had also been obliged to strike. The *Bon Homme Richard* was in a more pitiable condition: her quarters and counter in the lower deck were driven in; the whole of the guns on that deck were dismounted, and all the decks were strewed with killed and wounded: she was also on fire in two places, and had seven feet of water in her hold. On the day following the action, she sank at sea with a large number of the wounded on board. The *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough* were carried by the captor into the Texel; but the convoy escaped, having during the action taken shelter in the harbours on the coast. While this marauder infested the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland, he seized the fort of Whitehaven, and burnt two vessels in the port. He became so daring and troublesome, that it was necessary to appoint a naval force for the protection of the linen ships trading between the coasts of Ireland and England.

#### AMERICAN WAR—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1778.

UNTIL the surrender of Burgoyne's army, the several powers of Europe were only spectators of the contest between Great Britain and her colonies; but as soon as intelligence arrived of that event, the French cabinet concluded at Paris a treaty of alliance and commerce with the Thirteen United Colonies (in which France acknowledged their

\* This man, who was a native of Scotland and the son of a gardener in Galloway, had settled in Virginia. On the breaking out of the war between the mother country and her colonies, he was sent by the congress in 1777 to France, where by the intervention of Franklin and his co-commissioners, he was appointed to a French privateer under American

independence), and stipulated that they should never return to their allegiance to the British crown. Besides a loan of three millions of livres, a fleet, consisting of twelve ships of the line and six frigates, under Count d'Estaing, with a large body of troops on board, was dispatched from Toulon, which, after a passage of eighty-seven days, colours. In 1778, he cruised on the coast of Scotland and Cumberland, where he made several prizes, and made descents on the coast. In 1779, his name had become so terrific, that the whole of the eastern coast of England, from Flamborough Head to the Frith of Tay, was in alarm for fear of his depredations.

arrived (July 9th) at the entrance of the Delaware. Irritation and a desire of wiping off the disgrace of the late contest for American dominion, induced the French cabinet to order 50,000 men to be collected on the coasts of Normandy and Britany, to threaten England with invasion; and a fleet of thirty-two ships of the line, under Count d'Orvilliers, was to be ready to co-operate in the attempt. When a junction of the French and Spanish fleets was effected, in consequence of the declaration of war by Spain against Great Britain in 1779, the fears produced by the Spanish Armada in Queen Elizabeth's reign, were revived in England, and preparations were made to repel the threatened danger: the country was ringing with the reports of invasion and new armadas; and to increase the alarm a proclamation was issued requiring all officers, civil and military, in the event of invasion, to cause all horses, oxen, cattle, and provisions, to be driven from the sea-coast to places of security; and the whole coast was covered with troops, militia, &c. On receiving official intelligence of the treaties between France and the Thirteen United Colonies, Great Britain declared war against France, and sent to Sir Henry Clinton to evacuate Philadelphia, and concentrate his forces at New York, for the purpose of opening the approaching campaign.

According to his instructions, Clinton evacuated Philadelphia, and, crossing the Delaware, marched for New York. About the same time, Washington broke up from his winter quarters at Valley Forge,—at which place he had taken up his station for the purpose of covering the country from the incursions of the foraging parties of the royal army, and cutting off its supplies while stationed at Philadelphia,—and advanced to White Plains. To secure the country more effectually on the north of the Schuylkill river, and annoy the royal army should it evacuate Philadelphia, on the 19th of May he detached La Fayette with 3,000 men to take post on Barrenhill, situated about eight miles in front of Howe's lines. Howe dispatched strong detachments, under Generals Grant and Grey, "to look after" the adventurous Frenchman, and to surprise and cut him off. Grant, undiscovered, reached a point between La Fayette's rear and Washington's camp, and Grey took post on Chesnut-hill, in front of the Frenchman's flank. With terror and precipitation, La Fayette fled across the

ford of the Schuylkill, which was the only passage open to him. After this enterprise, Howe was superseded, as has been already stated; and he embarked for England.

As soon as Washington received intelligence of Clinton's evacuation of Philadelphia, he sent orders to Gates to take post on the bank of the Roiston, and avert the approach of the royal army, while he himself harassed it in its march. Clinton, to escape the danger of being invested, moved towards Sandy Hook; but in the course of the march, his baggage being attacked by a detachment under Lee, a battle ensued (June 28th) at Monkworthcourt, in which both sides sustained a loss of 300 men; and each claimed the victory. Clinton having reached Sandy Hook, halted two days to give Washington battle; but the challenge not being accepted, he crossed to New York. In his march through Jersey, the English general had lost above a thousand men, chiefly foreigners, by desertion.

The royal army had scarcely completed the removal of the fleet and forces from the Delaware and Philadelphia to the harbour and city of New York, when intelligence was received that the French fleet under d'Estaign was on the coast. On the 12th of July it appeared off Sandy Hook, in sight of New York; but the French admiral was not able to carry his heavy ships over the bar; and after continuing at anchor outside the Hook for eleven days, on the 22nd he sailed for Rhode Island, for the reduction of which a plan had been concerted; namely, that Sullivan, with 10,000 men, should pass over from the continent and attack the British troops in Newport, in which 6,000 men were entrenched; while the French fleet assailed the place on the opposite side. Lord Howe, with the fleet, which had been reinforced by a squadron under Byron from England, weighed and followed d'Estaign the day after the French fleet had entered the harbour of Newport. On the appearance of Howe, the French admiral put out to sea to engage him. While the naval commanders were exerting their skill to gain the advantage of position, a violent gale of wind came on, which so damaged the two fleets, that they withdrew to their original positions. A disagreement soon after occurring between the American general and the French admiral, on a point of punctilio (Sullivan being only major-general, whereas d'Estaign was lieutenant-

general, in the French service), the French admiral, on the 20th of August, set sail for Boston to repair; whence he sailed for the West Indies, to co-operate in the reduction of the British settlements there. The departure of the French admiral so reduced Sullivan's chance of success (Howe's fleet, with 4,000 troops on board, under Clinton, at the same time appearing), that, in the night of the

30th of August, he withdrew from Rhode Island.

As soon as Howe had effected his repairs he went in pursuit of d'Estaing; but the French admiral, having sailed from Boston before his arrival, he returned to New York. On his return to that city, the royal army was placed in winter quarters, and Washington put his army into cantonments at Middletown, in New Jersey.

#### AMERICAN WAR—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1779.

MILITARY operations had hitherto been directed against the northern and the middle states: in this year they were commenced in the southern states. Near the close (27th November) of the preceding year, Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with 2,000 men, sailed under convoy of some ships of war, commanded by Commodore Hyde Parker, from New York to the coast of Georgia, for the capture of Savannah; and to ensure success of the enterprise, Major-general Prevost was directed to advance from East Florida (which had been lately captured from the Spaniards) into the southern extremity of Georgia. Campbell having effected a landing near the mouth of the river Savannah, advanced against the American general Hone, who commanded in the province, and, after a brief contest, put him to flight. In the space of a few hours after, the city of Savannah, with the shipping in the river, 500 prisoners, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition and stores, were in the possession of the victors. Very shortly, the fort of Sunbury surrendering to Prevost, the whole province of Georgia was reduced to subjection.

General Prevost now determined to attempt the surprise of Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina. For that purpose, crossing the river, he appeared before the city, and summoned it to surrender; but the garrison, aware that General Lincoln was advancing to their relief, refused compliance, when Prevost retraced his steps to Georgia. The heat of summer prevented further operations till September.

In the meantime, the war dragged on with desultory operations in other parts of

the colonies. General Matthews, assisted by a fleet under the command of Admiral Sir George Collier, had been detached from New York to Virginia. Ascending the Chesapeake, the expedition swept both its banks, drove the Americans from their towns and fortifications, and burnt their arsenals, storehouses, and shipping. A few days after their return to New York, Collier and Matthews proceeded up the Hudson, and carried with great gallantry the two important posts of Stony Point and Verplank. But before the garrison left in Stony Point could put the place in a condition for resistance, the American general, Wayne, fell upon them by night in great force, and recovered the position, with above 500 prisoners.

The French and Americans now determined to dislodge the British from Savannah. For that purpose, in the early part of October, the French fleet, consisting of twenty-four ships of the line and fourteen frigates, with 6,000 troops on board, under the command of d'Estaing, appeared off the mouth of the Savannah. A junction having been effected between the French troops and the Americans under Lincoln, on the morning of the 9th an attack was made on the British. After a desperate conflict, in which above 600 French and about 300 Americans were killed and wounded, the siege having been raised, the French, on the 18th, withdrew on board their ships, and the Americans recrossed the Savannah into South Carolina.

In the summer of this year, Spain, with the hopes of reducing Gibraltar, recovering the Floridas, and reconquering Jamaica, declared war against Great Britain.

## AMERICAN WAR—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1780.

ENGLAND was now not only involved in a war with its colonies, assisted by France and Spain; but a powerful combination was formed against it by France, Prussia, Russia, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. This association was termed the "Armed Neutrality;" and the compact originated from the circumstance of large shipments of ammunition and other contraband materials of war having, in their passage to the colonies in ships of neutral and friendly powers, been seized by the British. The object of the compact of the parties to the "armed neutrality" was, that free ships should make free goods, with the exception of arms and munitions of war; and to resist the British right of search for contraband commodities.

For the first time since the commencement of the war, the royal army attempted an active winter campaign. In the last days of December, 1779, Clinton, leaving Kniphausen in command in New York, sailed with 5,000 men from Sandy Hook to South Carolina; and on the 31st of January, 1780, arrived in the Savannah. In the beginning of April he appeared before Charlestown, garrisoned by 7,000 men, under the command of Lincoln. The parallels having been completed, and preparations made to bombard the town, Lincoln, after a spiritless defence, capitulated on the 12th of May. The trophies of the captors were 7,000 prisoners, the whole naval force in the harbour, 400 pieces of ordnance, and a large quantity of military stores. After the capitulation of Charlestown, Clinton, having received information that a French armament was expected to co-operate with Washington, returned to New York with the main body of his forces, leaving about 4,000 men, under Cornwallis, to carry on operations for clearing the country of the remaining forces of the congress. For that purpose, three expeditions were now undertaken. The first, under Cornwallis, towards the frontiers of North Carolina; the second, under Lord Rawdon, to the district called Ninety-Six, on the north-west side of the river Santee; and the third up the Savannah river towards Augusta, where Lincoln had left a garrison. Cornwallis having made Camden his principal depôt, prepared for the invasion of North Carolina. To redeem their failing fortunes in the north, congress had appointed Gates to the chief command, on

account of the high reputation which he had acquired at Saratoga.

On the 25th of July, Gates reached the camp in North Carolina with 6,000 men; on the morning of the 27th he advanced to Camden, where Cornwallis and Rawdon were posted with 2,000 men. Cornwallis, apprehensive that his enemy's force would be daily augmented, determined to attack him in his camp at Clermont. So prompt and well arranged had been Cornwallis's advance, that he was in full march within five or six hundred yards of Gates's front, while the American general supposed that he was still in Charlestown. On the dawn of the 10th of August the battle began, and after having been maintained with equal obstinacy by both sides for about an hour, the Americans took to flight and dispersed in the woods. The trophies of the victors were 1,000 prisoners. The loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, exceeded 800 men; while that of the royal army was about 350. After his defeat, Gates marched to Hillsborough, in order to recruit his shattered forces; where, on November 5th, he was superseded by General Greene.

On the return of Clinton from Charlestown to New York, the design of acting offensively on the Jerseys was resumed; but to divide the American army, demonstrations were made of an intention to seize West Point. To defend that important position, General Greene, with two brigades and the Jersey militia, was posted at Springfield; and Washington, with the residue of the army, at the distance of five or six miles, ready to support him.

Early on the morning of the 23rd of June, the British army moved rapidly in two columns towards Springfield. A sharp conflict for half-an-hour ensued, when Greene, being compelled by superior numbers, withdrew; and Clinton, taking possession of the town, reduced it to ashes. After this event, Clinton, influenced by the intelligence that a formidable fleet and army from France were daily expected to arrive on the coast, retired to Elizabeth Town, and on the following night passed over to Staten Island, in order to be ready for the protection of New York.

On the 13th of July, the long-expected French fleet—consisting of seven ships of the line, with several frigates and transports,

under Chevalier de Ternay, and having on board 6,000 troops, commanded by the Count de Rochambeau—arrived at Rhode Island, which had been previously evacuated by the royal army as indefensible. Thus reinforced, Washington determined to attack New York; and in hopes of being further reinforced by the return of De Guichen from the West Indies, marched his army to stations nearer the city, for the purpose of a combined attack on it: but intelligence of the count's flight before the genius of Admiral Rodney, disconcerting the plan formed by the allied commanders, all further active operations for this year were suspended, and the belligerents went into winter quarters: viz., the royal army at New York and its dependencies; the American army to its old station on the highlands above the Hudson; and the French at Rhode Island.

While these movements were in operation, intelligence arrived in Washington's camp that treason had appeared among the defenders of their country—that Arnold, whose bravery in battle and fortitude in suffering had placed him high in the affections of his country, was a traitor. On the evacuation of Philadelphia in 1778 by the royal army, Arnold had been appointed governor of that city. There, indulging in the pleasures of an expensive equipage and a sumptuous table, he contracted debts which he was unable to discharge. To extricate himself from embarrassment he made large claims on the government, who, in their defence, accused him of extortion and misuse of the public money. For these offences he was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be reprimanded. To avenge his wounded pride he now cherished the idea of betraying his country. To put his plan into execution, he solicited and obtained the command of West Point, a post of great importance in all operations against New York. He then entered into a secret correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, and requested that a trusty person might be sent to expedite the plot.

The person selected for this purpose was Major André, an officer of distinguished literary talents, and, at the time, aide-de-camp of General Clinton, and adjutant-general of the British army. That ill-fated officer, ascending the river from New York in the course of the night of the 22nd of September, had an interview with Arnold outside of the American lines, when arrangements were made for the delivery of West Point to the British on the Monday following. In the interim, the *Vulture* sloop, which had conveyed him hither, having by some cause which is now inexplicable, been compelled to move down the river, André, laying aside his regimentals, assumed the dress of a traveller and the name of Anderson, intending to travel to New York by land. When within view of the English lines, being intercepted by three privates of the New York militia, he was taken to the colonel of that regiment. More anxious now for the safety of Arnold than of himself, he requested that officer to apprise Arnold that Anderson was taken; which request being complied with, Arnold, comprehending his danger, made a precipitate flight to New York. André, disdaining longer concealment, and avowing himself to be the adjutant-general of the royal army, his person was searched, when a description of West Point and the strength of the garrison being found in his boots, he was tried by a court-martial, and being convicted as a spy, was sentenced to be hung. Being led forth on the following morning (October 2nd) to suffer under the gibbet, he exclaimed in agony—"Must I then die in this manner!" but quickly recovering his composure, he added—"It will be but a momentary pang;" and died with that true heroism which is the emphatic attribute of the real soldier. Arnold, as a reward for his treachery (though West Point was not delivered to the British), was raised to the rank of a brigadier-general in the British service, and received £10,000.

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#### THE CAMPAIGN OF 1781.

This year dawned inauspiciously on American patriotism. Selfishness had usurped the place of patriotism; and though plenty reigned in the land, want prevailed in the camp; the consequence was, that on the

night of the 1st of January, an open and almost universal revolt broke out in Washington's line of cantonments. On a concerted signal, 1,300 men paraded arms, declaring their intention of marching to

Philadelphia, to demand of congress a redress of their grievances. They elected temporary officers, and moved off in a body towards Princetown. General Wayne, to prevent them from plundering the inhabitants, forwarded provisions for their use. The next day he met the mutineers, and requested them to appoint a man for each regiment, to state their complaints. The men were appointed, and a conference held; but he refused to comply with their demands.

The mutineers then proceeded to Princetown, where they were met by emissaries from Sir Henry Clinton, with liberal offers for their desertion of the service of the congress. But they indignantly rejected these offers, and seized the emissaries. Being now met by a committee of congress and a deputation from the state of Pennsylvania, and their demands being partly granted, they returned to their duty. The mutiny on the Jersey line of cantonments was also suppressed by the like conciliatory measures.

While the American troops, in the beginning of January, were in a state of revolt, Arnold, with 1,200 men, was devastating Virginia. For the purpose of capturing Arnold, Admiral Destouches, who had succeeded to the command of the French fleet on the death of the Chevalier de Ternay, detached Commodore de Tilley to the Chesapeake with a small squadron, to co-operate with La Fayette in an attack on Portsmouth (situated on Elizabeth River), where Arnold had taken post; and in the beginning of March, the whole French fleet—which had been long blockaded by the royal fleet—venturing to sea with the greater part of Rochambeau's army, for the purpose of proceeding to the same destination, took to flight; but being closely followed by the English fleet, and brought to action on the 16th of March, off Cape Henry, the French fleet, after continuing the battle for about an hour, ran to leeward, and returned to Rhode Island, followed by the English fleet. In the meantime Arnold continued his devastations, and took post at Hay Island, waiting instructions for effecting a junction with Cornwallis, who was about advancing from the Carolinas into Virginia.

The plan of this campaign—the last in which any efforts of magnitude were made for the recovery of the colonies by the royal army, and the establishment of their independence by the colonists—was thus arranged by the royal commanders:—Cornwallis was to penetrate through the Caro-

linas, to effect a junction with Arnold for the attack of La Fayette, in Virginia; while Clinton occupied the attention of Washington and Rochambeau at New York and in the middle states.

In pursuance of this arrangement, Cornwallis, leaving a considerable force under Lord Rawdon for the defence of South Carolina, on the 1st of February crossed the Catawba river to attack Greene, who was posted at Charlotte Town, in North Carolina. Half of Greene's force, consisting of 2,000 men, had been detached, under General Morgan, into the western section of South Carolina, to restrain a marauding party of royalist forces and their adherents. Against this detachment Cornwallis dispatched General Tarleton, with a considerable force. That officer coming up with the enemy at the Cowpens, and confident of victory, rushed with his usual impetuosity to the charge. The first line of the Americans yielding to the shock, Tarleton advanced against the second line, which, after an obstinate conflict, retreated to the cavalry in reserve; when, facing about, they poured in a deadly fire upon their pursuers, who, in their ardour of pursuit, had been thrown into disorder; at the same time charging them with the bayonet—the first instance of a bayonet charge made by the American troops during the war. In this severe repulse, the royal army sustained a loss of 100 killed and 500 taken prisoners. Few escaped. Tarleton, at the head of fourteen officers and forty dragoons, cut his way through the opposing cavalry. By this untoward event, Cornwallis had lost one-fifth of his force.

With the intention of recovering his prisoners, Cornwallis went in immediate pursuit of Morgan, who had marched with his prisoners towards Virginia. Each army strove to arrive first at the fords of the Catawba, from which each was equally distant. On the twelfth day after his success, Morgan crossed the Catawba, and in the course of two hours after Cornwallis reached the fords; but it being dark, he encamped on the banks of the river. A heavy fall of rain in the night made the river impassable; and in the course of that night General Greene appeared in the American camp, and assumed the command. Cornwallis having been enabled to cross the river, immediately pursued the American army. The moment Greene had passed the Yadkir, Cornwallis was again up with him;

but, it being dark, he was obliged to encamp on the banks of that river. Again a fall of rain in the night rendered that river impassable. On the following day Greene retreated to Guildford Court-house, where he was joined by the division of his army from Charlotte Town.

Cornwallis, marching up the Yadkin, crossed at the shallow fords near its source. Both armies now started for the river Dan, on the borders of Virginia, distant about one hundred miles. On the fifth day Greene had effected his passage before the van of his opponent appeared on the opposite bank. Chagrined that his enemy had eluded his grasp, Cornwallis wheeled about and marched to Hillsborough, the capital of North Carolina. Leaving Hillsborough, he took post at Guildford Court-house, whither he understood Greene was advancing to give him battle. On the 16th of March, Greene appeared, strongly reinforced, when a battle ensued, in which the Americans were defeated, though their force exceeded 5,000 men; while those in the royal army were not more than 2,400. But Cornwallis having lost above one-third of his force in the battle (victory being thus almost equal to defeat), he retreated to Wilmington, pursued by Greene. After remaining three weeks in Wilmington, Cornwallis proceeded to Petersburg, in Virginia.

No sooner was Greene informed that Cornwallis had taken post at Wilmington to recruit his strength, than he determined to carry the war into South Carolina, by which step he calculated he would compel Cornwallis to follow him, and thus evacuate North Carolina, or give up his important posts in the upper parts of South Carolina. Cornwallis, apprehending this movement of his adversary, sent an express to Lord Rawdon, whom he had left in command in those localities, and who was then in cantonments, with the town of Camden for his centre, garrisoned by 900 men. Greene reaching Camden with 1,500 regulars and some corps of militia, took up a position on Hobkirk's-hill, distant about two miles from the British lines. On the 25th of April, Lord Rawdon marched from Camden, and drove Greene from his position; but being unable, from want of sufficient means, to improve his victory, was compelled to resume the defensive. In the meantime several British posts in South Carolina fell into the power of the American partisans. At length they laid siege to

Ninety-Six, which was relieved by the advance of Lord Rawdon towards the end of June.

Lord Rawdon having, on account of ill-health, returned to England, the command of the British troops in South Carolina was conferred on Lieutenant-colonel Stewart. In the beginning of September he took post at Eutaw Springs. Greene marched against him from the high hills of Santee. The forces on each side amounted to 2,000 men. On the 8th was fought the bloodiest battle, in comparison of the numbers engaged, that had occurred during the war. After a stubborn conflict, the British were repulsed; but being rallied, returned again to the charge; when Greene, despairing of success, withdrew; but on the retreat of his opponents (who were short of provisions) towards Charlestown, he pursued. The loss on each side in this sanguinary battle amounted to above 700 men. In commemoration of his services in this gallant affair, Greene was presented by the congress with a gold medal and one of the British standards taken in the battle.

In the meantime Cornwallis had marched from Wilmington, through North Carolina, into Virginia, to effect a junction with Arnold, who was instructed to ascend the Chesapeake, and be ready to effect a junction at Petersburg. On the 25th of April, Cornwallis began his march through North Carolina and the southern parts of Virginia, and on the 20th of May reached Petersburg; where the intended junction being effected, he, on the 24th, crossed James River, at Westover, about thirty miles below La Fayette's encampment. At his approach, La Fayette decamped with all possible speed. At this period of his operations, Cornwallis received orders from Sir Henry Clinton to detach part of his troops to New York, as, by Washington's intercepted letters to congress, it was evident that the Americans and French were contemplating a joint attack on New York, as soon as the French fleet, under the Count de Grasse, should arrive from the West Indies. Cornwallis, therefore, for the purpose of obeying his instructions, retired to Williamsburg, and thence to Portsmouth, where La Fayette, apprehending he was retreating through fear, ventured to attack him, but was put to flight, with the loss of his artillery.

At Portsmouth Cornwallis embarked the troops required for New York; but before they sailed, instructions having been received

from Clinton that he had no longer fears of Washington and Rochambeau at New York, they were disembarked; and as De Grasse, with a French fleet, consisting of twenty-eight sail-of-the-line and several frigates, having on board 3,200 land troops from the West Indies, had arrived in the Chesapeake, Cornwallis took up a defensive post at York Town and Gloucester Point (situated on opposite sides of York River, which empties itself into Chesapeake Bay), for the purpose of providing against the threatened storm.

To preserve the connection of the events of this ill-conducted and unfortunate campaign, it is necessary retrospectively to state the occurrences at New York.

In the spring of this year, the project of besieging New York was resumed. In June, the French and American troops marched from their respective positions, and encamped together on ground contiguous to the city. In this position of affairs, Washington receiving intelligence from La Fayette of the embarkation of part of Cornwallis's army for New York, and of De Grasse's arrival in the Chesapeake, determined to take in person the chief command of the army assembled, and assembling, on the Chesapeake and York River. With that view, entrusting the defences of the Hudson to General Heath, he, in the end of August, proceeded with the French under Rochambeau, and 2,000 Americans, for the north. After the troops had left their respective positions, and had crossed the Hudson, their march was so directed as to induce Sir Henry Clinton to believe that it was Washington's object to gain possession of Staten Island, in order to facilitate his designs against the city; and this misapprehension influenced the English general until his opponent had crossed the Delaware, and was thus beyond the reach of pursuit. On the 25th of September, the whole of the allied forces, consisting of 16,000 men, with a powerful train of battering artillery, were assembled at the place of rendezvous (Williamsburg and James River), and ready for instant operations. On the 28th, the several divisions destined to besiege York Town reached the position assigned them. On the night of the 6th of October, they began their first parallel within 600 yards of the enemy's

lines. On the 9th, several batteries being completed, a heavy cannonade was begun. Many of the guns of the garrison were dismounted, and portions of the fortifications laid level with the ground. On the night of the 11th, the second parallel was commenced 300 yards in advance of the first, when a furious and destructive fire was opened from the new batteries. On the 16th, Cornwallis despairing of receiving assistance from Clinton, embarked his forces with the intention of forcing his way through the enemy's lines, and proceeding by rapid marches to New York; but before the first division of his army had reached the opposite shore, a storm dispersing his boats, he relinquished the design. Additional batteries having been erected, so irresistible a weight of fire was thrown upon the devoted garrison (nearly all their guns being silenced), that on the morning of the 17th Cornwallis beat a parley, and proposed a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, that commissioners might meet to settle the terms of surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. On the 19th, the terms of surrender on which the commissioners had agreed, were ratified by the respective commanders. By the terms of the capitulation, the garrison and its stores were surrendered to Washington; and the naval force in the harbour to De Grasse. The prisoners, including seamen, amounted to about 7,000 men, of whom only about 4,000 were reported fit for duty. The loss on each side, during the siege, had been about 500 men in killed and wounded.

While this inauspicious event was in operation, Clinton had embarked 7,000 men at New York to succour Cornwallis; but the fleet did not leave Sandy Hook till the 19th of October, the very day on which the capitulation of New York had been completed. On reaching the Cape of Virginia, he received intelligence of Cornwallis's surrender, when he determined to return to New York. The capitulation at York Town was soon followed by the evacuation of Wilmington; and the royal army seemed to limit its views in the south to the country adjacent to the sea-coast. At length (December 14th) they evacuated Charlestown, on condition that they should not be molested in their retreat.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE LAST CAMPAIGN AND THE CLOSE OF THE WAR, WITH  
THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE (1782—1783.)

THE distinguished success in Virginia, and the great advantages obtained in the Carolinas and Georgia in the course of the preceding year, encouraged the colonists to use their utmost exertions to secure the great object of their contest with the mother country—their independence and nationality. Far different was the temper of the British nation on the subject of continuing the war. Though they had engaged with eagerness in the contest, the surrender of the armies under Burgoyne and Cornwallis, and the imbecile manner in which the contest had been conducted by the ministry and their generals, had now rendered it universally unpopular. Motions against the measures of administration of the war were repeated by the opposition, and on each occasion gained strength. At length, on the 27th of February, 1782, in consequence of a motion by General Conway, that the further prosecution of offensive war against America was impolitic, and the motion being carried, an address to the king was voted in the words of the resolution; but the answer of the crown being deemed inexplicit, it was resolved on the 4th of March—"That the house will consider as enemies to his majesty and the country, all those who shall advise or attempt a farther prosecution of offensive war on the American continent." These votes were soon followed by a change of ministers—viz., the Shelburne for the Rockingham administration; and early in May, Sir Guy Carleton, formerly governor and commander-in-chief in Canada, was dispatched to New York to supersede Sir Henry Clinton. He carried out the pacific votes of the House of Commons, and instructions from the British cabinet to open negotiations with the congress of the United States, on the basis of independence. In conjunction with Admiral Digby, Carleton remitted to Washington copies of the votes on the parliamentary bill enabling the English king to conclude a truce, and stated in a letter, that those papers would show the pacific disposition of the government and people of England. But Washington rejected the overtures; and his determination was approved by congress. The only friendly advances made by them was a proposal for a partial exchange of

prisoners. In the meantime all hostile operations were suspended by the royal arms, in consequence of the instructions which had been issued to the officers. The operations of the Americans were confined to a few desultory incursions, on account of the destitute state of the army in regard of provisions, and its mutinous condition. So severe were these, that Washington acknowledged, in a letter to congress, that if the British knew his real situation, and were to make a sudden attempt, he must be driven from all his posts. "It is high time," he exclaimed, "for a peace." Nor was the army in the south, under Greene, in a better condition. The usual interest demanded for money at this time was at the rate of sixty per cent. per annum; and on account of the mutinous state of the army, in consequence of the arrears due to them, an internal social war was apprehended.

While affairs were in this state, English and American agents had assembled at Paris to enter into negotiations for peace: preliminary articles were signed on the 30th of November, and the definitive treaty was signed on the 20th of January, 1783, the negotiations having been protracted on the part of Spain, in hopes of obtaining the cession of Gibraltar: but the repulse of the formidable armament which invested that fortress dissipating those hopes, she acceded to the general pacification.

The conditions of the treaty in regard to the United States were, that Great Britain acknowledged them to be free, sovereign, and independent. A clause was inserted in the treaty, that congress should earnestly recommend to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all confiscated estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts in possession of his majesty's arms, and who had not borne arms against the United States; but as the Americans paid no heed to the conditions, and the British cabinet had foreknowledge that they would not do so, an act was passed by the British parliament for the relief of the American loyalists. The remuneration granted for losses of real or personal property, exceeded ten millions sterling; that of income arising from office, profession, or trade, amounted to £120,000 per annum; and which was voted in life annuities.

On November 25th, the British troops evacuated New York, and a detachment from the American army took possession of it. On the 19th of December, Washington repaired to Annapolis, in Maryland, where the congress was then in session, for the purpose of resigning into their hands the authority with which they had invested him. On the 23rd, in a public audience, the president informing him that "the United States, in congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communication," he delivered the following address:—

"Mr. President,—The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I have now the honour of offering my sincere congratulations to congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment which I accepted with diffidence—a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task; which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the union, and the patronage of heaven. The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest. While I repeat my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the gentlemen who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible that the choice of confidential officers to compose my staff should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have remained in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favourable notice and patronage of congress. I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendance of them to His holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great

theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of life."

Having delivered his commission, the president thus addressed him:—"Sir, the United States, in congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and a doubtful war. Called on by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without friends or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow-citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered until the United States, aided by a magnanimous king and nation, have been enabled, under a just Providence, to close the war in prudence, safety, and independence; on which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations. Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world—having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow-citizens. But the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command; it will continue to animate remotest ages. We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person in this affecting moment. We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and a respectable nation. And for you we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so loved may be fostered with all His care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give."

Washington, divested of his military character, withdrew from the hall of congress, and retired to Mount Vernon.

## FORTRESS OF GIBRALTAR—ITS REDUCTION BY THE ENGLISH (1704)—ITS SIEGE BY THE SPANIARDS AND FRENCH (1779—1783.)

THE important fortress of Gibraltar (which is situated upon a rock or promontory about seven miles in circumference, and above 1,300 feet in height, in Andalusia, the most southern province in Spain), after having been, at various periods, in the possession of the Christians and the Moors, was, in July, 1704, reduced under the power of Great Britain by Admiral Sir George Rooke, who had been sent with a strong fleet into the Mediterranean, to assist the Archduke Charles in his recovery of the crown of Spain, in his contest with Philip, the nephew of the French king; but on account of the limited nature of his instructions, the English admiral, not being able to afford assistance to that prince, determined to make a sudden and vigorous assault on Gibraltar. On the 23rd of that month, having landed 1,800 marines on the beach, he cannonaded the fortress with so great vivacity and effect, that on the morning of the bombardment the governor surrendered the fortress, the garrison becoming prisoners of war.

Gibraltar has ever since continued in the hands of the English; not, however, without frequent attempts to wrest from them the envied prize. The courts of Madrid and Paris resolved on immediately attempting its recapture, and the Marquis de Villadarias, a Spanish grandee, assisted by six battalions of French troops, opened his trenches against the fortress on the 11th of October, 1704, and soon effected several breaches in the outworks. Sir John Leake, who had been left at Lisbon with a fleet for the succour of the garrison in case of need, threw into Gibraltar six months' provisions and ammunition, detaching on shore at the same time a body of 500 sailors, to assist in repairing the breaches caused by the enemy's fire. The energy of the besiegers amounted to desperation. Though the British squadron lay before the town, a scheme was formed for surprising the garrison; and, on the 31st of October, 500 volunteers took the sacrament, and departed with a determination never to return until they had retaken Gibraltar. A goatherd conducted this forlorn hope to the side of the rock near Cave Guard, and on the first night they lodged themselves unperceived in St.

Michael's Cave; on the succeeding evening they scaled Charles V.'s wall, surprised and massacred the guard at Middle Hill, and several hundred of the party who had been ordered to sustain them, mounted from below. A strong detachment of British grenadiers marched immediately from the town, and attacked the invaders with such overwhelming vehemence, that 150 of the gallant Spaniards were killed on the rocks or driven over the precipices; and a colonel, with thirty officers, together with the remainder of the party, were taken prisoners; the French auxiliaries, who were to have supported them from below, having left them to their fate.

The combined forces continued the siege with great vigour, and Sir John Leake threw 2,000 additional men, with a proportionate quantity of ammunition and provisions, into the garrison; the Spanish general was also strengthened with a considerable body of infantry; and on the 11th and 12th of January, 1705, two attacks were made in the endeavour to carry the fortress, by storming a breach which had been effected in a round tower: they were, however, after some difficulty, both repulsed, with heavy loss in killed and wounded on either side.

With the new year the French and Spaniards renewed their preparations for attack; and the English ministry, aware of the importance of Gibraltar, ordered out reinforcements under Sir Thomas Dilkes and Sir John Hardy, to join Admiral Sir John Leake at Lisbon. The fleet, consisting of twenty-eight English, four Dutch, and eight Portuguese men-of-war, having on board two battalions, sailed on the 6th of March—captured three French ships of the line, drove ashore and burnt the admiral's and another ship, and so strengthened the garrison, that Marshal Tesse, a Frenchman, who had succeeded the Spanish marquis, withdrew his troops from the trenches, and contented himself with forming a blockade to prevent the English from ravaging the country.

The siege was now considered at an end. During its continuance, the combined forces of France and Spain were diminished, by casualties and sickness, by at least 10,000; while the British loss did not exceed 400

men. By a separate treaty concluded with Spain on the 13th of July, 1713, the island was ceded to Great Britain for ever.

Notwithstanding this formal cession, the Spaniards did not abandon their hopes of repossessing themselves of the "Rock." In 1720, the Marquis of Leda collected a formidable force, under pretence of relieving Ceuta, a Spanish fortress in Barbary, but in reality with the intention of surprising Gibraltar, then in a weak and almost defenceless state. The British ministry had timely notice of the enemy's intention. Colonel Kane, governor of Minorca, was immediately ordered to embark with part of his garrison (500 men) for Gibraltar; and such auxiliaries, together with the spirited conduct of the British commodore, induced the Spanish marquis to sail for Ceuta. Gibraltar remained unmolested until 1727, when the Count de las Torres, commander of the Spanish forces, collected 20,000 men, and advanced against the citadel. From February to June, the Spaniards prosecuted the siege with great vigour and bravery; but the garrison being reinforced from England, and the sea-way kept open, supplies were abundantly poured in, until, on the 12th of June, the news of preliminaries being signed for a general peace reached the belligerents, who thereupon concluded an armistice. During the siege the garrison lost about 300 killed and wounded, and 70 cannon and 30 mortars burst: the Spanish casualties were estimated at 3,000 men. On the close of the contest the Spaniards erected lines and forts across the isthmus, about a mile from the garrison, thus effectually preventing any communication with the country; and by means of the western fort, called St. Philip's, took command of the best anchorage on the side of the bay next the garrison.

When hostilities commenced in 1762, the Spaniards made no effort for the conquest of Gibraltar; but the contest between Great Britain and her North American colonies, in 1777, and the subsequent hostilities between England and France, seemed to afford a favourable opportunity to Spain, who, on the 16th of June, 1779, presented a hostile manifesto to the court of London, espousing the part of France. The main object of the court of Madrid was evidently the seizure of Gibraltar; and Spain, in common with the other continental powers, thought the loss of the North American colonies must strike such a blow at the maritime strength of England,

as would completely overwhelm her—forgetting that she still possessed the Canadas and the West Indies, and that her eastern possessions were rapidly augmenting. On the 21st June, 1779, the communication between Spain and Gibraltar was closed by orders from Madrid; and even before any reply was given by the British ministry to proposals for a pacification (which, however, it was well known would be rejected), overtures had been privately made to the Emperor of Morocco to farm his ports of Tetuan, Tangier, and Laroche, in order to cut off Gibraltar from its domestic market and principal source of supply.

The strength of the garrison, when this memorable siege commenced, was as follows:—General G. A. Elliott, governor; Lieutenant-general R. Boyd, lieutenant-governor; Major-general de la Motte, commanding the Hanoverian brigade.

Regiments.	Officers.	Staff.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank & File.
Artillery . . . .	25	—	17	15	428
12th regiment . . .	26	3	29	22	506
39th ditto . . . .	25	4	29	22	506
56th ditto . . . .	23	4	30	22	508
58th ditto . . . .	25	3	29	22	526
72d ditto, or R.M.V.	29	4	47	22	944
Hanoverians:—					
Hardenbergs . . .	16	13	42	14	367
Reden's . . . . .	15	12	42	14	361
De la Motte's . . .	17	16	42	14	367
Engineers, &c. . . .	8	—	6	2	106
Total . . . . .	209	59	313	169	4,619

Making an army of 5,369 men.

The details of this protracted but most interesting warfare are given in small type to economise space.

The Spaniards, after cutting off the communication between the fortress and the mainland, blockaded the port with a superior naval force; not, however, with such strictness as to prevent several foreign flags, laden with provisions, from evading the vigilance of the enemy's cruisers. During the remainder of the year, viz., from June to December, 1779, nothing further was done by the Spaniards than strengthening their lines, and pushing forward with unceasing vigilance the extensive works with which they were preparing to bombard the fortress; indeed, famine began to erect its gaunt and horrid form: one woman died of want; many were so enfeebled, that it was not without great care they recovered; and thistles, dandelions, wild leeks, &c., were for some time the daily nourishment of numbers.

On the 12th January, 1780, the Spaniards fired ten shots at the fortress from Fort St. Philip, several of which came into the town: the first person struck during the siege happened to be a woman. On the

\* We are indebted to the late Colonel Drinkwater for the particulars given in the text. The gallant officer's *History of the late Siege* has helped to render it an imperishable monument of British endurance and valour.

7th January, Admiral Sir George Bridges Rodney arrived from England, with a fleet of twenty-one sail-of-the-line, and a large convoy of merchantmen, for the relief of the garrison—a circumstance which, of course, diffused general joy, which was not a little increased from the fact of a complete victory having been gained by the British over the Spanish admiral, whose vessel, together with three others of his squadron, were taken, one driven ashore, another blown up during the engagement, and the rest dispersed.

It was in this fleet that Prince William Henry, afterwards William IV., visited Gibraltar. His royal highness served as a midshipman under Admiral Digby, in the *Prince George*; and on one occasion in particular a circumstance occurred which Englishmen may be proud of. The Spanish admiral, Don Juan Langara (then a prisoner aboard the British fleet), visiting Admiral Digby one morning, was, of course, introduced to his royal highness. During the conference between the admirals, Prince William Henry quitted the cabin; and when it was intimated that Don Juan wished to retire, his royal highness appeared as the midshipman on duty, and respectfully informed the admiral that the boat was manned. The Spaniard could not contemplate the son of England's monarch acting as a petty officer unmoved, and, turning to Admiral Digby and his suite, he exclaimed—"Well does Great Britain merit the empire of the sea, when the humblest stations in her navy are occupied by princes of the blood!" Sir George Rodney having recruited the garrison with supplies, added to its strength the second battalion of the 73rd regiment (1,000 strong), removed all useless mouths, and left Gibraltar to make its own defence. Nothing of moment occurred from January to June, excepting that the scurvy broke out in the garrison, disabling many hands; and the enemy attempted to destroy the few ships we had in the New Mole, by means of fireships, which was frustrated by the coolness and intrepidity of our seamen, who grappled with the floating masses of fire, and towed them clear of the anchorage under the walls, where, when broken up, they proved valuable to the besieged. The enemy continued, to the close of the year 1780, extending the different branches of their approaches, maintaining a rigorous blockade rather than using any active annoyances; and through the neglect, in England, of the ministry, in refusing a trifling aid to the Emperor of Morocco, the Spaniards succeeded in getting temporary possession of the Barbary ports, and by the removal of our consul, entirely cut off the garrison from those supplies which had heretofore proved of the utmost value.

In April, 1781, the distress of the garrison became very great, and starvation again appeared; a point which it was the grand object of the Spaniards to attain: but on the 12th one hundred merchant vessels entered the bay, under convoy of Admiral Darby and several line-of-battle ships. The enemy, on perceiving this relief to the besieged, made instant preparations for bombarding the fortress, and as the van of the convoy came to anchor off the New Mole and Rosia Bay, the Spaniards opened a tremendous cannonade upon Gibraltar from 114 pieces of artillery, including fifty 13-inch mortars. The bombardment was continued on the 3th; several soldiers were killed and wounded in their quarters, and Ensign Martin wounded with splinters of stones.

On the 15th April, the bombardment was continued with great vivacity. Not content with discharging their ordnance regularly, the Spaniards

saluted the fortress almost every instant with a volley of eight or ten cannon, besides mortars; and their gun-boats kept up a smart attack on the shipping. The British batteries remained silent, and the guns against which the attacks of the enemy were principally directed were drawn behind the merlons to secure them against the effects of the enemy's shot. In a few days Gibraltar began to exhibit the results of this desperate bombardment, but every possible effort was made for the immediate reparation of the damage caused thereby.

So brisk was the Spanish fire on the 21st April, that forty-two rounds were numbered in two minutes; the only cessation was at mid-day, when the troops retired to enjoy the siesta, so common and so useful in a warm climate. In the beginning of May, the enemy's fire seldom exceeded a thousand rounds in the twenty-four hours, and their batteries were much shaken by the firing; but the mortar and gun-boats gathering fresh courage, advanced so near as to throw several shells into the garrison with disastrous effect. Towards the close of the month, the cannonade considerably abated, and in the beginning of June decreased to about 500 rounds in the twenty-four hours. The bombardment during June scarcely exceeded 450 rounds in the twenty-four hours; yet the shot, though fired at so great a distance, frequently pierced seven solid feet of sand-bag work; and the British batteries were again greatly damaged. Throughout July the Spanish fire slackened, but much injury was done by their gun-boats. In August the bombardment diminished to three shells in the twenty-four hours; but the blockade was rigorously enforced, and advances pushed forward, with casks covered by fascines and sand, in front. In September, the firing from the garrison was increased, exceeding sometimes 700 rounds in the twenty-four hours, to which the enemy frequently returned 800 or upwards; and the British became so inured to danger as to incautiously expose themselves, scarcely deigning even to notice an unexploded shell at their feet: the result of this foolhardiness being the loss of several soldiers. The fire slackened during October, excepting on the 20th, when a brisk attack was kept up on a new battery erected about 1,200 yards from the grand battery. Our artillery fired 1,596 shot, 530 shells, ten carcasses, and two light balls; and the enemy returned 1,012 shot, and 302 shells. The British loss was somewhat considerable; that of the foe was supposed to have been very great. In November the Spaniards added to their parallels on the west, exhibiting a perfect and formidable appearance, which General Elliott saw, if allowed to go on, would prove most destructive to the garrison: he therefore formed the daring project of making a sortie for the destruction of these works; and his design, happily, was unsuspected by the enemy. At midnight, on the 26th November, 1781, nearly 2,000 men assembled on the Red Sands in three columns, and when the moon had nearly finished her nightly course, began their desperate march on the Spanish lines: these were speedily reached, the enemy's fire received, the parapets gallantly mounted, and the ardour of the assailants being irresistible, the enemy gave way on every side, abandoning in an instant, and with the utmost precipitation, those works which had cost them so much expense, and so many months' labour to perfect. A party of sailors aided the artillery in the work of destruction; the flames spread with astonishing rapidity; a column of fire and smoke rolled from the works, illuminating the surrounding country; and the Spaniards, whether from astonish-

ment or fear, made no effort to save the lines, although only within a few hundred yards of their batteries, mounting 135 pieces of heavy artillery, which, however, kept up a useless fire on the fortress. In one hour the object of the sally was completed, trains were laid to the magazines, and, as the rear of the British re-entered the garrison, the principal Spanish store blew up with a tremendous explosion, throwing up vast masses of timber, which added to the general conflagration. The loss incurred in performing this feat was only four privates killed, a lieutenant and twenty-four men wounded, and one missing. The history of the British army, pregnant as it is with gallant deeds, presents none more daring or better planned than the one just detailed, in which not even a musket, working tool, or any needful implement was left behind. For several days the Spaniards seemed unable to rally from their late disgrace: their batteries continued in flames, which they made no attempt to extinguish. In the beginning of December they roused from their apathy, and upwards of a thousand men set to work, endeavouring to reconstruct the parallels.

The bombardment had now continued from April 12th to the close of the year 1781. The British loss, during this period, was as follows:—Killed and died of wounds, 122; disabled, 46; wounded, 400.

So well were the enemy's guns directed, that one shot coming through the capped embrasures on the Princess Amelia's battery (Willis's), took seven legs off four men of the 72nd and 73rd regiments, and wounded a fifth. When brisk firing was going on, two boys, gifted with remarkably sharp eyes, were usually stationed with any large party, to inform the men when the Spaniards' fire was directed towards them: their sight was so keen as to see the enemy's shot almost the instant it quitted the gun; and in the instance above mentioned, one of these boys had been reproving the men for not attending to his warnings, and had just turned his head when he observed the fatal shot coming, and instantly called out to his companions to take care; but unhappily without avail. From January to May, 1782, little occurred to diversify the monotonous course of the siege; and in the early part of May, twenty-four hours elapsed, in which, for the first time during thirteen months, there had been a cessation of firing. During this period the enemy were making preparations for a grand *floating* battery of fire-proof ships, with which they resolved to aid a powerful bombardment from the land side: meanwhile the firing continued at intervals, and often produced destructive effects. In July, the Duke de Crillon assumed the command of the siege, and the combined army was understood to amount to forty-five battalions of infantry: the floating battery, which was intended to annihilate Gibraltar, was said to consist of ten ships constructed for the occasion, fortified six or seven feet thick on the larboard side with green timber, bolted with iron, cork, junk, and raw hides—gun-proof on the top, with a descent for the shells to glide off: they were to be moored within half a gun-shot of the walls with iron chains; and large boats with mantlets, to let down with hinges, were to be ready for the disembarkation of 40,000 disciplined troops, headed by the Count d'Artois, brother to the King of France, and covered by a squadron of men-of-war, bombs, ketches, and gun-boats. In August, 10,000 men were at work on the Spanish lines, within 800 yards of Gibraltar: the parallel included each shore of the isthmus, with a stupendous com-

munication or outwork in front, the epaulment entirely raised with sand-bags, from ten to twelve feet high, with a proportionate thickness. The *Spanish Gazette* described the parallel as of 230 toises (a toise = 1 fathom = 6 feet) in length, and composed of 1,600,000 sand-bags.

The British troops witnessed unappalled these determined efforts for their destruction: the strength of the garrison, with the marine brigade (including officers), was but 7,500 men, of whom 400 were in the hospital; yet with this comparative handful, the assaults of the enemy were quietly provided against.

The firing was very brisk in the beginning of September: that of the British batteries set fire repeatedly to the hostile lines. On the 8th of September, an almost simultaneous attack was made on all sides; nine line-of-battle ships passed along the garrison, discharging several broadsides at the works; fifteen gun and mortar-boats approached the town, and 170 pieces of ordnance, all of large calibre, opened in one tremendous fire from the Spanish lines. The enemy kept up the cannonade throughout the following day, resumed it at gun-fire on the 10th, and by seven A.M. had discharged (including the expenditure on the 8th) 5,527 shots, and 2,302 shells, exclusive of the number fired by the men-of-war and mortar-boats. The bombardment continued at the rate of 4,000 shots in the twenty-four hours, when, on the morning of the 12th of September, the combined fleets of France and Spain, amounting to seven three-deckers, thirty-one ships of two decks, three frigates, and a number of xebecs, bomb-ketches, and hospital ships, entered the bay, and in the afternoon were all at anchor between the Orange Grove and Algeiras. It needed stout hearts to remain undaunted before this formidable armament; forty-seven sail-of-the-line, ten battering ships (perfect in design, and deemed invincible, carrying 212 guns), many frigates, xebecs, bomb-ketches, cutters, gun and mortar-boats, and disembarking craft, were then assembled in Gibraltar Bay; on the land side there were stupendous batteries and works, mounting 200 pieces of heavy ordnance, protected by an army of 40,000 men, commanded by a victorious and active general, in the immediate presence of two princes of the blood-royal of France, and many of the highest nobility of both countries; the *coup d'œil* affording a military spectacle such as the annals of war had perhaps never before, and (excepting the siege of Sebastopol) never since, presented. The Spaniards and French deemed success certain; the little band of British hoped for the best; and as danger and death became more imminent, their courage and presence of mind grew firmer also.

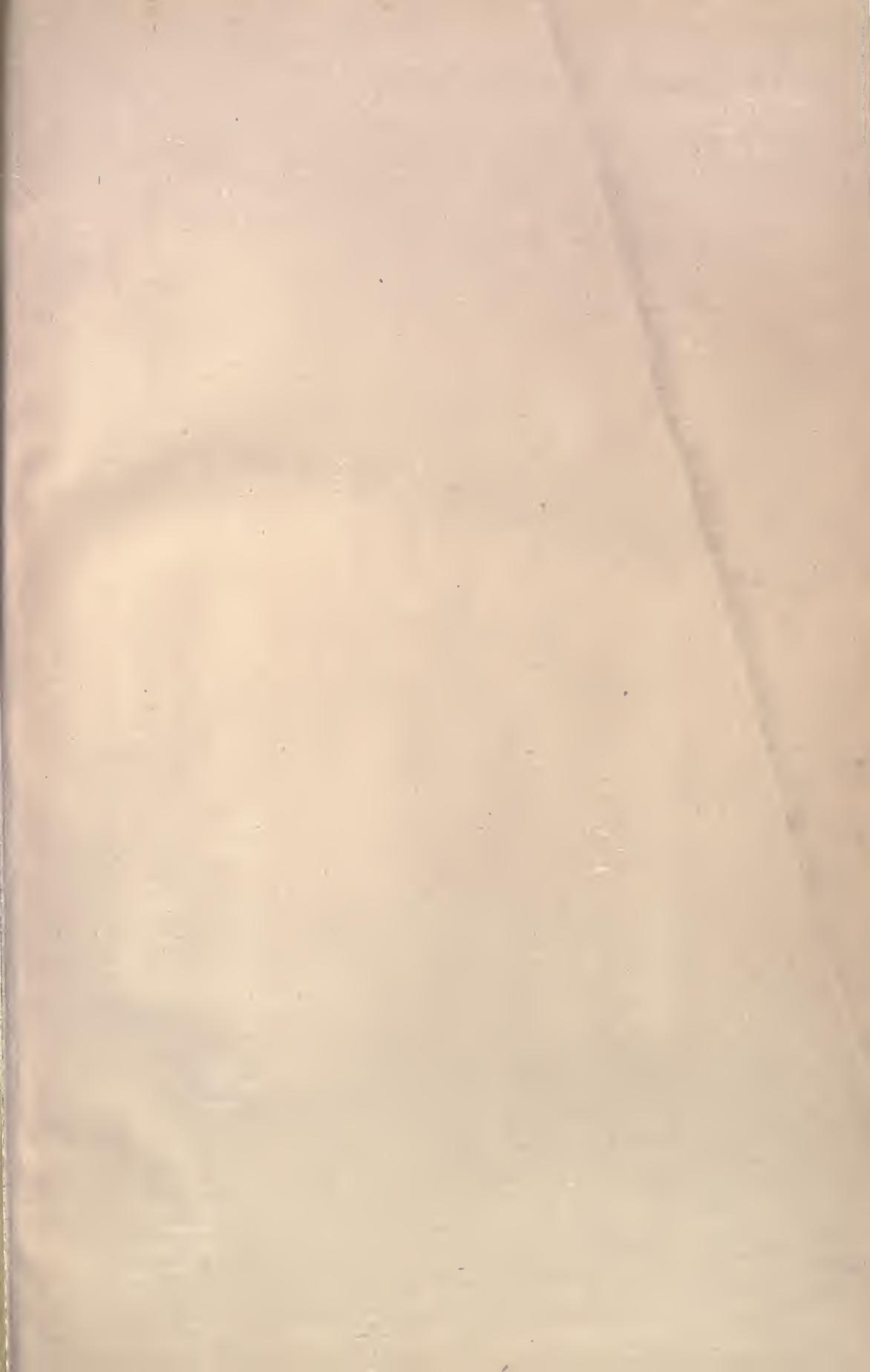
The batteries from the Spanish lines, which had continued the formidable fire, opened on the morning of the 13th of September, 1782, and were soon supported by the battering ships, which moved to the attack in admirable order, and moored within 900 yards of the King's bastion; in a few minutes *four hundred pieces* of the heaviest artillery were playing simultaneously from the garrison and from their assailants. After some hours, the battering ships were found to be as formidable as report had represented; the heaviest shells often rebounded off their sloped summits, whilst 32-pound shot seemed incapable of making an impression on their dense sides. Frequently the besieged viewed with delight these floating masses of destruction on fire, but by the application of fire-engines from within, the incipient conflagrations were speedily extinguished.

About noon the enemy's cannon, which had been previously too much elevated, became very destructive, and the British then resorted to what had been long looked forward to with a prospect of success—the firing of *red-hot balls*. The spirit of the British troops was now roused to an almost unnatural pitch; the whole of their combined energies were directed towards the battering ships; they disregarded in a great measure the land batteries, and the guns sent forth an almost continuous stream in the shape of red-hot balls, carcasses, and shells of every description. For some hours the fierce conflict continued with doubtful success; but towards evening the scarcely credible efforts of the besieged began to overwhelm the foe; the admiral's ship was perceived in flames, the second in command was soon in the same awful condition, and by eight P.M. the assault had almost entirely ceased from the disabled squadron. The English continued firing throughout the livelong night, and the shrieks and moans of the dying told a piteous tale, which the dawning day painfully verified. About two o'clock on the morning of the 14th, one of the battering ships was a mass of fire from stem to stern; another to the southward was in a similar state; and the flames threw a vivid glare over the scene of desolation around, which was heightened by six other of the battering ships becoming enveloped in the same awful blaze. Yet, amidst all this misery and suffering, it is well to record the triumph of humanity, even over the brutalising passions of war;—Brigadier Curtis, with the sailors of the navy, repeatedly risked their own lives in saving their enemies from the devouring element, when they had been abandoned by their terrified fellow-combatants and countrymen. Of the six battering ships which were in flames, three blew up before eleven o'clock; the other three burnt to the water's edge, the magazines having been wetted by the officers previous to their departure; the remaining two large vessels the victors were in the hope of preserving as trophies, but were disappointed, for one of these took fire, and blew up with a terrible explosion, and the other was burnt by our sailors, when it was found impossible to prevent its gradual destruction. The Spanish loss was never satisfactorily ascertained; but from the numbers seen dead on board, it could not have been less than 2,000 men,\* including the prisoners; the casualties of the garrison, on the contrary, were trifling, consisting in killed, of one officer, two sergeants, and thirteen rank and file; and in wounded, of five officers and sixty-three rank and file; and it must be remembered that the enemy had in this action more than 300 pieces of heavy ordnance in play, whilst the garrison had only eighty cannon, seven mortars, and nine howitzers in opposition; with which, however, they expended upwards of 8,300 rounds (more than *half* of which were *hot shot*), and 716 barrels of gunpowder. The Spaniards were so much mortified by this defeat, that preparations were made for a desperate assault, with a view to carry, if possible, the garrison by storm; but the project was overruled by the Duke de Crillon, who thought an unsuccessful attack would expose the

\* The battering ships had, it was said, 142 guns in use, and seventy in reserve; the whole manned by 5,260 men.

army and fleet to immediate destruction. The energies of the enemy were now directed towards the land batteries, and every effort made to extend their works and destroy the British, by firing from 600 to 1,000 shots every twenty-four hours, which system they continued with more or less vivacity throughout the months of September, October, and November. During this period, and in the face of powerful artillery, English engineers rebuilt the whole flank of the Prince of Orange bastion (120 feet in length) with solid masonry—a fact scarcely paralleled in any siege. The besieging force now turned their attention chiefly towards blowing up the north part of the rock by means of a mine, a project which had been formed during the previous siege of 1727; but being contravened in this attempt, they began to relinquish the idea of recovering Gibraltar by arms, and towards the conclusion of December, and throughout the month of January, 1783, confined themselves to annoying the garrison by attacks of gun and mortar-boats in regular reliefs, which caused considerable mischief. February, 1783, was ushered in by an animated fire from the British, the effects of which were felt throughout the Spanish lines; but, to the relief of the besiegers rather than of the besieged, on the second day of the month, the Duke de Crillon announced by a flag of truce to General Elliott, that the preliminaries of a general peace had been signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. When the boats of the heretofore belligerents met, the Spaniards rose up with transports of joy, shouting, "*We are all friends!*" and delivered the letters of peace with the greatest satisfaction: in the evening all firing finally ceased; on the 5th the port of Gibraltar was declared *open*, and amicable intercourse straightway commenced between the Spanish and British lines, while the latter were waiting the official communication of the intelligence from London, which at length arrived on the 10th of March, 1784.

Thus ended a siege which, as regards duration (three years, seven months, and twelve days), the power of the attacking force, the quantity of ammunition expended, and the magnanimous and triumphant defence, is unparalleled in the annals of ancient or modern warfare. The nation justly gloried in the stand which a handful of Britons had made against the united efforts of Spain and France; the cordial thanks of both houses of parliament were given to the brave garrison of Gibraltar, and General Elliott (subsequently Lord Heathfield) was invested with the highest rank of the order of the Bath, as a mark of his majesty's appreciation of the heroism and skill which the gallant veteran had manifested in maintaining one of England's most valuable maritime outposts.









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