

CHAP. XI. and Zamora, and effect a junction with the remainder of the army near Valladolid.

1813.

May.

Lord Wellington in person, with the light division, a brigade of cavalry, and a corps of Spaniards, moved forward on Salamanca by the direct route; and Sir Rowland Hill, on the right, with the troops from Estramadura, was directed to advance on the same point by Alba de Tormes. 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 and centre were executed with such rapidity, that the officer commanding at Salamanca had barely time to abandon the town when it was entered by the British cavalry under General Fane, who pursued his rear-guard with great effect, and captured about two hundred prisoners, and some guns. Lord Wellington then placed the divisions of the right and centre in cantonments between the Tormes and the Douro, and, passing the river on the thirty-first, he joined the corps of General Graham.

May 31.

This portion of the army had encountered se-

rious difficulties from the impracticable character of the country through which its march lay. The roads were miserable, intersected at numerous points by rivers and ravines, and leading over steep mountains, up which the horses were unable to drag the artillery. By great exertion, however, these obstacles were overcome; the corps reached its point of destination on the appointed day, and took up a position, with the left resting on Tabara, in communication with the Gallician army.

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The enemy were utterly unprepared for this movement of Lord Wellington. Their attention had hitherto been directed to the front of the position, and the possibility of the allied army effecting the passage of the Douro within the Portuguese frontier had never been contemplated. The corps of General Graham reached the Esla, therefore, without encountering an enemy, and a party posted to guard the fords of that river near Losilla, hastily retired on their approach.

On the thirtieth the fords were reconnoitred, but being found too deep, a bridge of pontoons was laid down for the passage of the troops; and, on the first of June, General Graham encamped in the neighbourhood of

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CHAP. XI. Zamora, the French falling back on his approach.

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On the day following, the enemy continued their retreat, having previously destroyed the bridges at Toro and Zamora. A brilliant affair took place with the cavalry. The hussar brigade coming up with the enemy's rear-guard near Morales, gallantly charged and overthrew it; and, continuing the pursuit for several miles, made two hundred prisoners. On the same

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evening, Don Julian Sanchez, with his Guerillas, surprised and captured a French cavalry piquet at Castronuno. On the third, the corps of General Hill having crossed at Toro, the whole army directed its march on Valladolid.

In the meanwhile, the rapid advance of the allies had placed the army at Madrid in a situation of immediate peril. By remaining there, it must have been cut off from the army in the north, and from its line of communication with France. Joseph, therefore, immediately abandoned the capital, and crossing at Puente de Douro, succeeded in effecting a junction with the army of Portugal. The French armies, thus united,

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continued their retreat. On the seventh, the allies crossed the Carrion at Palencia, and on

the following days occupied both banks of the CHAP. XI.
 Pisuerga, the French retiring on Burgos, with-
 out any effort to defend the passage of the 1813.
 river. June.

The whole forces of the enemy were now concentrated at Burgos; and as this fortress formed the key of the north of Spain, and the last before reaching the Ebro, it was anticipated that here the decisive stand would have been made. Lord Wellington, therefore, to give time for the coming up of his rear, and to recruit the troops exhausted by the rapidity of the marches, made short movements during the eleventh, and on the twelfth remained stationary with his left. Jun. 11.
 In order to ascertain the enemy's intentions, however, and force him to some decisive measure, he made a strong reconnoissance with the right, under Sir Rowland Hill, and, by a flank movement, dislodged a considerable force, under General Reille, from an advantageous position above the village of Hormaza. Though vigorously pressed by the cavalry, the enemy retired in the finest order, and succeeded in crossing the Urbal and Arlanzon with little loss. During the night, the whole French army abandoned Burgos, having destroyed, as far as pos-

CHAP. XI. sible, the defences of the castle, and retreated
 1813. towards the Ebro by Briviesca.

June.

Thus far the campaign had been one of signal, though bloodless triumph. The next great object of Lord Wellington was to effect the passage of the Ebro, which the enemy had made every preparation to defend. They had garrisoned the strong fortress of Pancorvo; and the attempt to cross a river so considerable, in face of the combined forces of the enemy, must have led to an engagement under circumstances of the greatest disadvantage. Instead of continuing the pursuit, therefore, along the main road, Lord Wellington had again recourse to the manœuvre which had been so successful on the Douro. He moved the army to its left by the road to St. Andero, and then traversing a country of such difficulty as to have been hitherto deemed impracticable for carriages, crossed the Ebro, near its source, at San Martino and Puente de Arenas.

For such a measure the enemy was utterly unprepared, and no precaution had been taken to occupy the strong natural defences which that portion of the Ebro afforded. From Puente de Arenas, the road, for nearly three

miles, runs along the left bank of the river, and is flanked by a ridge of rugged and precipitous mountains, in many places inaccessible. In some parts the road has been hewn through the solid rock; and at one point in particular, the rock not only projects over the road, but juts out upon the Ebro. The whole country, on either bank of the Ebro, above Miranda is eminently defensible. Having passed the river, the march of the army often lay through passes and defiles, which a thousand men might have successfully maintained against twenty times their number.

Through such a country did the allied army pursue its march on Vittoria, without obstruction from the enemy. On the eighteenth the light division came in contact with two brigades of French infantry, on the march from Frias to Vittoria, which they attacked and defeated with the loss of three hundred men. At Osma a strong corps of the enemy, which had been assembled in great haste at Espejo, made a spirited attack on the first and fifth divisions under Sir Thomas Graham. Though superior in numbers the French were repulsed and pursued to Espejo. From thence they continued their retreat unmolested to Subijana on the Bayas.

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Jun. 18.

CHAP. XI. On the nineteenth the enemy's rear-guard
 1813. were found strongly posted on the left of the
 June. Bayas, their right covered by Subijana, their left
 by the heights in front of Pobes. Lord Wellington directed the light division to turn the left of the position, while Sir Lowry Cole attacked it in front; and the rear-guard was thus driven back on the main body of the army, then in full march on Vittoria.

The moment had at length come when the enemy, whose whole movements since the commencement of the campaign had been those of retreat, was compelled to make a final and decisive stand on the Spanish territory, or suffer himself ingloriously to be driven headlong on the Pyrenees. Joseph decided on the former;
 Jun. 19. and on the night of the nineteenth concentrated his forces in position in front of Vittoria, which the French had made their central depot in the
 Jun. 20. frontier provinces. During the twentieth Lord Wellington collected his divisions, on the Bayas, which had been scattered in the hasty march across a rugged and difficult country; and having made a close reconnoissance of the position of the French army, determined on the following morning to attack it.

Vittoria, the chief town of Alava, one of the Biscayan provinces, stands behind the little river Zadorra, in a plain about two leagues in extent, bounded on one side by a part of the Pyrenean chain, and on the other by a range of bold heights of smaller altitude. The ground around Vittoria is marked by considerable inequalities of surface, of which the enemy did not fail to take advantage. At the period in question it was for the most part covered with ripening corn, which gave concealment to the light troops, and sometimes even to the movements of whole battalions during the engagement.

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The French army was posted as follows. The right extended northward from Vittoria across the Zadorra, and rested on some heights above the villages of Abechuco and Gamarra Major, covered by formidable field-works. Between the centre and right was a thick wood, into which were thrown several battalions of infantry. The right of the centre occupied a strong height commanding the valley of the Zadorra. It was covered with infantry, flanked and otherwise defended by one hundred pieces of cannon. The advanced posts of the centre lined the banks of the Zadorra, the bridges over

CHAP. XI. which were fortified. The left and left centre
 1813. crowned the high ridge above the village of
 June. Subijana de Alava, with a reserve posted at the
 village of Gomecha, and a corps thrown out to
 occupy the bold mountains above Puebla, to
 protect the centre, which might otherwise have
 been turned by the main road where it crosses
 the Zadorra.

Thus posted, the French army covered each of
 the three great roads which concentrate at Vit-
 toria, in the great road to Bayonne. That of
 Logrono by its left, that of Madrid by its
 centre, and that of Bilboa by its right. It
 was commanded by Joseph in person, hav-
 ing Marshal Jourdan as Major-General. In
 point of numbers there existed little disparity
 on either side; it having been found necessary,
 before passing the Ebro, to detach General Foy
 with twelve thousand men towards Bilboa, to
 procure subsistence for the army, and keep in
 check the powerful Guerilla bands which haunt-
 ed the neighbourhood; and General Clausel,
 with a corps of fifteen thousand, was at Logrono.
 Lord Wellington likewise had found it necessary
 to employ the sixth division, under General Pak-
 enham, in guarding the line of supply. The



amount of combatants on either side, therefore, CHAP. XI.
 may be fairly calculated at from seventy to
 seventy-five thousand men. 1813.

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At daylight on the morning of the twenty-first June, Lord Wellington put his army in motion, in three great divisions. That on the right under Sir Rowland Hill, consisting of the second British division, the Portuguese division of the Conde de Amarante, and Morillo's corps of Spaniards, was destined to commence the action, by attacking the enemy's left on the mountains behind Subijana.

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The left column, commanded by Sir Thomas Graham, composed of the first and fifth divisions, two brigades of cavalry, and the Spanish division of Longa, was directed by a wide movement to turn the enemy's right, and crossing the Zadorra, to cut off his retreat by the road to Bayonne.

The centre corps, consisting of the third, fourth, seventh, and light divisions, in two columns, was ordered to wait till both or one of the flank columns should have crossed the Zadorra, and then to make a powerful attack on the French centre.

The Spanish troops under General Morillo commenced the action by an attack on the enemy's corps, posted above Puebla, supported by

CHAP. XI. the light companies of the second division and
1813. the seventy-first regiment, under the Honourable
June. Colonel Cadogan. After a severe struggle, in
which that most promising and gallant officer
was mortally wounded, the enemy were driven
from the heights at the point of the bayonet.
Strong reinforcements were then brought up by
the enemy, and the contest was renewed, and
continued for some time with great obstinacy on
both sides. Sir Rowland Hill, however, having
detached an additional force to support the troops
already engaged, the French at length gave
way, and yielded undisputed possession of the
heights.

Thus far successful, Sir Rowland Hill cross-
ed the Zadorra, and directed two brigades of
the second division to attack the heights of
Subijana de Alava. Here the contest was se-
vere. The troops advanced under a heavy fire
of artillery, and succeeded in dislodging the ene-
my, and driving them back on their reserve.
The heights thus gallantly carried, however,
were too important to be resigned, while a
chance of regaining them remained. Fresh
columns of attack were formed, and repeated ef-
forts were made by the enemy to recover their

ground, but without success. At length Joseph, alarmed at these repeated failures, and the threatening attitude assumed by Sir Rowland Hill, withdrew his advanced posts from the Zadorra, and directed the left to fall back for the defence of Vittoria.

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In the meantime, General Cole, with the fourth and light divisions, had passed the Zadorra at the bridges of Nanclares and Tres Puentes; and the third and seventh divisions, crossing by the bridge on the Mendonza road, both columns advanced against the heights in the centre. At the same time, Sir Rowland Hill moved forward from Subijana de Alava, and vigorously followed up the left wing in its retreating movement.

Though the enemy had been forced to withdraw his left, the centre still stood firm, and received the columns, advancing from the Zadorra, with a fire so destructive, as for a time to check their progress. Two brigades of horse-artillery were then moved forward to the front; and, thus supported, the centre columns continued their advance in fine order. Notwithstanding the difficulties of the ground, the division of Sir Thomas Picton first came in contact with a

CHAP. XI. strong body of the enemy, whom, by a spirited attack, he drove into immediate retreat, with the loss of twenty-eight pieces of artillery. On the approach of the fourth and light divisions, the whole heights were abandoned, and the French retired in admirable order on Vittoria, taking advantage of every favourable position to turn on their pursuers.

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In the meanwhile, Sir Thomas Graham, with the left column, which on the evening before had been moved to Margina, was advancing by the high road from Bilboa to Vittoria. About ten o'clock, he approached the enemy's right, posted on the heights commanding the village of Abechuco. From these he immediately dislodged them, by attacks both in front and flank.

Having gained possession of the heights, Sir Thomas Graham directed General Oswald's division to advance against the village of Gamarra Major, which the enemy occupied in great force, while, with the first division, he attacked the village of Abechuco. Gamarra Major was carried in the most gallant style by the brigade of General Robinson, which advanced in columns of battalion, under a heavy fire of artillery and musquetry, without firing a shot, and drove out

the enemy at the point of the bayonet, with great slaughter, and the loss of three guns. CHAP. XI.

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The attack on Abechuco was no less successful. Under cover of the fire of two brigades of horse-artillery, Colonel Halket's brigade of the German legion advanced to the attack, and drove the enemy from the village, with the loss of three guns and a howitzer, captured by the light battalion in a very gallant charge. The village of Gamarra Menor was likewise carried by the Spaniards under Longa, after a trifling resistance.

During the operations at Abechuco, the enemy made the greatest efforts to re-establish themselves in Gamarra Major. A strong body advanced to regain the village, but were driven back in confusion by General Hay's brigade. In spite of this failure, another attempt was subsequently made; but Sir Thomas Graham having caused the houses in front of the bridge to be loopholed, and placed his artillery in position to flank the approach, the enemy were again repulsed, and did not afterwards venture to renew the attack.

Notwithstanding these successes, it was found impossible to cross the bridges, the heights on the left of the Zadorra being occupied by a

CHAP. XI. strong reserve; and General Graham awaited the moment when the attacks on the enemy's left and centre should occasion the withdrawal of the corps in his front. This at length came. Towards evening, when the centre of the allies had penetrated beyond Vittoria, the right wing of the enemy, fearing to be cut off, retired hastily from its position. Sir Thomas Graham immediately pushed forward across the Zadora, and took possession of the road to Bayonne, which, for some distance, runs along the margin of the river. Great confusion ensued. The baggage, heavy artillery, military chest, and court equipages of Joseph, had already been put in motion by that road, and were now intercepted. The enemy's columns, which were also retreating on Bayonne, were forced back into the Pampluna road; and in a moment the French army became a vast mob, without organization of any sort, and divested of every attribute of a military body. Never had any victory achieved by the enemy over the rude and undisciplined Spanish levies been more complete; never was any army reduced to a more absolute and total wreck than that which now fled from the field of Vittoria.

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The allies pressed forward, allowing not a moment of respite in which order might be restored, and adding to the amount of their captures at almost every step. Unfortunately the country was too much intersected by ditches to admit of the action of cavalry; and it was impossible for infantry advancing in military order to come up with an enemy who trusted solely for safety to rapidity of flight. The amount of prisoners, therefore, was comparatively small, though the pursuit was kept up with unremitting activity, till the approach of night, when the extraordinary fatigue of the troops occasioned it to be discontinued.

Joseph—whom from this period it would be a mere mockery to designate as King—fled towards Pampluna, and owed his safety to the swiftness of his horse. The tenth hussars entered Vittoria at full gallop the moment after his carriage had left it. Captain Wyndham, with one squadron, pursued, and fired into the carriage; and Joseph had barely time to throw himself on his horse, and escape under the protection of an escort of dragoons.

The immediate results of the battle were the capture of one hundred and fifty-one guns, and

CHAP. XI. four hundred and fifteen caissons, with upwards of

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fourteen thousand rounds of ammunition, nearly two millions of musquet cartridges, forty thousand pounds of gunpowder, the military chest, and the whole baggage of the army, including the baton of Marshal Jourdan. Several carriages with ladies, among whom was the Countess de Gazan, likewise remained as trophies in the power of the victors. Many other females of rank, whose husbands were attached to the Court at Madrid, sought safety by mingling in the confused *melée* of fugitives. Being utterly unprepared for such a disaster, their sufferings were extreme during the retreat to the Pyrenees; and many are stated to have crossed the frontier barefooted, and in a state of the most pitiable privation.

Though the defeat of the enemy was thus accompanied by every conceivable concomitant of disgrace, the loss of combatants on both sides was unusually small. The amount of killed and wounded, on the part of the allies, was under five thousand. That of the enemy is rated, by their own writers, so low as six thousand, but was unquestionably greater. The number of prisoners made by the allies, from the

causes already mentioned, did not exceed one thousand. Of the two guns which the enemy succeeded in carrying off, only one reached Pampluna, the other being taken on the following day.*

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* It is a coincidence worthy of remark, that the battle of Vittoria was fought nearly on the same spot with another, in which a victory obtained by the English restored a legitimate Sovereign to the throne of Spain. Within sight of the enemy's positions on the twenty-first of June, and only a few miles higher up the same stream, the Zadorra, stands the village of Navarrette, where, on the third of April, 1367, Edward the Black Prince, totally defeated Henry the Bastard, and, in consequence, seated Don Pedro on the Throne of Castile.

Froissart, who gives a lively description of this engagement, observes of Sir John Chandos, the most eminent among the English knights, that "he never thought during the day of making any prisoners; but was solely occupied in fighting and pushing forward." The most striking passage, however, in his account, is that in which he describes the approach of the two armies towards each other, when, a little before they met, the Prince of Wales, with eyes and hands uplifted towards Heaven, exclaimed—"God of Truth, the Father of Jesus Christ, who has made and fashioned me, grant through thy benign grace, that the success of this battle may be for me and my army; for thou knowest, that in truth I have been solely emboldened to undertake it, in the support of justice and reason, to reinstate this King upon his throne, who has been disinherited and driven from it, as well as from his country." This zealous prayer was immediately followed by the onset, the Prince crying aloud, "Advance, banners, in the name of God, and St. George." "At the commencement," says the old historian, "the French and Arragonese made a desperate resistance, and gave the good knights of England much trouble;" but at last, "when all the divisions of the Prince were formed into one large body," the enemy "could no longer

CHAP. XI. The whole of Lord Wellington's manœuvres
1813. from the commencement of this memorable campaign are entitled to the highest admiration. The annals of modern war contain record of nothing more brilliant and decisive. Every calculation of the French Generals had been set at nought. Disregarding all occasion of petty or ephemeral success, he had threatened their whole flank from St. Andero to Valencia; and every movement of the allied army may be regarded as an important, though bloodless triumph. In the short space of one month, the enemy had been driven from Madrid to Vittoria, and forced to abandon the strong lines of the Douro and the Ebro. It was impossible, however, that Joseph should tamely suffer himself to be expelled from the Spanish territory without a struggle. It was necessary, by a strong effort, to turn the tide

keep the ground, but began to fly in great disorder;" and Henry (the Usurper) "perceiving his army defeated without hope of recovery, called for his horse, mounted it, and galloped off among the crowd of runaways." The English pursued them through the town of Najura, where they gained considerable plunder. "For King Henry and his army had come thither with much splendour; and, after the defeat, they had not leisure to return to place in security what they had left behind them in the morning."

of war, which seemed about to burst the barrier of CHAP. XI. the Pyrenees and flow onward into France. In 1813. the plain of Vittoria, therefore, it was determined to give battle. The position chosen was a bad one; and it was badly occupied. Covering a space of two leagues, it was too extensive; and the only roads by which the army could retreat, lay at the extremity of the line. The wings were strongly posted; but the only strength of the centre lay in the river, and in a height within half gun-shot, which commanded the valley for a considerable distance. It was in the centre that Marshal Jourdan anticipated attack, and concentrated his chief strength to repel it. Under this impression, instead of posting a strong division on the heights of Puebla, he occupied them only with a few light troops; and every subsequent effort to repair this error proved abortive.

The loss of the battle flowed almost as a necessary sequence. Sir Rowland Hill having gained the heights of Subijana, continued to advance; and the centre, weakened for the support of the left, was penetrated with facility by the centre columns of the allies. The left and centre were thus thrown back on Vittoria;

CHAP. XI. and the right, being unsupported, retreated,
1813. leaving the road to Bayonne in possession of Sir Thomas Graham. No victory was ever more complete and decisive. The whole plunder of Spain was disgorged in a moment; and he who had passed the Pyrenees as a monarch, recrossed them as a fugitive.

On examining the position two modes of attack naturally presented themselves to Lord Wellington. One of these was to content himself with merely threatening the wings, and to direct his principal attack against the enemy's centre, by penetrating which, and moving rapidly on Vittoria, in all probability the left wing would have been cut off. The other was that actually adopted, viz. to turn the position on both flanks, and subsequently to direct a powerful attack against the centre, when, by the necessities of the contest on the right and left, it should have been considerably weakened.

Against the first of these projects there were many objections. The Zadorra in front of Vittoria is not fordable; and to have forced the bridges, in face of a powerful army advantageously posted for their defence, was an operation of the greatest hazard and difficulty, which

could not have been effected without incurring a much heavier loss than that which actually resulted from the whole battle.

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The French writers, by whom in the mortification of wounded vanity the charge has been made, neither will, nor can understand the situation of Lord Wellington. They cannot understand that with a high career before him, in which a single failure must have placed an insuperable barrier to his progress, he could not afford to sacrifice even a life beyond what was necessary for the attainment of the great and paramount end of his operations. The loss of ten thousand British soldiers at Vittoria, would have been poorly compensated by the capture of an equal number of the enemy. The previous fame of Lord Wellington had left him no petty vanity to gratify. It was his object not to gain victory merely, but *cheap* victory, for such alone could be attended with those great and important results, which in his eyes gave victory its value. By his manœuvres at Vittoria, he deceived the calculations of the French generals; and having forced them by his flank attacks to weaken their centre, his columns passed the Zadorra with trifling opposition. Under these circumstances

CHAP. XI. it may fairly be doubted, whether, by any other
1813. scheme of attack, a victory of equal magnitude could have been attained, without incurring a loss infinitely greater.

We do not assert, and it is not necessary for the triumphant vindication of Lord Wellington that we should assert, that even greater results might not have been attained by a different system of tactic at Vittoria. That Napoleon, with the population of a vast empire at his command, and without responsibility of any kind, would have fought the battle differently we have no doubt. But the circumstances of Lord Wellington were utterly dissimilar. He was intrusted with the destinies of three nations ; and to have rashly hazarded so mighty a stake, would, even if successful, have deprived him of half his fame.

In truth, as the character of Lord Wellington is viewed by his countrymen, it exhibits no quality more worthy of admiration, than that unswerving energy with which, in spite of all temptations, he persevered in the pursuit of great objects ; daring much where daring was required, yet pausing even in the moment of victory, whenever these objects had been attained. It is this nice proportioning of the hazards to the

ends,—this unvarying refusal to sacrifice the lives of his troops, for the sake of converting certain into more brilliant results, which constitutes the brightest and most enduring claim of Lord Wellington to the gratitude of his country. To the soldiers trained in the school of Napoleon, who, as has been truly said, would have sacrificed a million of lives for a million of pounds of coffee, this may seem inexplicable. Yet so it is. The very points which they select for censure, are those which will be handed down to posterity, as having attracted, in a supreme degree, the gratitude of England, and the applause of those nations whom he rescued from the yoke.

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After the battle of Vittoria, Sir Thomas Graham, with the left wing, was directed to advance on Bilboa, to intercept the retreat of General Foy, who then occupied that town. On receiving intelligence of the battle, however, General Foy, having collected all the detachments from the different military stations in Biscay, except Santona and St. Sebastian, immediately fell back on Bayonne, and endeavoured to impede pursuit by barricading the gates of Tolosa, and occupying the convents and large buildings in the vicinity.

CHAP. XI. Towards evening Sir Thomas Graham directed a
 1813. general attack. The French were rapidly driven
 June. from all their positions without the town, and a
 nine-pounder was brought up to burst open one
 of the gates. The allied troops then entered; but
 it was already dark, and in the difficulty of dis-
 tinguishing the troops of the different nations en-
 gaged, the enemy effected their escape with small-
 er loss than they must otherwise have suffered.

Sir Thomas Graham continued to push the
 enemy along the road to Bayonne, dislodging
 them from every position in which they attempt-
 ed to make a stand. They were driven across
 the Bidassoa, which forms the boundary in this
 direction between Spain and France, by a bri-
 gade of the Gallician army under Castanos. On
 Jun. 30. the thirtieth, the garrison of Passages, a harbour
 of considerable importance, surrendered to the
 troops of Longa, and St. Sebastian was block-
 aded by a detachment of Spanish troops.

The enemy, in retiring from the Ebro, having
 left a garrison in the castle of Pancorvo, Lord
 Wellington directed the Conde de Bisbal, with
 the Spanish reserve, to reduce it. On the twen-
 ty-eighth, the town and lower fort were carried
 by assault; and, on the first of July, the castle

surrendered by capitulation. The garrison, consisting of six hundred and fifty men, were made prisoners.

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Whilst these operations proceeded on the left, the remainder of the army was no less actively employed. On reaching Pampluna, Joseph withdrew his wings from the Spanish territory, leaving three divisions of the centre, under Gazan, in the valley of El Bustan. Lord Wellington, entertaining some suspicion that they intended to fortify a position in that fertile and defensible country, directed Sir Rowland Hill, with three brigades of the second division, and one brigade of Portuguese, to approach the enemy by the pass of Lanz; and Lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, to menace their right by a movement on San Estevan. These manœuvres were completely successful. By a series of brilliant attacks, the enemy were successively driven from every post, and forced to seek safety in a rapid retreat across the Pyrenees.

Jul. 7.

In the meanwhile, the third, fourth, and light divisions, with two brigades of cavalry, marched in pursuit of General Clausel, who, ignorant of the battle, advanced to Vittoria on the day following. Finding it occupied by General Paken-

CHAP. XI. ham's division, he instantly retreated on Logrono, where he remained several days, and Lord Wellington conceiving it possible to intercept his retreat, moved a large force towards Tudela, while another advanced on Logrono. Clausel, however, receiving intelligence of the approach of the allies, and discovering that the direct road to France was barred against him, fell back on Zaragoza by forced marches, pursued and harassed by a strong Guerilla body under Mina. Having reached that city, he continued his retreat on the pass of Jaca, where he entered France, with the loss of his artillery, and about three hundred prisoners, captured by the indefatigable Mina.

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With the exception of the garrisons of Pamp-luna and St. Sebastian, the whole army of Joseph had now retreated into France; and preparations were immediately made for the reduction of these last strongholds of the enemy. As Pampluna was generally believed to be ill provided with provisions, it was placed under blockade by a corps of Spaniards, and encircled by a strong line of entrenchments to prevent the escape of the garrison. St. Sebastian was immediately invested; and Sir Thomas Graham, with