CHAPTER VIII.

Confused state of the French in the basin of Vittoria—Two convoys are sent to the rear—The King takes up a new order of battle—The Gallicians march to seize Orduña but are recalled—Graham marches across the hills to Murguia—Relative strength and position of the hostile armies—Battle of Vittoria—Joseph retreats by Salvatierra—Wellington pursues him up the Borundia and Araquil valleys—Sends Longa and Giron into Guipuscoa—Joseph halts at Yrursun—Detaches the army of Portugal to the Bidassoa—Retreats with the army of the centre and the army of the south to Pampeluna—Wellington detaches Graham through the mountains by the pass of St. Adrian into Guipuscoa and marches himself to Pampeluna—Combat withthe French rear-guard—Joseph retreats up the valley of Roncevalles—General Foy rallies the French troops in Guipuscoa and fights the Spaniards at Montdragon—Retreats to Bergara and Villa Franca—Graham enters Guipuscoa—Combat on the Orio river—Foy retires to Tolosa—Combat there—The French posts on the sea-coast abandoned with exception of Santona and St. Sebastian—Foy retires behind the Bidassoa—Clausel advances towards Vittoria—Retires to Logroña—Wellington endeavors to surround him—He makes a forced march to Tudela—Is in great danger—Escapes to Zaragoza—Halts there—Is deceived by Mina and finally marches to Jaca—Gazan re-enters Spain and occupies the valley of Bastan—O'Donnel reduces the forts of Pancorbo—Hill drives Gazan from the valley of Bastan—Observations.

THE basin into which all the French troops, parcs, convoys and encumbrances were thus poured, was about eight miles broad by ten in length, Vittoria being at the further end. The river Zadora, narrow and with rugged banks, after passing very near that town runs towards the Ebro with many windings and divides the basin unequally, the largest portion being on the right bank. A traveller coming from Miranda by the royal Madrid road, would enter the basin by the pass of Puebla, through which the Zadora flows between two very high and rough mountain ridges, the one on his right called the heights of Puebla, that on his left the heights of Morillas. The road leads up the left bank of the Zadora, and on emerging from the pass, six miles to the left would be seen the village of Subijana de Morillas, furnishing that opening into the basin which Reille defended while the other armies passed the defile of Puebla. The spires of Vittoria would appear eight miles distant; and from that town the road to Logroño goes off on the right hand, the road to Bilbao by Murguia and Orduña on the left hand, crossing the Zadora at a bridge near the village of Ariaga; further on, the roads to Estella and to Pampeluna branch off on the right, a road to Durango on the left; and between them the royal causeway leads over the great Arlaban ridge into the mountains of Guipuscoa by the formidable defiles of Salinas. But of all

these roads, though several were practicable for guns, especially that to Pampeluna, the royal causeway alone could suffice for the retreat of such an encumbered army. And as the allies were behind the hills edging the basin on the right of the Zadora, their line was parallel to the great causeway, and by prolonging their left they could infallibly cut off the French from that route.

Joseph felt the danger, and first thought to march by Salinas to Durango, with a view to cover his communications with France and join Foy and the garrisons. But in that rough country neither his artillery nor his cavalry, on which he greatly depended, though the cavalry and artillery of the allies were scarcely less powerful, could act or subsist; he would have had to send them into France; then pressed in front and surrounded by bands in a mountainous region he could not long have remained in Spain. Another project was, if forced from the basin of Vittoria, to retire by Salvatierra to Pampeluna and bring Suchet's army up to Zaragoza; but Joseph feared thus to lose the great communication with France; because the Spanish regular army and the bands could seize Tolosa while Wellington operated against him on the side of Navarre. It was replied that troops detached from Clausel's and Reille's armies might oppose them; the King however hesitated; for though the road to Pampeluna was practicable for wheels, it required something more for the enormous mass of guns and carriages of all kinds now heaped around Vittoria. One large convoy had marched on the 19th by the royal causeway for France, another, still larger, was to move the 21st under escort of Maucune's division; the fighting men in front of the enemy were thus diminished; yet the plain was still covered with artillery parcs and equipages of all kinds, and Joseph, infirm of purpose, continued to waste time in vain conjectures about his adversary's movements.

On the 19th nothing was done, but the 20th some of Reille's troops passed the Zadora to feel for the allies towards Murguia, and being encountered by Longa's Spaniards at the distance of six miles, after some successful skirmishing recrossed the Zadora. The 21st at three o'clock in the morning Maucune's division, three thousand good soldiers, marched with the second convoy, and the King took up a new line of battle. Reille, then reinforced by a Franco-Spanish brigade of infantry and Digeon's dragoons, formed the extreme right, having to defend the Zadora where the Bilbao and Durango roads crossed it by the bridges of Gamara Mayor and Ariaga. The French division defended the bridge, the Franco-Spanish brigade was pushed to Durana on the royal road,* and supported by a French battalion and a brigade of light horsemen;

* Plan 7, p. 270.

Digeon's dragoons and a second brigade of light cavalry were in reserve near Zuazo de Alava and Hermandad. The King's centre, distant six or eight miles from Gamara following the course of the Zadora, was on another front, because the stream, turning suddenly to the left round the heights of Margarita, descends to the defile of Puebla nearly at right angles with its previous course. Here covered by the river and on an easy range of heights, Gazan's right extended from the royal road to an isolated hill in front of the village of Margarita. His centre was astride the royal road in front of the village of Arinez; his left occupied rugged ground behind Subijana de Alava on the roots of the Puebla mountain facing the defile; and to cover this wing Maransin was posted with a brigade on the mountain. D'Erlon's army was in second line. The principal mass of the cavalry with many guns and the King's guards formed a reserve behind the centre near the village of Gomecha; and fifty pieces of artillery were massed in front, pointing to the bridges of Mendoza, Tres Puentes, Villodas, and Nanclares.

While the King was making conjectures, Wellington made dispositions for the different operations which might occur. He knew the Andalusian reserve would be at Burgos in a few days, and thinking Joseph would not fight on the Zadora, detached Giron with the Gallicians on the 19th to seize Orduña. Graham's corps was destined to follow Giron, but finally penetrated through difficult mountain ways to Murguia, thus cutting the enemy off from Bilbao and menacing his communications with France. However, the rear of the army had been so much scattered that Wellington halted the 20th to rally his columns, and taking that opportunity to examine the position of the French armies, observed that they seemed steadfast to fight; whereupon changing his own dispositions, he gave Graham fresh orders and hastily recalled Giron from Orduña.

The long-expected battle was now at hand, and on neither side were the numbers and courage of the troops of mean account. The allies had lost two hundred killed and wounded in the previous operations; the sixth division, six thousand five hundred strong, was left at Medina de Pomar; and only sixty thousand Anglo-Portuguese sabres and bayonets, with ninety pieces of cannon, were actually in the field. The Spanish auxiliaries were above twenty thousand, and the whole army, including serjeants and artillerymen, exceeded eighty thousand combatants. The French muster-roll of troops was lost with the battle and an approximation to their strength must suffice. The number killed and taken in different combats was about two thousand men, and some five thou-

sand had marched to France with the two convoys; but Sarrut's division, the garrison of Vittoria, and many smaller posts had joined, and hence, by comparison with former returns about seventy thousand men were present. Wherefore deducting the officers, artillerymen, sappers, miners, and non-combatants, always borne on the French muster-rolls, the sabres and bayonets would scarcely reach sixty thousand, but in the number and size of their guns the French had the advantage.

All the defects in the King's position were apparent. His best line of retreat was on the prolongation of his right flank, which being at Gamara Mayor, was too distant to be supported by the main body of the army; yet the safety of the latter depended upon that point. Many thousand carriages and impediments of all kinds were heaped about Vittoria, blocking all the roads and creating confusion amongst the artillery parcs; and Maransin, placed on the Puebla mountain, was isolated and weak to hold that ground. The centre indeed occupied an easy range of hills, its front was open with a slope to the river, and powerful batteries seemed to bar all access by the bridges; but many of the guns, being pushed with an advanced post into a deep loop of the Zadora, were within musket-shot of a wood on the right bank which was steep and rugged, giving the allies good cover close to the river. There were seven bridges within the scheme of the operations, namely, the bridge of La Puebla on the French left beyond the defile; the bridge of Nanclares, facing Subijana de Alava and the French end of the defile of Puebla; and three other bridges placed around the deep loop before mentioned opened upon the right of the French centre, that of Mendoza being highest up the stream, Vellodas lowest, Tres Puentes in the centre; lastly the bridges of Gamara Mayor and Ariaga on the upper Zadora, guarded by Reille, completed the number, and none of the seven were either broken or entrenched.

Wellington observing these things, formed his army for three distinct battles.

Graham, advancing from Murguia by the Bilbao road, was to fall on Reille and attempt the passage at Gamara Mayor and Ariaga; by this movement the French would be completely turned and great part shut up between the Puebla mountain on one side and the Zadora on the other. The first and fifth Anglo-Portuguese divisions, Bradford's and Pack's independent Portuguese brigades, Longa's Spanish division, and Anson's and Bock's cavalry, in all twenty thousand men with eighteen pieces of cannon, were destined for this attack, and Giron's Gallicians came up by a forced march in support.

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Guipuscoa

Battle of VITTORIA with Operations before & after The Action.

Allies.
French.

Drawn by Genl Napier

Hill was to attack the enemy's left. His corps, twenty thousand strong, was composed of Morillo's Spaniards, Silveira's Portuguese and the second British division, with some cavalry and guns. Collected on the southern slope of the Morillas between the Bayas and lower Zadora, and pointing to the village of Puebla, it was destined to force a passage at that point, to assail Maransin, thread the defile of La Puebla and so enter the basin of Vittoria, turning and menacing all the French left and securing the passage of the Zadora at the bridge of Nanclares.

In the centre Wellington personally directed the third, fourth, seventh, and light divisions of infantry, the great mass of the artillery, the heavy cavalry and D'Urban's Portuguese horsemen, in all thirty thousand combatants. Encamped along the Bayas from Subijana Morillas to Ulivarre, they had only to march across the ridges which formed the basin of Vittoria on that side, to come down to their different points of attack on the Zadora at the bridges of Mendoza, Tres Puentes, Villodas and Nanclares. But so rugged was the country and the communications between the different columns so difficult, that no exact concert could be expected, and each general of division was in some degree master of his movements.

BATTLE OF VITTORIA.

At daybreak the 21st, the weather being rainy with a thick vapor, the troops moved from their camps on the Bayas, and the centre of the army advancing by columns from the right and left of the line passed the ridges in front and slowly approached the Zadora. The left column pointed to Mendoza, the right column skirted the Morillas ridge, on the other side of which Hill was marching. That general seized the village of Puebla about ten o'clock and commenced the passage. Morillo leading with his first brigade on a bye-way assailed the mountain of La Puebla, where the ascent was so steep the soldiers seemed to climb rather than walk, and the second brigade, being to connect the first with the British troops below, only ascended half way. No opposition was made until the first brigade was near the summit, but then a sharp skirmishing commenced, Morillo was wounded, his second brigade joined, and the French feeling the importance of the height, reinforced Maransin with a fresh regiment. Hill succored Morillo with the seventy-first regiment and a battalion of light infantry, both under Colonel Cadogan; yet the fight was doubtful, for though the British secured the summit and gained ground along the side of the mountain, Cadogan, a brave officer and of high promise, fell, and Gazan sent Villatte's division to succor his side. Strongly

did these troops fight and the battle remained stationary, the allies being scarcely able to hold their ground. Hill however sent fresh troops, and with the remainder of his corps, threading the long defile of Puebla, fiercely issued forth on the other side and won the village of Subijana de Alava in front of Gazan's line: he thus connected his own right with the troops on the mountain, and maintained this forward position in despite of the enemy.

Wellington had meanwhile brought the fourth and light divisions, the heavy cavalry, the hussars and D'Urban's Portuguese horsemen, from Subijana, Morillas and Montevite, down by Olabarre to the Zadora. The fourth division was placed opposite the bridge of Nanclares, the light division opposite that of Villodas; both were covered by rugged ground and woods, and the light division was so close to the water that their skirmishers could with ease have killed the French gunners in the loop of the river at Villodas. The day was now clear, and when Hill's battle began the riflemen of the light division spread along the bank and exchanged a biting fire with the enemy's skirmishers. No serious effort was at first made, because the third and seventh divisions having rough ground to traverse, were not up; and to have pushed the fourth division and the cavalry over the bridge of Nanclares, would have imprudently crowded the space in front of the Puebla defile before the other divisions were ready to attack. But while thus waiting, a Spanish peasant told Wellington the bridge of Tres Puentes on the left of the light division was unguarded, and offered to guide the troops over it. Kempt's brigade was instantly directed towards this point, and being concealed by some rocks from the French and well led by the brave peasant, they passed the narrow bridge at a running pace, mounted a steep curving rise of ground and halted close under the crest on the enemy's side of the river; being then actually behind the King's advanced post and within a few hundred yards of his line of battle. Some French cavalry now approached and two round shots were fired by the enemy, one of which killed the poor peasant to whose courage and intelligence the allies were so much indebted; but as no movement of attack was made, Kempt called the fifteenth hussars over the river; and they came at a gallop, crossing the narrow bridge one by one, horseman after horseman, yet still the French remained torpid: there was an army there, but no general.

It was now one o'clock, Hill's assault on the village of Subijana de Alava was developed, and a curling smoke, faintly seen far up the Zadora on the enemy's extreme right and followed by the dull sound of distant guns showed that Graham was at work. Then the King finding his flanks in danger, caused the reserve about

Gomecha to file off towards Vittoria, and gave Gazan orders to retire by successive masses. But at that moment the third and seventh divisions being descried in rapid movement towards the bridge of Mendoza, the French guns opened upon them, a body of cavalry drew near the bridge, and the numerous light troops commenced a vigorous musketry. Some British guns replied to the French cannon from the opposite bank, and the value of Kempt's forward position was instantly made manifest; for Andrew Barnard, springing forward, led the riflemen of the light division in the most daring manner between the French cavalry and the river, taking their light troops and gunners in flank, and engaging them so closely that the English artillery-men, thinking his darkly clothed troops were enemies, played upon both alike. This singular attack enabled a brigade of the third division to pass the bridge of Mendoza without opposition; the other brigade forded the river higher up, and the seventh division and Vandeleur's brigade of the light division followed; the French then abandoned the ground in front of Villodas, and the battle which had before somewhat slackened revived with extreme violence. Hill pressed the enemy harder, the fourth division passed the bridge of Nanclares, the smoke and sound of Graham's attack became more distinct, and the banks of the Zadora presented a continuous line of fire. The French, weakened in the centre by the absence of Villatte and dispirited by the order to retreat, were perplexed, and no regular retrograde movement could be made, the allies were too close.

Now also the seventh division and Colville's brigade of the third division forded the river on the left, and were immediately and severely engaged with the French right in front of Margarita and Hermandad; and almost at the same time Wellington, seeing the hill in front of Arinez nearly denuded of troops by the withdrawal of Villatte's troops, carried Picton and the rest of the third division in close columns of regiments at a running pace diagonally across the front of both armies towards that central point. This attack was headed by Barnard's riflemen and followed by the remainder of Kempt's brigade and the hussars, but the other brigade of the light division acted in support of the seventh division. Cole advanced from the bridge of Nanclares, and the heavy cavalry, a splendid body, passing the river, galloped up, squadron after squadron, into the plain ground between Cole's right and Hill's left. The French thus caught in the midst of their dispositions for retreat, threw out a prodigious number of skirmishers, while fifty pieces of artillery played with astonishing activity; this fire was answered by many British guns, and both sides were shrouded by a dense cloud of smoke and dust, under cover of which the French

retired by degrees to the range of heights in front of Gomecha on which their reserve had been posted. They however continued to hold the village of Arinez on the main road, and Picton's troops, still headed by Barnard's riflemen, plunged into the streets amidst a heavy fire; in an instant three guns were captured, but the post was important, more French troops came in, and for a time the smoke and dust and clamor, the flashing of fire-arms and the shouts and cries of the combatants mixed with the thundering of the guns were terrible; yet finally the British troops issued forth victorious on the further side. During this conflict the seventh division, reinforced by Vandeleur's brigade, was heavily raked by a battery at the village of Margarita, until the fifty-second regiment, led by Colonel Gibbs, with an impetuous charge drove the French guns away and carried the village: at the same time the eighty seventh under Colonel Gough won the village of Hermandad. Then all on Picton's left advanced fighting, and on his right the fourth division also made way, though more slowly because of the rugged ground.

When Picton and Kempt's brigades had carried the village of Arinez and gained the main road, the French troops near Subijana de Alava were turned; and being hard-pressed on their front and left flank by Hill and the troops on the Puebla mountain, fell back for two miles in a disordered mass, striving to regain the great line of retreat to Vittoria. Some cavalry launched at the moment would have totally disorganized the French battle and secured several thousand prisoners, but it was not tried, and the confused multitude shot ahead of the British lines and recovered order. The ground was exceedingly diversified, in some places wooded in others open, here covered with high corn, there broken by ditches, vineyards and hamlets, and the action resolved itself into a running fight and cannonade for six miles, the dust and smoke and tumult of which filled all the basin, passing onwards towards Vittoria as the allies advanced, taking gun after gun in their victorious progress.

At six o'clock the French reached the last defensible height one mile in front of Vittoria. Behind them was the plain in which the city stood, and beyond the city thousands of carriages and animals and non-combatants, men women and children, were crowding together in all the madness of terror; and as the English shot went booming over head, the vast crowd started and swerved with a convulsive movement, while a dull and horrid sound of distress arose, but there was no hope, no stay for army or multitude, it was the wreck of a nation! Still the courage of the French soldier was unequalled. Reille, on whom every thing now depended,

maintained the upper Zadora, and the armies of the south and centre drawing up on their last heights, between the villages of Ali and Armentia, made their muskets flash like lightning, while more than eighty pieces of artillery, massed together, pealed with such a horrid uproar that the hills labored and shook and streamed with fire and smoke, amidst which the dark figures of the French gunners were seen bounding with frantic energy. This terrible cannonade and musketry kept the allies in check, and scarcely could the third division, which bore the brunt of this storm, maintain its advanced position. Again the battle became stationary, and the French endeavored to draw off their infantry in succession from the right wing; but suddenly the fourth division rushing forward carried a hill on their left and the heights were at once abandoned. Joseph, finding the royal road so completely blocked by carriages that the artillery could not pass, then indicated the road of Salvatierra as the line of retreat, and the army went off in a confused yet compact body on that side, leaving Vittoria on its left: the British infantry followed hard, and the light cavalry galloped through the town to intercept the new line of retreat which was through a marsh and the road also was choked with carriages and fugitive people, while on each side there were deep drains. Thus all became disorder and mischief, the guns were left on the edge of the marsh, the artillerymen and drivers fled with the horses, and the vanquished infantry breaking through the miserable multitude, went off by Metauco towards Salvatierra: the cavalry however still covered the retreat, and many of the generous horsemen were seen taking up children and women to carry off from the dreadful scene.

Reille, of whose battle it is time to treat, was now in great danger. Sarrut, posted by him at the village of Aranguis, had also occupied a height which covered the bridges of Ariaga and Gamara Mayor, but he had been driven from village and height a little after twelve o'clock by General Oswald, who commanded the fifth division, Longa's Spaniards and Pack's Portuguese. Longa then seized Gamara Menor on the Durango road, while another detachment gained the royal causeway still further on the left, and forced the Franco-Spaniards to retire from Durana. Thus the first blow on this side deprived the King of his best line of retreat and confined him to the road of Pampeluna. However, Sarrut recrossed the river in good order and a new disposition was made by Reille. One of Sarrut's brigades defended the bridge of Ariaga and the village of Abechuco beyond it; the other was in reserve supporting the first and also La Martiniere, who defended the bridge of Gamara Mayor and the village of that name beyond the

river. Digeon's dragoons were behind the village of Ariaga, and Reille's own dragoons took post behind the bridge of Gamara; a brigade of light cavalry on the extreme right sustained the Franco-Spanish troops, which were now on the upper Zadora in front of Betonio; the remainder of the light cavalry under Curto was on the French left extending down the Zadora between Ariaga and Govea.

Oswald attacked Gamara with some guns and Robinson's brigade of the fifth division. Longa's Spaniards were to have led, and at an early hour when Gamara was feebly occupied, but they did not stir and the village was reinforced. Robinson's brigade formed in three columns then made the assault at a running pace, yet the fire of artillery and musketry was so heavy the troops stopped and commenced firing; then the columns got intermixed, but encouraged by their officers and the example of General Robinson, an inexperienced man but of a high and daring spirit, they renewed the charge, broke through the village and even crossed the bridge. One gun was captured and the passage seemed to be won, when Reille turned twelve pieces upon the village, and La Martiniere, rallying his division under cover of this cannonade, retook the bridge, and it was with difficulty the allied troops could hold the village. However a second British brigade came down and the bridge was again carried and again lost, and thus the passage remained forbidden. Graham attacked the village of Abechuco which covered the bridge of Ariaga, and it was carried at once by Halket's Germans, supported by Bradford's Portuguese and by the fire of twelve guns; yet here as at Gamara the French maintained the bridge itself; and at both places the troops on each side remained stationary under a reciprocal fire of artillery and small arms.

Reille, though inferior in numbers, continued to interdict the passage of the river until the tumult of Wellington's battle, coming up the Zadora, reached Vittoria itself, and a part of the British horsemen rode out of that city upon Sarrut's rear. Digeon's dragoons kept this cavalry in check for the moment, and Reille had previously formed a reserve of infantry under General Fririon at Betonia which now proved his safety. For Sarrut was killed at the bridge of Ariaga, and Menne, the next in command, could scarcely draw off his troops while Digeon's dragoons held the British cavalry at point; yet with the aid of Fririon's reserve Reille finally secured the movement and rallied all his troops at Betonio He had now to make head on several sides, because the allies were coming down from Ariaga, from Durana, and from Vittoria; yet he fought his way to Metauco on the Salvatierra road, covering

the general retreat with some degree of order. Vehemently and closely did the British pursue, and neither the resolute demeanor of the French cavalry, which was strengthened on the flanks by light troops and made several vigorous charges, nor the night, which now fell, could stop their victorious career until the flying masses of the enemy had cleared all obstacles and passing Metauco got beyond the reach of further injury. Then the battle ended. The French escaped with comparatively little loss of men; but to use Gazan's words, "they lost all their equipages, all their guns, all their treasure, all their stores, all their papers; so that no man could prove even how much pay was due to him; generals and subordinate officers alike were reduced to the clothes on their backs, and most of them were bare-footed."

Never was an army more hardly used by its commander, for the soldiers were not half beaten, and yet never was a victory more complete. The trophies were innumerable. The French carried off but two pieces of artillery from the battle. Jourdan's baton of command, a stand of colors, one hundred and forty-three brass pieces, two-thirds of which had been used in the fight, all the parcs and dépôts from Madrid, Valladolid, and Burgos, carriages, ammunition, treasure, everything fell into the hands of the victors. The loss in men did not however exceed six thousand, including some hundreds of prisoners; the loss of the allies was nearly as great, the gross numbers being five thousand one hundred and seventy-six killed, wounded and missing. Of these one thousand and fifty-nine were Portuguese, and five hundred and fifty Spanish; hence the loss of the English was more than double that of the Portuguese and Spaniards together; and yet both fought well, and especially the Portuguese, but British troops are the soldiers of battle. The spoil was immense, and to such extent was plunder carried, principally by the followers and non-combatants, for with some exceptions the fighting troops may be said to have marched upon gold and silver without stooping to pick it up, that of five millions and a half of dollars indicated by the French accounts to be in the money-chests, a fiftieth part only came to the public. Wellington sent fifteen officers with power to stop and examine all loaded animals passing the Ebro and the Duero in hopes to recover the sums so shamefully carried off; and this disgraceful conduct was not confined to ignorant and vulgar people, some officers were seen mixed up with the mob contending for the disgraceful gain.

On the 22d Giron and Longa entered Guipuscoa by the royal road, in pursuit of the convoy which had moved under Maucune on the morning of the battle; the heavy cavalry and D'Urban's Portuguese remained at Vittoria; but Pakenkam with the sixth

division came up from Medina Pomar, and the remainder of the army followed Joseph towards Pampeluna, for he had continued his retreat up the Borundia and Araquil valleys all night. The weather was rainy, the roads heavy, and the French rear-guard, unable to destroy the bridges, set fire to the villages behind them to delay the pursuit. At five o'clock in the morning of that day Reille rallied his two divisions and all his cavalry in front of Salvatierra, halting until assured that all the French had passed, when he marched to Huerta in the valley of Araquil, thirty miles from the field of battle. Joseph reached Yrursun, a town situated behind one of the sources of the Arga from which good roads branched off to Pampeluna on one side, and to Tolosa and St. Esteban on the other. At this place he remained the 23d, sending orders to different points on the French frontier to prepare provisions and succors for his suffering army; he also directed Reille to proceed rapidly to the Bidassoa with his infantry, six hundred select cavalry, his artillerymen and their horses. Gazan and D'Erlon marched upon Pampeluna intending to cross the frontier at St. Jean Pied de Port. Joseph having reached Pampeluna the 24th, the army bivouacked on the glacis of the fortress in such a state of destitution and insubordination that the governor would not suffer them to enter the town; for his magazines were reduced by Mina's long blockade, and some writers say it was proposed to blow up the works and abandon the place: however, by great exertions additional provisions were obtained from the vicinity, the garrison was augmented to three thousand, and the army marched towards France leaving a rear-guard at a strong pass about two leagues off.

Wellington having detached Graham with a corps to Guipuscoa by the pass of Adrian, left the fifth division at Salvatierra and pursued the King with the rest of the army the 23d. On the 24th the light division and Victor Alten's cavalry came up with the French rear-guard, when two battalions of riflemen pushed their infantry through the pass, while Ross's horse artillery galloping forward, killed several men, and dismounted one of the only two pieces of cannon carried off from Vittoria. Next day the French, covered by the fortress of Pampeluna, went up the valley of Roncevalles, followed by the light division which turned the town as far as Vilalba, and they were harassed by the Spanish irregular troops who swarmed on every side.

Foy and Clausel were now in very difficult positions. The former had reached Bergara the 21st, and the garrison of Bilbao and the Italian division of St. Paul, formerly Palombini's, had reached Durango; the first convoy from Vittoria was that day at Bergara, Maucune was with the second at Montdragon. The 22d the ga-

rison of Castro went off to Santona, and the fugitives from the battle spread such an alarm through the country that the forts of Arlaban, Montdragon and Salinas, commanding the passes into Guipuscoa, were abandoned, and Longa and Giron penetrated them without hindrance. Foy had only one battalion in hand, but he rallied the fugitive garrisons, and marching upon Montdragon, made some prisoners and acquired exact intelligence of the battle. Then he ordered the convoy to move day and night, the troops at Durango to march upon Bergara, and those from all the other posts to unite at Tolosa, to which place the artillery, baggage and sick men were now hastening from every side. To cover their concentration, he, having been joined by Maucune, gave battle to Giron and Longa at Montdragon; but the Spaniards, thrice his numbers, had the advantage and he fell back fighting to Bergara with a loss of two hundred and fifty men and six guns.

The 23d he marched to Villa Real de Guipuscoa, but that evening the head of Graham's column, which had crossed the Mutiol mountain by the pass of Adrian, descended upon Segura and was then as near to Tolosa as Foy was. Yet the difficulties of passing the mountain were so great, it was late on the 24th ere Graham, who had then only collected Anson's light cavalry, two Portuguese brigades of infantry and Halket's Germans, could move towards Villa Franca. The Italians and Maucune's divisions, composing the French rear, were just entering that town as the allies came in sight, and to cover it they took post at the village of Veasaya on the right bank of the Orio river. Halket's Germans, aided by Pack's Portuguese, drove Maucune's people from the village with the loss of two hundred men, and Bradford's Portuguese engaged the Italians; but the latter claimed the advantage, and the whole position was so strong that Graham had recourse to flank operations, whereupon Foy retired to Tolosa.* Giron and Longa now came up by the great road, and Mendizabel, having quitted the blockade of Santona, arrived at Aspeytia on the Deba.

On the 25th Foy again offered battle in front of Tolosa, but Graham turned his left with Longa's division, and Mendizabel turned his right from Aspeytia. While they were in march, Colonel Williams, having the grenadiers of the first regiment and three companies of Pack's Portuguese, dislodged him from an advantageous hill in front and purposely prolonged the fight until six o clock in the evening, when the Spaniards having reached their destination on the flanks, a general attack was made on all sides. The French, cannonaded at the causeway and strongly pushed in front while Longa drove their left from the heights, were forced

* Boyer's official Journal, MSS.

beyond Tolosa on the flanks; but that town was strongly entrenched as a field-post, and they maintained it until Graham brought up his guns and bursting one of the gates opened a passage for his troops. Foy however, profiting from the darkness, made his retreat good with a loss of only four hundred men killed and wounded, and some prisoners who were taken by Mendizabel and Longa. These actions were very severe; the loss of the Spaniards was not known, but the Anglo-Portuguese had more than four hundred killed and wounded in the two days' operations, and Graham himself was hurt.

He halted the 26th and 27th to hear of Wellington's progress, and the enemy's convoys thus reached France; but Foy occupied a position between Tolosa and Ernani behind the Anezo, his force being increased by the successive arrival of the smaller garrisons to sixteen thousand bayonets, four hundred sabres, and ten pieces of artillery. The 28th he threw a garrison of two thousand six hundred good troops into St. Sebastian and passed the Urumia; the 29th he passed the Oyarsun and halted the 30th, leaving a small garrison at Passages, which however surrendered the next day to Longa.

On the 1st of July the garrison of Gueteria escaped by sea to St. Sebastian and Foy passed the Bidassoa, his rear-guard fighting with Giron's Gallicians; but Reille's troops were now at Vera and Viriatu, they had received ammunition and artillery from Bayonne, and thus twenty-five thousand men occupied a defensive line from Vera to the bridge of Behobie, which was covered by a block-house. Graham immediately invested St. Sebastian, and Giron concentrating the fire of his own artillery and a British battery upon the block-house of Behobie, compelled the French to blow it up and destroy the bridge.

Clausel was in more imminent danger than Foy.* On the evening of the 22d he had approached the field of battle at the head of fourteen thousand men, by a way which falls into the Estella road at Aracete, not far from Salvatierra. Pakenham with the sixth division was then at Vittoria, and the French general learning the state of affairs, retired to Logroño and halted until the evening of the 25th. This delay was like to have proved fatal. Wellington, who thought Clausel was at Tudela, thus discovered his real position, and leaving Hill to invest Pampeluna marched by Tafalla with two brigades of light cavalry and the third, fourth, seventh, and light divisions of infantry. The fifth and sixth divisions, the heavy cavalry and D'Urban's Portuguese marched at the same time from Salvatierra and Vittoria upon Logroño; and Mina

* Plan 7, p. 270.

also, who had now collected all his scattered battalions near Estella, and was there joined by Julian Sanchez' cavalry, followed hard on Clausel's rear. The latter moving by Calahorra reached Tudela on the evening of the 27th, and thinking this forced march of sixty miles in forty hours with scarcely a halt had outstripped all pursuers, would have made for France by Olite and Tafalla. Wellington was however in possession of those places expecting him, when an alcalde gave him notice of the danger, whereupon recrossing the Ebro he marched upon Zaragoza, and arriving at the 1st of July took post on the Gallego, giving out he would there wait until Suchet or the King, if the latter retook the offensive, should come up. Wellington immediately made a flank movement to his own left as far as Caseda, and could still with an exertion have intercepted Clausel by the route of Jaca, but he feared to drive him back upon Suchet and contented himself with letting Mina press him. That chief, acting with great ability, took three hundred prisoners and announcing that the whole allied army was at hand, so imposed on Clausel that he destroyed some of his artillery and heavy baggage, left the rest at Zaragoza and retired to Jaca.

Joseph, not being pressed, had sent Gazan again to Spain to take possession of the valley of Bastan, which was fertile and full of strong positions. But O'Donnel, Count of Abispal, had now reduced the forts at Pancorbo with the Andalusian reserve, partly by capitulation, partly by force, and was marching towards Pampeluna; wherefore Hill, without abandoning the siege of that place, was enabled to move two British and two Portuguese brigades into the valley of Bastan, and on the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th drove Gazan from all his positions, and cleared the valley with a loss of only one hundred and twenty men. The whole line of the Spanish frontier, from Roncevalles to the mouth of the Bidassoa river, was thus occupied by the victorious allies, and Pampeluna and St. Sebastian were invested. Joseph's reign was over, the crown had fallen from his head, and after years of toils and combats which had been rather admired than understood, the English general, emerging from the chaos of the Peninsular struggle, stood on the summit of the Pyrenees a recognized conqueror. From those lofty pinnacles the clangor of his trumpets pealed clear and loud, and the splendor of his genius appeared as a flaming beacon to warring nations.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. In this campaign of six weeks, Wellington marched with one hundred thousand men six hundred miles, passed six great rivers, gained one decisive battle, invested two fortresses, and drove a

hundred and twenty thousand veteran troops from Spain. This immense result could not have been attained if Joseph had followed Napoleon's instructions, Wellington could not then have turned the line of the Duero. It could not have been attained if Joseph had acted with ordinary skill after the line of the Duero was passed. Time was to him most precious, yet when contrary to his expectations he had concentrated his scattered armies behind the Carrion, he made no effort to delay his enemy on that river; he judged it an unfit position, that is, unfit for a great battle; but he could have made Wellington lose a day, perhaps two or three, and behind the upper Pisuerga he might have saved a day or two more. Reille, who was with the army of Portugal on the right of the King, complained that no officers of that army knew the Pisuerga sufficiently to place the troops in position;* the King then had cause to remember Napoleon's dictum, namely, that "to command an army well a general must think of nothing else." For why was the course of the Pisuerga unknown when the King's head-quarters had been for several months within a day's journey of it?

2. The Carrion and the Pisuerga being given up, the country about the Hormaza was occupied and the three French armies were in mass between that stream and Burgos; yet Wellington's right wing only, that is to say, twenty-three thousand infantry and five brigades of cavalry, drove Reille's troops over the Arlanzan, and the castle of Burgos was abandoned. This was on the 12th, the three French armies, not less than fifty thousand fighting men, had been in position since the 9th, and the King's letters prove that he desired to fight in that country, which was favorable for all arms. Nothing then could be more opportune than Wellington's advance on the 12th, because a retrograde defensive system is unsuited to French soldiers, whose impatient courage leads them always to attack; and the news of Napoleon's victory at Bautzen had just arrived to excite their ardor. Wherefore Joseph should have retaken the offensive when Wellington approached the Hormaza; and as the left and centre of the allies were at Villa Diego and Castroxerez, the greatest part at the former, that is to say one march distant, the twenty-six thousand men immediately in front would probably have been forced back over the Pisuerga, and the King have gained time for Sarrut, Foy and Clausel to join him. Did the English general then owe his success to fortune, to his adversary's fault, rather than to his own skill? Not so. He had judged the King's military capacity, he had seen his haste, his confusion, his trouble; and knowing well the moral power of

* King's correspondence, MSS.

rapidity and boldness in such circumstances, had acted daringly, indeed but wisely, for such daring is wisdom, it is the highest part of war.

3. Wellington's mode of turning the line of the Ebro was a fine strategic illustration. It was by no means certain, yet failure would have still left great advantages. It was certain he would gain Santander and fix a new base of operations on the coast; and he would still have had the power of continually turning the King's right by operating between him and the coast: the errors of his adversary only gave him additional advantages which he seized. But if Joseph, instead of spreading his army from Espejo on his right to the Logroño road on his left, had kept only cavalry on the latter route and on the main road in front of Pancorbo,—if he had massed his army to his right, pivoting upon Miranda or Frias, scouring all the roads towards the sources of the Ebro, the allies could never have passed the defiles and descended upon Vittoria. They would have marched then by Valmaceda upon Bilbao; but Joseph could by the road of Orduña have met them there, and with a force increased by Foy's and Sarrut's divisions and the Italians: meanwhile Clausel would have come to Vittoria and the heaped convoys have gained France in safety.

4. When the King resolved to fight at Vittoria, he should, on the 19th and 20th, have broken some of the bridges on the Zadora and covered others with field-works to enable him to sally forth upon the attacking army; he should have entrenched the defile of Puebla and occupied the heights above in strength; his position on the lower Zadora would then have been formidable. But his great fault was the line of operation. His reasons for avoiding Guipuscoa were valid, his true line was down the Ebro; but Zaragoza should have been his base, since Aragon was fertile and more friendly than any other province of Spain. It is true he would thus have abandoned Foy; yet that general, reinforced with the reserve from Bayonne, would have had twenty thousand men and the fortress of St. Sebastian, and a strong corps must have remained to watch him. The King first reinforced by Clausel and ultimately by Suchet, would have had one hundred thousand men to oppose the allies, weakened as they would then be by the detachment watching Foy. And there were political reasons, to be told hereafter, for the reader must not imagine Wellington had got thus far without trammels, which would have probably rendered this plan so efficacious as to compel the British army to abandon Spain altogether. Then new combinations would have been made all over Europe.

5. In the battle the French operations, with exception of Reille's

fight, were a series of errors; the most extraordinary being the suffering Kempt's brigade and the hussars to pass the bridge of Tres Puentes, and establish themselves close to the line of battle, flanking the troops at the bridges of Mendoza and Villodas. This alone proves Joseph meant to retreat when Graham's attack commenced, and his position was therefore in his own view untenable. He should have occupied the Puebla mountain strongly, and have placed the infantry by corps in succession, the right refused, towards Vittoria, while the cavalry and guns watched the bridges and the mouth of the Puebla defile. He could then have succored Reille, or marched to his own front according to circumstances, and his retreat would have been secure.

6. The enormous fault of heaping up the baggage and convoys and parcs behind Vittoria requires no comment; but the King added a more extraordinary error, namely, remaining to the last moment undecided as to his line of retreat. Nothing but misfortunes could attend upon such bad dispositions; and that the catastrophe was not more terrible is owing entirely to an error which Wellington and Graham seem alike to have fallen into; namely, that Reille had two divisions in reserve behind the bridges on the upper Zadora. Not knowing that Maucune's division had marched with the convoy, they thought Clausel had only one division of the army of Portugal with him, whereas he had two, Taupin's and Barbout's; and Reille's reserves were composed, not of divisions but of brigades drawn from La Martiniere's and Sarrut's divisions, which were defending the bridges: his whole force, including the Franco-Spaniards who were driven back from Durana, did not exceed ten thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry. Graham had, exclusive of Giron's Gallicians, nearly twenty thousand of all arms, and it is said the river might have been passed both above and below the points of attack; it is certain also that Longa's delay gave the French time to occupy Gamara Mayor in force, which was not the case at first. Had the passage been won in time very few of the French army could have escaped from the field, but the truth is Reille fought most vigorously.

7. As the third and seventh divisions did not come to the point of attack in time, the battle was not fought after the original conception; it is likely the real project was to force the passage of the bridges, break the right centre of the enemy from Arinez to Margarita, and then envelope the left centre with the second, fourth, and light divisions and the cavalry, while the third and seventh divisions pursued the others. But notwithstanding the unavoidable delay, which gave the French time to commence their retreat, it is not easy to understand how Gazan's left escaped

from Subijana de Alava; seeing that when Picton broke the centre at Arinez, he was considerably nearer to Vittoria than the French left, which was cut off from the main road and assailed in front by Hill and Cole. The having no cavalry in hand to launch at this time and point of the battle has been already noticed; Wellington says, that the country was generally unfavorable for the action of that arm; neither side indeed used it with much effect at any period of the battle; nevertheless there are always some suitable openings, some happy moments to make a charge, and this seems to have been a neglected one.

8. Picton's sudden rush from the bridge of Tres Puentes to the village of Arinez has been much praised, and nothing could be more prompt and daring; but the merit of the conception belongs to the general in chief who directed it in person. It was suggested to him by the denuded state of the hill in front of that village, and viewed as a stroke for the occasion it is to be admired. Yet it had its disadvantages. For the brigade, thus crossing the front of both armies, not only drew a flank fire from the enemy, but was exposed if the French cavalry had been prompt and daring to a charge; it also prevented the advance of other troops in their proper arrangement, and thus crowded the centre for the rest of the action. However, these sudden movements cannot be judged by rules, they are good or bad according to the result. This was entirely successful, and the hill thus carried was called the Englishmen's hill; not, as some recent writers have supposed, in commemoration of a victory gained by the Black Prince, but because of a disaster which there befel a part of his army. His battle was fought between Navarrette and Najera, many leagues from Vittoria and beyond the Ebro; but on this hill the two gallant knights, Sir Thomas and Sir William Felton, took post with two hundred companions, and being surrounded by Don Tello with six thousand, were all killed or taken after a long and heroic resistance.

9. It has been observed by French writers, and the opinion has been also entertained by many English officers, that after the battle Wellington should have passed the frontier in mass, and marched upon Bayonne instead of chasing Clausel and Foy on the right and left; and if, as the same authors assert, Bayonne was then indefensible, the criticism is just; because the fugitive French army, having lost all its guns and being without musket ammunition, could not have checked its pursuers for a moment. But if Bayonne had resisted, and it was impossible for Wellington to suspect its real condition, much mischief might have accrued from such a hasty advance. Foy and Clausel coming down upon the field of Vittoria would have driven away if they did not destroy the sixth

division; they would have recovered all the trophies; the King's army, returning by Jaca into Aragon, would have re-organized itself from Suchet's dépôts, and that marshal was actually coming up with his army from Valencia. Little would then have been gained by the battle. This question can however be more profitably discussed when the great events which followed the battle of Vittoria have been described.

BOOK XXI.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Wellington blockades Pampeluna, besieges St. Sebastian—Operations on the eastern coast of Spain—General Elio's misconduct—Sir John Murray sails to attack Tarragona—Colonel Prevot takes St. Felippe de Balaguer—Second siege of Taragona—Suchet and Maurice Mathieu endeavor to relieve the place—Sir John Murray raises the siege—Embarks with the loss of his guns—Disembarks again at St. Felippe de Balaguer—Lord William Bentinck arrives—Sir John Murray's trial—Observations.

ALTHOUGH the fate of Spain was virtually decided at Vittoria, the British warfare was still fierce, dangerous, and uncertain; because on the fields of Lutzen and Bautzen Napoleon's genius had restored the general balance of success, and the negotiations which followed strongly influenced the operations in the Peninsula. Wellington's first intention was to reduce Pampeluna, and the sudden fall of the Pancorbo forts, which opened the great Madrid road was favorable for that project. But Portugal being relinquished as a place of arms, a new base was required, lest a change of fortune should force the allies to return there when the great military establishments were broken up, the opposition of the native government rancorous and the public sentiment averse to English supremacy. The western Pyrenees, in conjunction with the ocean, offered such a base; but the harbors were few, and one convenient for the army was required. Wherefore to reduce San Sebastian was of more immediate importance than to reduce Pampeluna; and it was essential to effect this in the fine season, because the coast was iron-bound and very dangerous in winter.

Pampeluna was strong. It would have taken three weeks to bring up the ordnance stores and a six weeks' attack which required twenty thousand good soldiers. An investment could be maintained with fewer and worse troops, Spaniards and Portuguese; and the magazines were likely to fail sooner under a blockade than the walls were to crumble under fire. Moreover Sir John Murray had just failed at Tarragona, had lost the honored battering-train entrusted to him, and his artillery equipage was supposed to be entirely ruined; hence, as he could make no siege, and could not act seriously without having a place of arms, Suchet

who had numerous fortresses was free to march on Zaragoza, unite with clausel and Paris, and menace the right flank of the allies. The blockade of Pampeluna and siege of San Sebastian were therefore determined upon by Wellington; the troops returning from the pursuit of Clausel were disposed to form a covering army for both, and peasants were hired to raise the works of investment for the first, which was entrusted to Abispal's Andalusian reserve. Confidently did the English general look for the immediate fall of San Sebastian, and he was intent to have it before the negotiations for the armistice in Germany should terminate; but mighty pains and difficulties awaited him, and ere these can be treated of, the progress of the war in other parts must be noticed.

CONTINUATION OF THE OPERATIONS ON THE EASTERN COAST.

It will be remembered that Del Parque in conjunction with Elio was to act on the Xucar, while Murray sailed to attack Tarragona.* Del Parque received his orders the 24th of April, he had long known of the project and his march was only one of twelve days, yet he did not join Elio until the end of May. This delay resulted partly from the state of his army, partly from his own procrastination, partly from Elio's conduct which created doubts of his fidelity. It has been shown how he withdrew his cavalry when Mijares was at Yecla, whence sprung that general's misfortune—how he placed the regiment of Velez Malaga in Villeña, a helpless prey for Suchet—how he left the Anglo-Sicilian army to fight the battle of Castalla unaided. He now persuaded Del Parque to move towards Utiel, and send a detachment to Requeña; thereby threatening Suchet's right, but exposing the Spanish army to a sudden blow, and disobeying his instructions which prescribed a march by Almanza.

This false movement Elio represented as Del Parque's own, but the latter, when Murray remonstrated, quickly approached Castalla by Jumilla, declaring his earnest desire to obey Wellington's orders. The divergence had however already placed him in danger; his left flank was so exposed while coming by Jumilla, that Murray postponed his own embarkation to concert with Elio a combined operation, from Biar and Sax, against Fuente de la Higuera where Suchet's troops were lying in wait. Previous to this epoch Elio had urged Murray to disregard Del Parque and embark at once for Tarragona, undertaking himself to secure the junction with his fellow commander. Now, after agreeing to co-operate with Murray, he secretly withdrew his cavalry from Sax, sent

* Book XXII.

Whittingham in a false direction, placed Roche without support at Alcoy, retired himself to the city of Murcia, and at the same time one of his regiments quartered at Alicant fired upon a British guard. Roche was attacked and lost eighty men, and Del Parque's flank was menaced from Fuente de la Higuera; but the British cavalry, assembling at Biar, secured his communication with Murray on the 25th, and the 27th the Anglo-Sicilians broke up from their quarters to embark at Alicant.

Suchet was now very strong. Unmolested for forty days after the battle of Castalla, he had improved his defensive works, chased the bands from his rear, called up his reinforcements, re-horsed his cavalry and artillery, and foraged all the fertile districts in front of the Xucar. On the other hand, Lord William Bentinck, alarmed by intelligence of an intended descent upon Sicily, had recalled more British troops; and as Whittingham's cavalry and Roche's entire division were left at Alicant, the force actually embarked to attack Tarragona, including a fresh English regiment from Carthagena, scarcely exceeded fourteen thousand present under arms.* Less than eight thousand were British and German, and the horsemen only seven hundred. Yet the armament was formidable, for the battering-train was complete and powerful, the materials for gabions and fascines previously collected at Ivica, and the naval squadron under Admiral Hallowel consisted of several line-of-battle ships, frigates, bomb-vessels and gun-boats, besides the transports. There was however no cordiality between Generals Clinton and Murray, nor between the latter and his quarter-master-general Donkin, nor between Donkin and the admiral; subordinate officers also, in both services, adopting false notions, some from vanity, some from hearsay, added to the uneasy feeling which prevailed amongst the chiefs. Neither admiral nor general seemed to have had sanguine hopes of success even at the moment of embarkation; and there was in no quarter a clear understanding of Wellington's able plan for the operations.

While Del Parque was yet in march, Suchet, if he had no secret understanding with Elio or any of his officers, must have been doubtful of the allies' intentions, although the strength of the battering-train at Alicant indicated some siege of importance. He however recalled Pannetier's brigade from the frontier of Aragon, and placed it on the road to Tortoza; and knowing Clausel was then warring down the partidas in Navarre, he judged Aragon safe and drew Severoli's Italian brigade from thence, leaving only the garrisons and a few thousand men under Paris as a reserve at Zaragoza: this was the reason the army of Aragon did not co-

* Appendix 28.

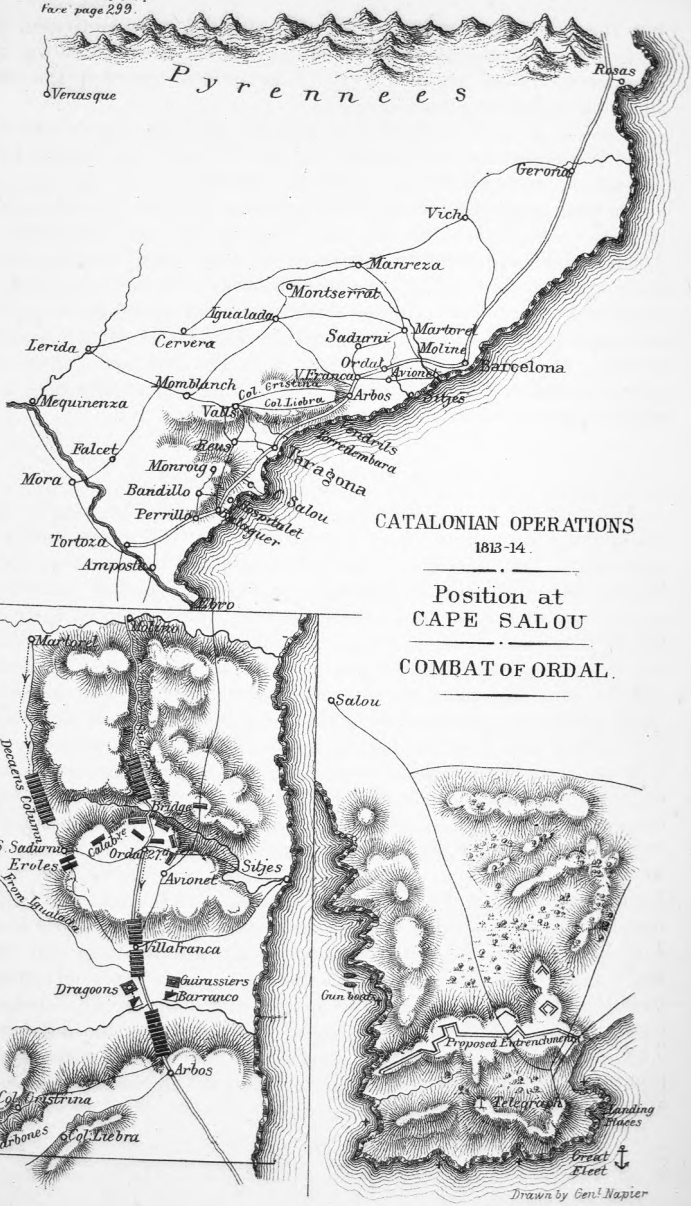
operate to crush Mina after his defeat by Clausel in the valley of Ronçal.* Decaen also sent some reinforcements, wherefore, after completing his garrisons, Suchet could furnish the drafts required by Napoleon, and yet bring twenty thousand men into the field. He was however disquieted, and notwithstanding Clausel's operations, feared for his troops in Aragon, where Paris had been attacked by Goyan even in Zaragoza; moreover now, for the first time since its subjugation, an unfriendly feeling was perceptible in Valencia.

On the 31st of May Murray sailed. Suchet immediately ordered Pannetier's brigade to close towards Tortoza, but kept his own positions in front of Valencia until the fleet was seen to pass the Grão with a fair wind. Then feeling assured the expedition aimed at Catalonia, he prepared to aid that principality; but the column of succor being drawn principally from the camp of Xativa, forty miles from Valencia, he could not quit the latter before the 7th of June. Then however he took with him nine thousand select men, leaving Harispe on the Xucar with seven thousand infantry and cavalry, exclusive of Severoli's troops which were in full march from Teruel. But Murray's armament, having very favorable weather, anchored on the evening of the 2d in the bay of Tarragona, whence five ships of war under Captain Adam, and two battalions of infantry with some guns under Colonel Prevot, were detached to attack San Felippe de Balaguer. This important fort, garrisoned by a hundred men, was only sixty feet square; but the site was a steep isolated rock, standing in the very gorge of a pass and blocking the only carriage-way from Tortoza to Tarragona. The mountains on either hand, although commanding the fort, were nearly inaccessible themselves, and great labor was required to form the batteries. Prevot, however, being joined by a brigade of Copon's army and acting in concert with the navy, placed two six-pounders on the heights south of the pass, from whence at six or seven hundred yards distance they threw shrapnel-shells.

On the 4th two twelve-pounders and a howitzer, brought to the same point by the sailors, opened their fire; and at night the seamen with extraordinary exertions dragged up five twenty-four-pounders and their stores. The troops then constructed a battery for two howitzers on the slope of the grand ridge, northward of the pass; and a second for four heavy guns on the fort rock, at a distance of one hundred and fifty yards. Earth was carried from below; everything else, even water, was brought from the ships, though the landing-place was more than a mile-and-a-half off; and as time was valuable favorable terms were offered to the garrison,

* Book XXII.

Vol. 4 Plate 8.
Face page 299.



CATALONIAN OPERATIONS
1813-14.

Position at
CAPE SALOU

COMBAT OF ORDAL.

but the offer was refused. The 5th the fire was continued, yet with slight success, the howitzer-battery on the great ridge was relinquished, and at night a very violent storm retarded the construction of the breaching-batteries.

Previous to this, Prevot had warned Murray that his means were insufficient, and a second Spanish brigade was sent to him, yet the breaching-batteries were still incomplete on the 6th, and out of three guns already mounted one was disabled by a shot from the fort. Meanwhile Suchet, who was making forced marches to Tortoza, had ordered the governor of that place to succor San Felippe; and that officer would undoubtedly have succeeded, if Captain Peyton of the Thames frigate had not obtained two eight-inch mortars,* which, being worked by Mr. James of the marine artillery, exploded a small magazine in the fort and caused an early surrender. The besiegers, who had lost about fifty men and officers, then occupied the place.

ENGLISH SIEGE OF TARRAGONA.

Although the fleet cast anchor in the bay on the evening of the 2d, the surf prevented the disembarkation of the troops until the next day. The rampart of the lower town had been destroyed by Suchet, but Fort Royal remained, and though in bad condition, served, together with the ruins of the San Carlos bastion, to cover the western front. The Governor, Bertoletti, was supposed by Murray to be disaffected, yet he proved himself a loyal and energetic officer; and his garrison, sixteen hundred strong, five hundred being privateer seamen and Franco-Spaniards, served him well. The Olivo and Loretto heights were occupied the first day by Clinton's and Whittingham's infantry; the other troops remained on the low ground about the Francoli river, and the town was bombarded during the night by the navy, but the fire was sharply returned and the flotilla suffered most. Next day two batteries were commenced six hundred yards from San Carlos, and nine hundred yards from Fort Royal. They opened the 6th, and being found too distant, a third was commenced six hundred yards from Fort Royal. The 8th a practicable breach was made in that outwork, yet the assault was deferred and some pieces removed to play from the Olivo; whereupon the besieged, finding the fire slacken, repaired the breach at Fort Royal and increased the defences. The subsequent proceedings cannot be understood without an accurate knowledge of the relative positions of the French and allied armies.

* Sir Henry Peyton, MSS.

Tarragona, though situated on one of a cluster of heights which terminate a range descending from the northward to the sea, is, with the exception of that range, surrounded by an open country called the *Campo de Tarragona*, which is again environed by very rugged mountains through which the several roads descend into the plain. Westward there were only two carriage-ways, one direct, by the Col de Balaguer to Tarragona; the other circuitous, leading by Mora, Falcet, Momblanch and Reus. The first was blocked by the taking of San Felippe; the second, although used by Suchet for his convoys during the French siege of Tarragona, was now in bad order and at best only available for small mountain-guns.

Northward there was a carriage-way leading from Lerida, which united with that from Falcet at Momblanch. Eastward there was the royal causeway, coming from Barcelona through Villa Franca, Arbos, Vendrills, and Torredembarra; this road after passing Villa Franca sends off two branches to the right, one passing through the Col de Cristina, the other through Masarbones and Col de Leibra, leading upon Braffin and Valls. It was by the latter branch M'Donald passed to Reus in 1810; he had however no guns or carriages, and his whole army labored to make the way practicable.

Between these various roads the mountains were too rugged to permit direct cross communications; and troops coming from different sides could only unite in the Campo de Tarragona now occupied by the allies. Wherefore, as Murray had fifteen thousand fighting men, and Copons, reinforced with two regiments sent by sea from Coruña, was at Reus with six thousand regulars besides Mansou's division, twenty-five thousand combatants were in possession of the French point of junction.

After Lacy's departure the Catalans with the aid of Captain Adam's ship had destroyed two small forts at Perillo and Ampolla, and Eroles had blockaded San Felippe de Balaguer for thirty-six days; it was then succored by Maurice Mathieu; and the success at Perillo was more than balanced by a check which Sarsfield received on the 3d of April from some of Pannetier's troops. The partidas had however been active in Upper Catalonia, and Copons claimed two considerable victories; one gained by himself the 17th of May at La Bispal near the Col de Cristina, where he boasted to have beaten six thousand French with half their numbers, and destroyed six hundred as they returned from succoring San Felippe. In the other, won by Colonel Lander near Olot on the 7th of May, it was said twelve hundred of Lamarque's men fell. These exploits are by French writers called skirmishes; and the following description of the Catalan army, given to Murray by Cabanes,