

the troops under Sir Rowland might cross the Douro by the bridge there, that his rear-guard might come up, and that the Galician army should unite itself with his left. The whole of the allied force was now on the right side of the Douro: leaving then half the reserve-ammunition near Zamora to spare the horses (which were already suffering), he proceeded: the French, whose force was distributed between Valladolid, Tordesillas, and Medina, retiring as he advanced, their rear crossing at the Puente de Duero, on the same day that the allies accomplished their first object in the campaign, by uniting on the right side of that river. The enemy now concentrated their force behind the Pisuerga; there also there was strong ground for defence; but abandoning that also when Lord Wellington manœuvred on their right, they withdrew behind the Carrión. The Intruder quitted Palencia on the 6th, and the greater part of his troops early on the following morning, after a night passed in the fear of close pursuit. When Lord Wellington entered that city, flowers were thrown upon him from the windows, and a shower of roses from the upper gratings of a nunnery. The enemy had not left a morsel of bread, nor a drop of wine in that city: and when they hastily retired from a bivouac near Tordesillas, leaving it to be occupied by a part of Sir Rowland's corps, the fuel which the troops found collected there consisted of doors, window-frames, tables, and drawers, from the houses in the neighbourhood.

From the Ezla to Palencia, the troops had marched through one continued track of corn, where villages were so thinly scattered, that it seemed unaccountable where the cultivators were to be found. The land was generally in wheat, with a fair proportion of barley, and here and there a crop of vetches and clover. They moved generally by two roads, and on each side of each at least twenty yards were trampled down. The

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Sir Rowland Hill
crosses the
Douro.

June 3.

CHAP. horses were fed on green barley nearly the whole march. The
 XLIII. intention of the British Government was to pay the inhabitants
 1813. for whatever the army must of necessity take from them ; and on
 June. the part of the Government, the full payment was in fact made :
 but little of that payment reached the poor people to whom it
 was due. For want of specie, the commissaries could pay upon
 the spot only in bills ; to the peasantry these were worth no
 more than what the land-sharks who follow in the wake of an
 army chose to offer for them ; and in this iniquitous manner
 large fortunes were amassed, . . a species of roguery which many
 of the Portugueze (though as a people the Portugueze are emi-
 nent for probity) were not slow in learning.

*The French
 abandon
 Burgos.*

The army crossed the Carrion on the 7th, following an
 enemy who seemed undetermined where to make a stand. On
 the 12th, Lord Wellington found it necessary after such rapid
 movements to halt his left, while the right under Sir Rowland
 advanced to reconnoitre the strength of the French, and the
 position which they had taken up near Burgos, where great
 pains had been taken to strengthen the fortifications of the
 castle. They were posted in considerable force on the heights
 to the left of the Hormaza, with their right above the village
 of that name, and their left in front of Estapar. Part of
 the allied force flanked them on their right, another marched
 against the heights of Hormaza, the remainder threatened those
 of Estapar ; without waiting to be attacked they were dislodged,
 and retreated hastily for Burgos, suffering considerable loss
 from the horse artillery, and losing a gun and some prisoners,
 but retreating in the best order. More presence of mind in-
 deed was shown by them hitherto in presence of the enemy, and
 in action, than in their counsels. They posted themselves on
 the left of the Arlanzon and of the Urbel, which were then
 greatly swoln with rains : but in the night they retreated into

the city, and hurrying from it, blew up the castle early in the morning, about an hour after the Intruder had left it. They seemed to have been aware that there was no longer any hope of recovering their ascendancy, and to have intended to bring upon the city a destruction which should prevent the inhabitants from rejoicing in their deliverance. But the hurry, and fear, and confusion, with which their preparations were made defeated this malignant purpose. Several mines failed; some which were primed did not explode; others were so ill managed that they blew the earth inwards: and as the explosion took place some hours sooner than was intended, the destruction which was intended for their enemies fell in part upon themselves. Many of their men who were lingering to plunder perished as they were loading their horses with booty in the streets and squares, and three or four hundred were blown up in the fort. Above 1000 shells had been placed in the mines: the explosion was distinctly heard at the distance of fifty miles; and the pavement of the cathedral was covered with the dust into which its windows had been shivered by the shock. The town escaped destruction owing to the failure of so many of the mines, but the castle was totally destroyed, . . . gates, beams, masses of masonry, guns, carriages, and arms lying in one heap of ruins; . . . some of the mines had laid open the breaches, and exposed the remains of those who had fallen during the siege.

The object of the enemy now was to occupy a position behind the Ebro, blocking up the great road by placing a garrison in the castle of Pancorbo, and calling to their assistance the corps from Biscay, Navarre, and Arragon. But Lord Wellington, repeating the manœuvre which had before so perfectly succeeded, had already sent his left column to effect its passage in a quarter from whence they apprehended no danger. The Ebro rises in the mountains of Santillana, its principal source

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*June.**The Ebro.*

CHAP. being at the northern extremity of Old Castille, towards the
 XLIII. Asturian frontier, near a town which from that cause is called
 1813. Fontibre. The Sierra de Oca prevents it from trending westward,
 like the other great rivers of Spain ; and at Miranda de Ebro, the
 point at which the Intruder had instructed the different divisions
 of his army to make for with all speed, it appears nearly as large
 a stream as at Tortosa, though in the course of the intervening
 sixty leagues it receives many and large rivers, one of them
 the Aragon, of such magnitude, that it is called the husband
 (*el varou*) of the Ebro. While the remainder of the army were
 pushing the enemy back upon Burgos, the left column had been
 detached to effect its passage above Frias by the bridges of
 S. Martin and Rocamunde : the road thither had been deemed
 impracticable for carriages, and on that supposed impractica-
 bility the enemy relied ; but the confidence of the British General
 was partaken by his army, and well seconded by them in all
 ways ; exertions which nothing but zeal and eager hope could
 have accomplished were made ; and the artillery was lowered
 down the steep banks of the river where there were none to offer
 any resistance. The French had calculated not without reason
 on the line of the Ebro, if they had had foresight or been allowed
 leisure to occupy it. The road begins to descend the mountains
 about three miles from the right bank, and for more than half
 that way winds down a continued defile, which admits only eight
 or ten men abreast, and being withal tremendously steep, is so
 paved that horses can scarcely keep their feet there. Another
 such defile, and of greater length, is to be passed on the opposite
 side. A few ditches cut across the route, a few trees placed as
 barricadoes, a rock blown up to block the pass, a hundred or two
 of men to defend it, and to roll stones from the crags and pre-
 cipices above, might have stopped any force that attempted the
 passage. The left column crossed on the 14th, the remainder

*Passage of
 the Ebro by
 the allies.*

June.

of the army on the 15th, at the same points and by the Puente de Arenas, and on the following day they moved to the right, in the direction of Vittoria.

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*The French
fall back
upon Vit-
toria.*

They knew at this time little of the enemy, not even who commanded their united force, whether Marshal Jourdan or General Gazan, the Intruder's command being of course merely nominal; it was thought that their intention was to have given battle upon the main road, near Briviesca; but this alone was certain, that their plans had been disconcerted by Lord Wellington's movements and sudden advance, and that they were in that state of irresolution which prepares even the best soldiers for defeat. On the 16th and 17th they assembled a considerable force near Espejo, composed of troops which had been employed against Longa and Mina, and of others detached from the main body of their army. They had also a division of infantry, with some cavalry, at Frias, to observe the movements of the allies after the passage of the Ebro. These detachments, in all about 16,000 men, moved on the 18th, those from Frias upon S. Millan, and those from Espejo upon Osma. The light division, under Major-General Alten, drove them from S. Millan, and cut off the brigade of their rear-guard, of whom it killed and wounded many, took 300 prisoners, with a considerable quantity of baggage, and dispersed the rest among the mountains, . . . from thence to be brought in by the peasants and the guerrillas. Sir Thomas Graham arrived at Osma at the same time with the enemy's corps; they were considerably superior in numbers, nevertheless they retired as soon as an intention was shown of attacking them; presently they returned briskly as if to become assailants in their turn, but their reception was not such as to encourage them, and they once more retired towards Espejo, and being followed thither withdrew to the heights. The enemy's head-quarters were that day at Pancorvo. During the

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night they moved from thence towards Vittoria; and on the following day their rear-guard was found strongly posted, having its right covered by the village of Subijana, and its left upon the heights in front of Pobes. The light division attacked them in flank on the right, Sir Lowry Cole with the 4th in front, and they were driven back upon their main force, of which a view was then obtained, but no correct judgement could be formed of its numbers, because they were in part concealed by the mountains, and a thick rain was falling during the whole day. On that night they took up a position in front of Vittoria.

Vittoria.

This city, which is now the capital of the province of Alava, and stands in a valley, bounded on one side by a part of the Pyrenees, and on the other by a range of bold though inferior mountains, was founded in 1181 by Sancho VII. of Navarre, a king distinguished by the appellations of the Wise and the Valiant. There had been a village called Gasteiz on the site; Sancho thinking it a good situation for a fortress which might check the incursions of his Castillian neighbours on that side, rebuilt, peopled and fortified it, and gave his new town the name of Vittoria, in memorial of some now forgotten victory obtained in that vicinity over them. Juan II. of Castille made it a city. It is now divided into the old and new towns, the latter being the larger and better part of what in peaceful times was a populous, industrious, and prosperous place, containing more than a thousand houses, and twice that number in the suburbs.

Garchay,
L. 24. cap.
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Position of
the French
army.

In front of this city the enemy had taken their position, under the nominal command of the Intruder, but actually commanded by Marshal Jourdan, as the Major-General of the army. Their left rested upon the heights which terminated at the Puebla de Arlanza; and they had a reserve in rear of their left, at the village of Gomecha: their centre extended along a range of strong heights on the left bank of the Zadorra, its right resting

on a circular hill that commands the valley to which that river gives name; this hill they had covered with infantry, flanked and defended with several brigades of guns: their right was in advance of the river, above the village of Abechuco, to defend the passage. This position, extending about eight miles, covered the three great roads which from Bilbao, Logroño, and Madrid, converge upon Vittoria; it crossed also the main road to Bayonne, upon which immense convoys were seen, moving towards France with the last harvest and the last gleanings of their plunder. The city was filled with others awaiting their turn for departure. It is remarkable that, within sight of this ground, the battle of Najara was fought, in which Edward the Black Prince, acting as the ally of a bad man, defeated the best troops of France under their most distinguished leader Bertram du Guesclin, who was come in support of a worse. It is also remarkable that the Prince of Brazil, before the battle of Vittoria was fought, should have conferred the title of Duque da Victoria upon Lord Wellington.

Lord Wellington halted his columns on the 20th, in order to close them up, for since reaching the Ebro they had necessarily been extended, because of the nature of the country: only the 6th division was left at Medina de Pomal to cover the march of supplies from the rear. That day he made a close reconnoissance of the enemy's position in every part, with the determination of attacking them on the following morning, if they should continue there. There was little disparity of numbers between the two armies, each having from 70 to 75,000 men. Lord Wellington instantly perceived that the position, though in most respects well chosen, was too confined, that it showed an inconsiderable front, and was liable to be taken in flank.

At daybreak on the 21st of June the allied army was put in motion. The right under Sir Rowland, consisting of the second

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*Battle of
Vittoria.*

CHAP. British division, the Conde de Amarante's Portugueze division,
XLIII. and Morillo's Spanish corps, was to commence the action by
1813. attacking the heights of La Puebla, upon which the enemy's
June. left rested. Sir Thomas Graham with the left, composed of the
1st and 5th divisions, Generals Pack and Bradford's brigades of
infantry, Generals Bock and Anson's brigades of horse, and
Longa's Spanish division, was directed to turn their right by a
wide movement, and, crossing the Zadorra, to cut off their retreat
by the road to Bayonne. As soon as either of these corps should be
in a situation to manœuvre on the other side the river, the centre,
consisting of the 3d, 4th, 7th, and light divisions, in two columns,
was to advance, and the whole then push forward on the city,
and attack it simultaneously in front and in flank, .. whereby
the French would be compelled either to abandon it and their
precious convoys, or risk a battle in the hope of preserving
them. The Spaniards, under Morillo, began the action, and
attacked the heights with great gallantry; their leader was
wounded, but remained in the field; the enemy stood firm, and
made great efforts to retain their ground, perceiving when too
late that they had neglected to occupy it in sufficient strength.
Strong reinforcements were sent from their centre to its support,
so that Sir Rowland found it necessary to detach thither, first, the
71st regiment, and the light infantry battalions of Major-General
Walker's brigade, and successively other troops; the contest
was very severe, and the loss considerable. Here the Hon.
Lieutenant-Colonel Cadogan was mortally wounded, an officer,
in Lord Wellington's words, "of great zeal and tried gallantry,
who had acquired the respect and regard of the whole profes-
sion, and of whom it might have been expected, that if he had
lived, he would have rendered the most important services to his
country." At length the enemy were driven at the point of the
bayonet from these heights; and under the cover which the pos-

session of this ground afforded, Sir Rowland crossed the Zadorra at La Puebla, passed the difficult defile, two miles in length, which is formed by the heights and the river, and then attacked and won the village of Sabijana de Alva, which covered the left of the enemy's lines. They on their part made repeated attempts to regain this important point, and with that hope drew from their centre a considerable force: again and again they endeavoured to recover the village, but their efforts, though bravely and perseveringly made, were unsuccessful.

The difficult nature of the country delayed the communication between the different columns, and it was late before Lord Wellington knew that the 3d and 7th divisions, under the Earl of Dalhousie, had arrived at their appointed station. The 4th and the light divisions, however, crossed the Zadorra immediately after Sir Rowland had gained possession of Sabijana, the former at the bridge of Nanclares, the latter at the Tres Puentes; almost at the same time the Earl of Dalhousie's column arrived at Mendonza, and the 3d division, under Sir Thomas Picton, charged and took the bridge higher up, and crossed and was followed by the 7th. These bridges the enemy ought to have destroyed, but from the beginning of the campaign a want of foresight had been manifested in all their operations, though when in action their generals displayed the habitual promptitude of experienced commanders. The four divisions which had now crossed and which formed the centre of the allied army, were destined to attack the heights on which the right of the enemy's centre was placed, while Sir Rowland should move forward from Sabijana to attack the left. The French had lined those heights with artillery, which opened on the allies as soon as they attempted to advance from the river, and with so destructive a fire, that it became necessary for them to halt and bring two brigades of guns to oppose it. Meantime the contest was maintained at

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