

CHAP. Sabijana with great obstinacy ; the enemy feeding their attacks
 XLIII. from a wood, in which their troops were assembled in great
 1813. force. But when a brigade which Sir Rowland had detached
 June. along a range of mountains to turn their flank appeared, and
 at the same time Sir Thomas Picton approached their front,
 they gave over their attempts to recover the village, and began
 to think rather of retreat than of a successful resistance. And
 when Sir Thomas pushed on to take the large circular hill in
 flank, while the fourth division moved simultaneously upon the
 village in the centre, their whole force prepared to fall back
 upon the town, retreating before the allies could close, but
 keeping up a hot fire from their artillery. The third division
 first came in contact with their columns, and by a gallant
 attack captured 28 of their guns which they had not time to
 draw into the road. The other divisions pressed them in front.
 At this moment both the winning and the losing game were
 played with equal skill, “ the allies advancing by echel-
 lons of battalions, in two or three lines, according to the nature
 of the ground ; and the French retiring before them in the most or-
 derly manner, and taking advantage of every favourable oppor-
 tunity to make a stand.” And here it happened, that General Col-
 ville’s brigade, which was on the left of the centre, and most in
 advance, became, by an accident of the ground, separated from
 its support ; the enemy, who lost no opportunity in action,
 attacked it with a far superior force, but the brigade stood firm,
 though out of 1800 men it lost 550.

*Colonel
 Jones's
 Account,
 2. 158.*

While the right and the centre, following up their success,
 were pushing the enemy back upon Vittoria, the left was ad-
 vancing upon that town by the high road from Bilbao. Sir
 Thomas Graham with that column had been moved on the
 preceding evening to Margina, and had then so considerable a
 round to make, that it was ten o'clock before he began to de-

scend into the plain. General Giron with the Spanish army had been detached to the left under a different view of the state of affairs; but having been recalled and reached Orduña on the yesterday, he marched from thence in the morning so as to be in readiness to support Sir Thomas Graham, if his support should be required. The enemy had a division of infantry and some cavalry advanced upon the Bilbao road, resting their right on some strong heights covering the village of Gamarra Mayor, and both that village and Abechuco were strongly occupied as *têtes-du-pont* to the bridges over the Zadorra at those places. The heights were attacked both in front and flank by Brigadier-General Pack's Portugueze brigade, and Longa's Spanish division, supported by Major-General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, and the 5th division of infantry, all under the command of Major-General Oswald; and they were carried, both Spaniards and Portugueze behaving admirably. Longa then with little resistance got possession of Gamarra Menor, and the larger village of the same name was stormed and taken by Brigadier-General Robinson's brigade of the 5th division, which advanced under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry without firing a shot: the enemy suffered severely there, and lost three pieces of cannon. Sir Thomas Graham then proceeded to attack the village of Abechuco with the 1st division; they formed a strong battery against it, under cover of which Colonel Halkett's brigade advanced to the attack, supported by General Bradford's brigade of Portugueze infantry. Three guns and a howitzer were taken on the bridge here, and the village was carried. While the contest at Abechuco continued, the enemy seeing their communication with Bayonne threatened, marched a strong body to their right in the hope of recovering Gamarra Mayor: they were driven back in confusion; made a second attempt, and were again repulsed, for Sir Thomas had loop-

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CHAP. holed the houses in front of the bridge, placed artillery to flank
XLIII. the approach, and stationed several battalions concealed along
1813. the walls, and their fire repelled the enemy upon a third advance.

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But the French had two divisions of infantry in reserve upon the heights on the left of the Zadorra; Sir Thomas, therefore, could not cross the river with such a corps in front, till the troops which had moved upon the centre and the left of the French should have driven them through Vittoria. About six in the evening this was done, and the corps which held him in check retreated then lest it should be taken in rear. The left then crossed the Zadorra, took possession of the high road to Bayonne, and forced the right as well as the left centre of the enemy back into the Pamplona road; and now they were unable to hold any position long enough for drawing off their artillery and baggage. In the expressive language of an officer who bore his part in the victory, "they were beaten before the town, and in the town, and through the town, and out of the town, and behind the town, and all round about the town." Every where they had been attacked, every where beaten, and now every where were put to utter rout. They themselves had in many actions made greater slaughter of a Spanish army, but never in any instance had they reduced an army, even of raw volunteers, to such a state of total wreck. Stores, baggage, artillery, every thing was abandoned; one gun and one howitzer only were they able to carry off, and the gun was taken before it could reach Pamplona. 151 pieces of brass ordnance on travelling carriages were taken; more than 400 caissons, more than 14,000 round of ammunition, and nearly two millions of musket-ball cartridges. The loss on the part of the allies consisted of 501 British killed, 2808 wounded: 150 Portugueze and 89 Spaniards killed, 899 and 466 wounded, .. the total loss not amounting to 5000. The French acknowledged a loss of 8000 .. unquestionably it was

greater; not more than a thousand prisoners were taken; for so soon as they found themselves irretrievably defeated, they ran, and never did brave soldiers when beaten display more alacrity in flight. Having abandoned all their ammunition waggons, they had not powder to blow up the bridges; had this been done, the pursuit would have been greatly impeded; attempts were made to break them up with pick-axes, and in this they partly succeeded in several places. But the country was too much intersected with ditches for cavalry to act with effect in a pursuit; and infantry who moved in military order could not at their utmost speed keep up with a rout of fugitives. Yet, precipitate as their flight was, they took great pains to bear off their wounded, and dismounted a regiment of cavalry to carry them on. And they carefully endeavoured to conceal their dead, stopping occasionally to collect them and throw them into ditches, where they covered them with bushes. Many such receptacles were found containing from ten to twenty bodies.

The Intruder, who now appears for the last time upon the stage of his everlasting infamy, narrowly escaped. The tenth hussars entered Vittoria at the moment that he was hastening out of it in his carriage. Captain Wyndham with one squadron pursued, and fired into the carriage, and Joseph had barely time to throw himself on his horse and gallop off under the protection of an escort of dragoons. The carriage was taken, and in it the most splendid of his trinkets, and the most precious articles of his royal plunder. Marshal Jourdan's staff was among the trophies of the field; it was rather more than a foot long, and covered with blue velvet, on which the imperial eagles were embroidered; and it had been tipped with gold; but the first finder secured the gold for himself. The case was of red morocco with silver clasps, and with eagles on it, and at

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CHAP. either end the Marshal's name imprinted in gold letters. Lord
XLIII. Wellington sent it to the Prince Regent, and was gracefully
1813. presented in return with the staff of a Field Marshal of
June. Great Britain. The spoils resembled those of an Oriental
rather than of an European army; for the Intruder, who in
his miserable situation had abandoned himself to every kind
of sensuality, had with him all his luxuries. His plunder,
his wardrobe, his sideboard, his larder, and his cellar, fell
into the conqueror's hands. The French officers, who carried
the pestilential manners of their nation wherever they went,
followed his example as far as their means allowed, and thus the
finest wines and the choicest delicacies were found in profusion.
The wives and mistresses of the officers had gathered together in
one house, where they were safe, and from whence they were
sent in their own carriages with a flag of truce to Pamplona.
Poodles, parrots, and monkies, were among the prisoners.
Seldom has such a scene of confusion been witnessed as that
which the roads leading from the field of battle presented; ..
broken down waggons stocked with claret and champagne, others
laden with eatables dressed and undressed, casks of brandy, ap-
parel of every kind, barrels of money, books, papers, sheep, cat-
tle, horses, and mules, abandoned in the flight. The baggage was
presently rifled, and the followers of the camp attired themselves
in the gala dresses of the flying enemy. Portugueze boys figured
about in the dress coats of French general officers; and they
who happened to draw a woman's wardrobe in the lottery, con-
verted silks, satins, and embroidered muslins, into scarfs and
sashes for their masquerade triumph. Some of the more for-
tunate soldiers got possession of the army chest, and loaded
themselves with money: "Let them," said Lord Wellington,
when he was informed of it; "they deserve all they can find,
were it ten times more." The camp of every division was like a

fair; benches were laid from waggon to waggon, and there the soldiers held an auction through the night, and disposed of such plunder as had fallen to their share to any who would purchase it. Even dollars became an article of sale, for they were too heavy to be carried in any great numbers; eight were offered for a guinea . . . guineas which had been struck for the payment of the troops in Portugal, and made current there by a decree of the Regency, being the gold currency. The people of Vittoria had their share in the spoils, and some of them indemnified themselves thus for what they had suffered in their property by the enemy's exactions.

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The city sustained no injury, though the French were driven through it, and though great part of the battle might be seen from every window. Nothing could be more mournful than its appearance that night, . . . a lantern at every door, and no one in the streets. It was the first place where the allies had found that the inhabitants were French in feeling. Two days of heavy rain impeded the pursuit; but that rain saved many houses from the flames, for the French wreaked their vengeance upon every thing which they could destroy in their flight. Every house at which the pursuers arrived had been gutted by the fugitives, every village set on fire, and the few inhabitants who had not taken flight in time had met with no mercy; at every step the allies found havoc, and flames, and misery, the dying and the dead. Such was the panic among the fugitives, that, finding the gates of Pamplona closed, they attempted to force their way over the walls, and did not desist till they were opposed by a serious fire of cannon and musketry. A council of war was held there, in which it was resolved to blow up the works and abandon the place; with this intent they destroyed ammunition and tore down palisades from the outworks. But the Intruder knew that the possession of so strong a fortress

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 1813. would in some degree cover his flight; and the last act of his usurped authority was to order that every article of food and fuel should be taken from the Spaniards who were within reach.

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By the rigorous execution of this order, the quantity in the town was more than doubled; and having left a garrison there, the flying force continued their way to the Pyrenees. Their rear was still in sight of Pamplona, when the right and centre of the allies were checked in their pursuit by a fire from the walls.

Sir T. Graham proceeds against G. Foy.

Sir Thomas Graham with the left of the army was ordered to march by Puerto S. Andrian upon Villa Franca, in the hope of intercepting General Foy, who occupied Bilbao after the atrocities which he had committed in Castro. The orders were not received till the 23rd, when the weather and the ways in consequence were so bad, that only a small part of the column could pass the mountain that day; and it was not till the 24th that Sir Thomas, with Major General Anson's brigade of light dragoons, the light battalions of the German legion, and two Portugueze brigades could march from Segura, the rest of the troops not having come up. The roads were so slippery with the rain, and in many places so steep, that horses could scarcely keep their feet, or the infantry make any progress. This allowed Foy time to withdraw the troops from some of the military stations there, and with his collected force he began his retreat into France. The allies came to the junction of the roads from Bilbao and from Vittoria to Bayonne just as the enemy's rear had passed it. The French occupied in force some strong ground on the right of the Oria, in front of the village of Olaverria, about a mile and a half from Villa Franca; they were dislodged from thence, and allowed the pursuers to take possession of the town, meaning to make their stand at Tolosa. During the night, Longa's corps joined Sir

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Thomas, and the advance of General Giron's. On the following morning the enemy evacuated Celequiz, and took up a very strong position between that place and Tolosa, covering the road to Pamplona. Longa was then directed to march by Alzo upon Lizara in order to flank his left, while General Mendizabal was requested to dispatch some battalions from Aspeytia to flank his right, which rested upon a mountain with an inaccessible ravine in front. The French were driven from the summit of a hill lying between the Pamplona and Vittoria roads, on the right of the allies, by a very skilful attack of Lieutenant-Colonel Williams, and the possession of this important point enabled the assailants to act on the Pamplona road. In the course of the afternoon the Spaniards arrived at their destination, and between six and seven a general attack was made, one column advancing upon the Vittoria road, another on the left; General Bradford driving the enemy in on their front by the Pamplona road, and Longa still more on the right from the side of the mountains, turning, and forcing from very strong positions, all their posted bodies on the right of the town. Still they held the town; and it was found much more capable of defence than had been represented; this was generally the case with their fortified posts, so prone were the Spaniards to report things always according to their hopes; the walls had been loop-holed, and new towers erected to flank it. The Vittoria gate was barricadoed and the Pamplona one on the bridge; both were flanked by convents and other large buildings which the enemy occupied; the place was nowhere open, and a strong wood block-house had been constructed in the Plaza, of so much importance had it been deemed. A nine-pounder was brought up close to the Vittoria gate, under cover of the light battalions' fire; the gate was burst open; at the same time, the walls were attacked and gained under a considerable fire, and

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*June.**The French
driven from
Tolosa.*

CHAP. about half an hour after night closed, the enemy forsook the place,
 XLIII. flying from every point, and the troops entered amidst the *vivas*
 1813. of the inhabitants, who had fully expected to have been plun-
 June. dered that night by the retreating enemy. The British officer
 who first entered thought they were in some danger from their
 deliverers, considering the mixed composition of the troops,
 and how likely it was that some parties away from their regi-
 ments might take advantage of the darkness and the confusion.
 He advised them therefore to shut their doors, and, to the credit
 of the troops, it must be added, that no outrage or excess was
 committed. Longa and the German legion passed on, and
 formed immediately beyond the town. The loss of the allies on
 this and the preceding day amounted to about 400; Sir Thomas
 Graham was struck during the attack by a musket ball; the
 hurt was not serious, and he attempted to conceal it, but could
 not, and was obliged to dismount.

June 26. On the morrow one brigade was placed on the Pamplona
 Foy retreats into France. road, and another on the Bayonne, each about a league from
 Tolosa; a third occupied Alegria, and Sir Thomas then halted
 two days to ascertain the advance of Lord Wellington on his
 right. Foy had retreated to Anduain, where he destroyed the
 bridge; but he now knew himself to be no longer safe within the
 Spanish territory, and lost no time in making his way into France.
 A brigade of the Galician army attacked his rear-guard on the
 Bidassoa at Irun, and drove them over the bridge. They still
 maintained a strong stone block-house there, which served as a
 head to the bridge, and some loop-holed houses on the Spanish
 side of the river. General Giron sent for some Spanish artillery
 to dislodge them; an English brigade of nine pounders was sent
 June 30. from Oyarzun to act with it; the French then found it necessary
 to abandon their post, and they blew up the block-house and
 burnt the bridge. In all these affairs no troops could have