

Mr. Stuart to Mr. Canning.

[Abstract.]

“August 12.

“The Duke of Infantado reached Blake’s quarters after escaping from France. Blake gave him his confidence, and sent him to Madrid to form a council of war, and to persuade Cuesta to send two thousand cavalry to the army of Galicia. The junta did not approve of this; they suspected Infantado as a double dealer and in the French interest.

“After Baylen, the juntas of Seville and Murcia wished to establish a despotism differing in nothing from that of Charles III. and Charles IV., save that Florida Blanca was to be the head of a regency. But in the north they were all for liberty and put forward the British constitution as a model. The army spoke of Infantado as regent, but the civilians disliked him. All the English guns sent out for Galicia went by mistake to the Asturias, the succors were absurdly distributed and everything was in confusion.”

Ditto to Ditto.

“Coruña, August 9.

“I am placed at the very extremity of the kingdom where I cannot possibly obtain any sort of information respecting other provinces, and my presence has very materially contributed to cherish the project of separation from the rest of the peninsula in the minds of the Gallicians.

“Besides the constant communication of the navy with the junta, a military mission is placed here, consisting of several persons who communicate regularly with the government and the admiralty, and whose correspondence with England being a mere duplicate of my own, renders the one or the other perfectly useless.

“The packet, instead of coming weekly, only arrived every fortnight, being sent to Gihon to carry home Mr. Hunter’s letters, who I understand has no order to report to me!

“The admiral having no official notice of my situation here on the part of government, cannot be expected to detach vessels for the purpose of sending my despatches, at a time when he is occupied in sending his own accounts of the events taking place in Spain to the Admiralty.”

SECTION II.

LORD WELLESLEY’S INSTRUCTIONS TO MR. STUART

[Extracts.]

“January 5, 1810.

“In return for these liberal supplies, his majesty is entitled to claim from the Portuguese government every assistance which can be afforded to the British commander and troops, a faithful and judicious application of the funds granted for the support of so large a portion of the Portuguese force, which must otherwise be supplied from the exclusive resources of Portugal.”

“I am commanded to signify to you the expectation that the extraordinary efforts of his majesty’s government for the aid of Portugal, and the consequent pressure upon British resources, will be met by corresponding exertions on the part of the regency, and that all local and temporary prejudices will be submitted to the urgent necessity of placing the finances of the kingdom in that state which may render them available for its defence in the approaching danger.” You will direct your immediate and vigilant

attention to this most important object, nor will you refrain from offering, or even from urging your advice on any occasion which may open the prospect of effecting any useful reduction in the civil charges, or augmentation in the revenues or military resources of the country."

"In addition to these arrangements, his majesty will expect to receive regular monthly accounts of the expenditure of the sums applicable to the military charges of Portugal, under the orders issued to Lord Wellington, as well as accurate returns of the state and condition of the several corps receiving British pay."——"It is also desirable that his majesty should be acquainted with the state and condition of that part of the Portuguese force which is to be maintained from the revenues of Portugal."——"The crisis demands the most unreserved confidence and communication between his majesty's ministers and the local government of the prince Regent. No jealousy or suspicion should be harbored under such a pressure of common danger; the great sacrifices which we have made for the interests of our ally must not be frustrated by any consideration inferior to the main purpose of our mutual security, nor must we now hesitate to take the lead in any measures necessary to enable Portugal to contribute a just share of their own efforts and resources for the accomplishment of their own safety."

"The governing power in Spain does not derive its authority from the appointment of the sovereign, the disposition of some of its leading members is at least equivocal, and his conduct has not satisfied any expectations either of the Spanish nation or of the allies."——"In Spain the assembly of the Cortes is the only remedy to which that country can resort for the purpose of investing the government with a regular force, or a national spirit, nor can any hope be entertained of a sufficient exertion of the military resources of Spain, until a governing power shall be so framed as to unite a due representation of the crown with a just security for the interests and welfare of all the estates of the realm."——

SECTION III.—CONDUCT OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

Lord Wellington to Mr. Stuart.

"Viseu, March 30, 1810.

"I don't understand the arrangements which government have made of the command of the troops there. I have hitherto considered them as part of this army, and, from the arrangements which I made with the Spanish government they cost us nothing but their pay, and all the money procured at Cadiz for bills was applicable to the service in this country. Their instructions to General Graham alter this entirely, and they have even gone so far as to desire him to take measures to supply the Spaniards with provisions from the Mediterranean, whereas I had insisted that they should feed our troops. The first consequence of this arrangement will be, that we shall have no more money from Cadiz. I had considered the troops at Cadiz so much part of my army that I had written to my brother to desire to have his opinion whether, if the French withdrew from Cadiz when they should attack Portugal, he thought I might bring into Portugal at least the troops which I had sent there. But I consider this now to be out of the question."

General Graham to Mr. Stuart.

"Isla, May 22, 1810.

"I add this note merely as a postscript to my last, to tell you that Lord Liverpool has decided the doubt, by declaring this a part of Lord Welling-

ton's army, but saying it is the wish of government that though I am second in command to him I should be left here for the present. This is odd enough. I mean that it should not have been left to his judgment to decide where I was to be employed; one would think that he could judge fully better according to circumstances than people in England.

No. IX.

SECTION I.

MARMONT AND DORSENNE'S OPERATIONS.

Intercepted letter from Foy to Girard, translated from the cipher.

"Truxillo, 20 Août, 1811.

"MONSIEUR LE GENERAL.—Wellington bloque Rodrigo avec quarante mille hommes; son avant-garde occupe la Sierra de Francia. On assure que l'artillerie du train arrive de Porto pour faire le siège de cette place. Elle est approvisionnée pour trois mois. Marmont va se porter vers le nord pour se réunir avec l'armée commandée par le général Dorsenne et attaquer l'ennemi. Ma division partira le vingt-six pour passer le Tage et suivre le mouvement de Marmont. Huit mille hommes de l'armée du centre nous remplaceront à Placentia et au Pont d'Almaraz.

"Monsieur le maréchal duc de Raguse me charge de vous écrire que c'est à vous à contenir quatre mille Espagnols qui sont en ce moment réunis devant Truxillo, &c., &c.

"Foy."

Intercepted letter from General Wattier to the General commanding at Ciudad Rodrigo.

[Extrait.]

"Salamanca, Septembre 1, 1811.

"L'armée Espagnole de Galice, honteusement chassée de ses positions de la Banca et de Puente de Orvigo et poursuivie par l'avant-garde au delà de Villa Franca, s'est retirée en grande hâte sur le Coruñe. Le général-en-chef après avoir nettoyé ces parages, vient ici sous six jours avec vingt-cinq mille hommes de la garde, et nous irons tous ensemble voir s'il plait à ces illustres Anglais de nous attendre, et de nous permettre de rompre quelques lances avec eux. Le duc de Raguse à qui j'envoie de vos nouvelles est autour de vous à Baños Val de Fuentes, Placentia, &c., et nous agirons de concert avec lui."

Intercepted letter from Marmont to Girard.

"Placentia, 7embre, 1811.

"GENERAL.—Je vous ai écrit pour vous prier de faire passer une lettre que j'adressai au maréchal duc de Dalmatie. Les Anglais ont réuni toutes leurs forces auprès de Rodrigo, les corps Espagnols même qui étoient sur la rive gauche du Tage passent en ce moment cette rivière; vous n'avez presque personne devant vous. Il serait extrêmement important que pendant que la presque totalité de l'armée va se porter sur Rodrigo vous puissiez faire un mouvement pour opérer une diversion utile et rappeler une portion de la force ennemie de votre côté. J'ignore quelles sont vos instructions, mais je ne doute pas que ce mouvement n'entre dans les intentions du duc de Dalmatie.

Du Maréchal Marmont au Général de Division Foy.

"Talavera, Octobre 21, 1811"

"GENERAL.—Je reçois seulement dans ce moment votre lettre du 19^e avec la copie de celle du général d'Aultanne. Pour instruction générale vous ne devez obéir à aucun ordre qui vous serait donné au nom du roi lorsqu'elles sont contraires à mes intentions particulières. Ne vous départez jamais de ces dispositions. L'armée du Portugal ne doit point servir aux escortes, ni à la communication de l'armée du midi,—vos troupes auront bien assez de courses à faire pour assurer la rentrée de nos approvisionnements. Le roi a paru désirer que je n'occupe point Illescas, à cause de son voisinage de Madrid ; par ce motif et plus encore en raison de l'éloignement et du service pénible des troupes, je ne veux point l'occuper. Mon intention était de ne point occuper Aranjuez ; mais puisque les ministres du roi ont pris la mesure inconsidérée d'ordonner la vente des magasins, ne perdez pas un seul instant pour envoyer un détachement occuper Aranjuez, où le préfet de Toledo fera faire le plus de biscuit possible. Prenez la même mesure pour tous les points où il y a des magasins.—Emparez-vous en,—et que personne n'y touche.—L'empereur a indiqué que la province de Toledo est non la préfecture ; ainsi ce sont les ressources de toute la province que nous sont affectées.—Emparez-vous en,—et que le préfet administre tout le pays. Dites bien au préfet qu'à quelque titre que ce soit aucune des ressources en blé, argent de quelque source qu'elles proviennent ne doit être distraite pour Madrid, et qu'elles doivent toutes être conservées pour l'armée de Portugal. A la fin du mois la division de dragons arrivera dans les environs de Toledo.—J'espère qu'elle éloignera les guerillas. Dans le cas où ils resteroient dans le voisinage on leur donnera la chasse. Voyez à obtenir du préfet de Toledo qu'il fasse un effort extraordinaire pour envoyer à Talavera le blé et l'orge qui lui ont été demandés, attendu que comme ici on est obligé de faire des expéditions en avant, nous sommes dans un besoin très pressant. Je désirerois rentrer dans la possession de tout le blé qui a été vendu. On renverroit les acheteurs par devant le gouvernement d'Espagne pour être indemnisés,—s'il y a possibilité engagez le préfet à prendre des mesures conservatoires en attendant que je prenne un arrêté à cet égard sur le rapport que vous me ferez. Je me rends à Madrid où je passerai deux jours dans l'espérance d'éclairer le roi sur la conduite que ses véritables intérêts lui commandent de tenir envers l'armée Française. De là je me rends à Toledo. Je n'ai pas besoin de vous recommander, général, d'envoyer à Aranjuez un officier sage et ferme, qui exécute ponctuellement les ordres qui lui seroient donnés, qui se fasse obéir et qui mette le plus grand soin à faire respecter l'habitation du roi."

Intercepted letter in cipher from General Montbrun to the Governor of Ciudad Rodrigo.

"Val de Fuentes, Septembre, 1811.

"Je reçus le—du courant, mon cher général, votre réponse du—à la lettre que je vous écrivis le—, et je m'empressai d'en communiquer le contenu à S. E. le maréchal duc de Raguse, qui me charge de me mettre en communication avec vous. Je m'en acquitterai avec plaisir puisque c'en est toujours un nouveau pour moi de recevoir de vos nouvelles. Je vous annonce qu'un approvisionnement très considérable se prépare à Salamanque par les soins du général-en-chef Dorsenne, le maréchal, sur lequel vous pouvez compter aussi fait des préparatifs pour vous envoyer des vivres. Tous les convois

partiront sous bonne escorte, et se mettront en marche d'après ce que je présume le du courant au plus tard. Dans tous les cas ne vous impatientez pas. Nous sommes prêts à venir à votre secours de toutes les manières. Vous ne sauriez trop de votre côté nous mettre au courant de la force de la position et enfin vous ne pourriez nous donner trop de détails sur l'armée Anglo-Portugaise.

"Je reçois à l'instant le billet que vous avez écrit hier au général Boyer, par lequel vous nous faites connoître que d'après tous les renseignemens que vous avez obtenus, vous croyez que les sept divisions Anglaises sont dans vos parages. Il importe de s'en assurer positivement, de connoître leur position, et s'il est possible, leur composition. Il paraît que vous n'avez pas beaucoup de monde dans votre place sur qui vous puissiez compter. Proposez à l'homme que je vous envoie d'aller reconnoître les Anglais à Gallegos et Fuente Guinaldo, et de revénir par El Bodon, et vous me le renverriez ensuite. Dites lui que je le paierai bien s'il veut faire cette tournée, mais s'il s'y refuse je vous prie de ne pas l'y contraindre, &c., &c.

General Walker to Lord Wellington.

"Coruña, September 4, 1811.

"I saw the whole of the troops with him (General Abadia) in and about a league in front of Astorga, having their advanced posts on the Esla, the whole not amounting to above seven thousand men, independent of a reserve of about fifteen hundred near Foncebadon and Bembibre or on the road from Lugo. The force of the enemy in his front when collected being estimated at about thirteen thousand men. The wretched situation of the Gallician troops, in want almost of everything, one third part at least without shoes, and dependent on the precarious subsistence that can day by day be collected, certainly does credit to their patience and good inclination.

—"In consequence of this movement, (Abadia's retreat,) the great road by Manzanal and Bembibre being left open or nearly so, the French pushed forward on it so rapidly that shortly after my arrival here (Coruña), intelligence was received of their having got possession of the important pass of Villa Franca, and that the Gallician troops thus cut off from it, had been obliged to make their retreat by the Val des Orres. Without any correct information of the force of the enemy, and the entrance of Galicia thus left entirely in his hands, a very considerable alarm was for some time occasioned here, of which I took every advantage to urge upon the junta the necessity of a full compliance with the recommendation and wishes of the General to enable him to put the troops in such a state of equipment as might render them, either for defence or attack, in every way disposable in his hands; and at the same time to put Coruña into temporary security, by withdrawing to it all the guns (amounting to no less than fifteen hundred) of the indefensible arsenal of Ferrol, which would otherwise become a sure dépôt for the enemy in any attack he might contemplate on this place, and who might not otherwise venture to bring with him heavy artillery on so distant an excursion."

SECTION II.

Official letters from the Prince of Neufchatel to Marshal Marmont, extracted from the Duke of Rovigo's Memoirs.

'Paris, le 21 Novembre, 1811.

"L'empereur me charge de vous faire connaître, monsieur le maréchal,

que l'objet le plus important en ce moment est la prise de Valence. L'empereur ordonne que vous fassiez partir un corps de troupes qui, réuni aux forces que le roi détachera de l'armée du centre, se dirige sur Valence pour appuyer l'armée du maréchal Suchet jusqu'à ce qu'on soit maître de cette place.

Faites exécuter sans délai cette disposition de concert avec S. M. le roi d'Espagne, et instruisez-moi de ce que vous aurez fait à cet égard. Nous sommes instruits que les Anglais ont vingt mille malades, et qu'ils n'ont pas vingt mille hommes sous les armes, en sorte qu'ils ne peuvent rien entreprendre; l'intention de l'empereur est donc que douze mille hommes, infanterie, cavalerie et sapeurs, marchent de suite sur Valence, que vous détachiez même trois à quatre mille hommes sur les derrières. Et que vous, monsieur le maréchal, soyez en mesure de soutenir la prise de Valence. Cette place prise, le Portugal sera près de sa chute, parce qu'alors dans la bonne saison, l'armée de Portugal sera augmentée de vingt-cinq mille hommes de l'armée du midi et de quinze mille du corps du général Reille, de manière à réunir plus de quatre-vingt mille hommes. Dans cette situation, vous recevriez l'ordre de vous porter sur Elvas, et de vous emparer de tout l'Alemtejo dans le même temps que l'armée du nord se porterait sur la Coa avec une armée de quarante mille hommes. L'équipage de pont qui existe à Badajoz servirait à jeter des ponts sur le Tage; l'ennemi serait hors d'état de rien opposer à une pareille force, qui offre toutes les chances de succès sans présenter aucun danger. C'est donc Valence qu'il faut prendre. Le 6 Novembre nous étions maîtres d'un faubourg; il y a lieu d'espérer que la place sera prise en Décembre, ce qui vous mettrait, monsieur le duc, à portée de vous trouver devant Elvas dans le courant de Janvier. Envoyez-moi votre avis sur ce plan d'opérations, afin qu'après avoir reçu l'avis de la prise de Valence, l'empereur puisse vous donner des ordres positifs.

'Le prince de Wagram et de Neufchâtel, major-général.'

(Signé)

'ALEXANDRE.'

'Paris, le 15 Février, 1812.

'Sa majesté n'est pas satisfaite de la direction que vous donnez à la guerre. Vous avez la supériorité sur l'ennemi, et au lieu de prendre l'initiative, vous ne cessez de la recevoir. Quand le général Hill marche sur l'armée du midi avec quinze mille hommes c'est ce qui peut vous arriver de plus heureux; cette armée est assez forte et assez bien organisée pour ne rien craindre de l'armée Anglaise, aurait-elle quatre ou cinq divisions réunies.

'Aujourd'hui l'ennemi suppose que vous allez faire le siège de Rodrigo; il approche le général Hill de sa droite afin de pouvoir le faire venir à lui à grandes marches, et vous livrer bataille réunis, si vous voulez reprendre Rodrigo. C'est donc au duc de Dalmatie à tenir vingt mille hommes pour le contenir et l'empêcher de faire ce mouvement, et si le général Hill passe le Tage, de se porter à sa suite, ou dans l'Alemtejo. Vous avez le double de la lettre que l'empereur m'a ordonné d'écrire au duc de Dalmatie le 10 de ce mois, en réponse à la demande qu'il vous avait faite de porter des troupes dans le midi; c'est vous, monsieur le maréchal, qui deviez lui écrire pour lui demander de porter un grand corps de troupes vers la Guadiana, pour maintenir le général Hill dans le midi et l'empêcher de se réunir à lord Wellington. . . Les Anglais connaissent assez l'honneur Français pour comprendre que ce succès (la prise de Rodrigo) peut devenir un affront pour eux, et qu'au lieu d'améliorer leur position, l'occupation de Ciudad Rodrigo les met dans l'obligation de défendre cette place. Ils nous rendent maîtres du choix du champ de bataille, puisque vous les forcez à venir au secours de

ette place et à combattre dans une position si loin de la mer Je ne puis que vous répéter les ordres de l'empereur. Prenez votre quartier-général à Salamanque, travaillez avec activité à fortifier cette ville, réunissez-y un nouvel équipage de siège pour servir à armer la ville, formez-y des approvisionnement, faites faire tous les jours le coup de fusil avec les Anglais, placez deux fortes avant-gardes qui menacent, l'une Rodrigo, et l'autre Almeida; menacez les autres directions sur la frontière de Portugal, envoyez des partis qui ravagent quelques villages, enfin employez tout ce qui peut tenir l'ennemi sur le qui-vive. Faites réparer les routes de Porto et d'Almeida. Tenez votre armée vers Toro, Benavente. La province d'Avila a même de bonnes parties où l'on trouverait des ressources. Dans cette situation qui est aussi simple que formidable, vous reposez vos troupes, vous formez des magasins, et avec de simples démonstrations bien combinées, qui mettent vos avant-postes à même de tirer journellement des coups de fusil avec l'ennemi, vous aurez barre sur les Anglais, qui ne pourront vous observer . . . Ce n'est donc pas à vous, monsieur le duc, à vous disséminer en faveur de l'armée du midi. Lorsque vous avez été prendre le commandement de votre armée elle venait d'éprouver un échec par sa retraite de Portugal; ce pays était ravagé, les hôpitaux et les magasins de l'ennemi étaient à Lisbonne; vos troupes étaient fatiguées, dégoûtées par les marches forcées, sans artillerie, sans train d'équipages. Badajoz était attaqué depuis long-temps; une bataille dans le midi n'avait pu faire lever le siège de cette place. Que deviez-vous faire alors? Vous porter sur Almeida pour menacer Lisbonne? Non, parce que votre armée n'avait pas d'artillerie, pas de train d'équipages, et qu'elle était fatiguée. L'ennemi à cette position, n'aurait pas cru à cette menace; il aurait laissé approcher jusqu'à Coïmbre, aurait pris Badajoz, et ensuite serait venu sur vous. Vous avez donc fait à cette époque ce qu'il fallait faire; vous avez marché rapidement au secours de Badajoz: l'ennemi avait barre sur vous, et l'art de la guerre était de vous y commettre. Le siège a été levé, et l'ennemi est rentré en Portugal; c'est ce qu'il y avait à faire . . . Dans ce moment, monsieur le duc, votre position est simple et claire, et ne demande pas de combinaisons d'esprit. Placez vos troupes de manière qu'en quatre marches elles puissent se réunir et se grouper sur Salamanque; ayez-y votre quartier-général; que vos ordres, vos dispositions annoncent à l'ennemi que la grosse artillerie arrive à Salamanque, que vous y formez des magasins . . . Si Wellington se dirige sur Badajoz, laissez-le aller; réunissez aussitôt votre armée, et marchez droit sur Almeida; poussez des partis sur Coïmbre, et soyez persuadé que Wellington reviendra bien vite sur vous.

'Ecrivez au duc de Dalmatie et sollicitez le roi de lui écrire également, pour qu'il exécute les ordres impératifs que je lui donne, de porter un corps de vingt mille hommes pour forcer le général Hill à rester sur la rive gauche du Tage. Ne pensez donc plus, monsieur le maréchal, à aller dans le midi et marchez droit sur le Portugal, si lord Wellington fait la faute de se porter sur la rive gauche du Tage . . . Profitez du moment où vos troupes se réunissent pour bien organiser et mettre de l'ordre dans le nord. Qu'on travaille jour et nuit à fortifier Salamanque, qu'on y fasse venir de grosses pièces, qu'on fasse l'équipage de siège; enfin qu'on forme des magasins de subsistances. Vous sentirez, monsieur le maréchal, qu'en suivant ces directions et en mettant pour les exécuter toute l'activité convenable, vous tiendrez l'ennemi en échec . . . En recevant l'initiative au lieu de la donner, en ne songeant qu'à l'armée du midi qui n'a pas besoin de vous, puisqu'elle est forte de quatre-vingt mille hommes des meilleures troupes de l'Europe, en ayant des sollicitudes pour les pays qui ne sont pas sous votre commande-

ment et abandonnant les Asturies et les provinces qui vous regardent, un combat que vous éprouveriez serait une calamité qui se ferait sentir dans toute l'Espagne. Un échec de l'armée du midi la conduirait sur Madrid ou sur Valence et ne serait pas de même nature.

'Je vous le répète, vous êtes le maître de conserver barre sur lord Wellington, en plaçant votre quartier-général à Salamanque, en occupant en force cette position, et poussant de fortes reconnaissances sur les débouchés. Je ne pourrais que vous redire ce que je vous ai déjà expliqué ci-dessus. Si Badajos était cerné seulement par deux ou trois divisions Anglaises, le duc de Dalmatie le débloquerait; mais alors lord Wellington, affaibli, vous mettrait à même de vous porter dans l'intérieur du Portugal, ce qui secourrait plus efficacement Badajos que toute autre opération Je donne l'ordre que tout ce qu'il sera possible de fournir vous soit fourni pour compléter votre artillerie et pour armer Salamanque. Vingt-quatre heures après la réception de cette lettre l'empereur pense que vous partirez pour Salamanque, à moins d'événemens inattendus; que vous chargerez une avant-garde d'occuper les débouchés sur Rodrigo, et une autre sur Almeida; que vous aurez dans la main au moins la valeur d'une division; que vous ferez revenir la cavalerie et artillerie qui sont à la division du Tage Réunissez surtout votre cavalerie, dont vous n'avez pas de trop et dont vous avez tant de besoin'

Au Prince de Neufchâtel.

'Valladolid, le 23 Février, 1812.

'MONSIEUR, — J'ignore si sa majesté aura daigné accueillir d'une manière favorable la demande que j'ai eu l'honneur d'adresser à votre altesse pour supplier l'empereur de me permettre de faire sous ses yeux la campagne qui va s'ouvrir; mais quelle que soit sa décision, je regarde comme mon devoir de lui faire connaître, au moment où il semble prêt à s'éloigner, la situation des choses dans cette partie de l'Espagne.

'D'après les derniers arrangemens arrêtés par sa majesté, l'armée de Portugal n'a plus le moyen de remplir la tâche qui lui est imposée, et je serais coupable, si, en ce moment, je cachais la vérité. La frontière se trouve très affaiblie par le départ des troupes qui ont été rappelées par la prise de Rodrigo, qui met l'ennemi à même d'entrer dans le cœur de la Castille en commençant un mouvement offensif, ensuite par l'immense étendue de pays que l'armée est dans le devoir d'occuper, ce qui rend toujours son rassemblement lent et difficile, tandis qu'il y a peu de temps elle était toute réunie et disponible.

'Les sept divisions qui la composent s'élèveront, lorsqu'elles auront reçu les régimens en marche annoncés, à quarante-quatre mille hommes d'infanterie environ; il faut au moins cinq mille hommes pour occuper les points fortifiés et les communications qui ne peuvent être abandonnés; il faut à peu près pareille force pour observer l'Escla et la couvrir contre l'armée de Galice, qui évidemment, dans le cas d'un mouvement offensif des Anglais, se porterait à Bénavente et à Astorga. Ainsi, à supposer que toute l'armée soit réunie entre le Duero et la Tormes, sa force ne peut s'élever qu'à trente-trois ou trente-quatre mille hommes, tandis que l'ennemi peut présenter aujourd'hui une masse de plus de soixante mille hommes, dont plus de moitié Anglais, bien outillés et bien pourvus de toutes choses: et cependant que de chances pour que les divisions du Tage se trouvent en arrière! Qu'elles n'aient pu être ralliées promptement, et soient séparées de l'armée pendant les momens les plus importans de la campagne; alors la masse de nos forces

reunies ne s'éleverait pas à plus de vingt-cinq mille hommes. Sa majesté suppose, il est vrai, que, dans ce cas, l'armée du nord soutiendrait celle de Portugal par deux divisions : mais l'empereur peut-il être persuadé que, dans l'ordre de choses actuel, ces troupes arrivent promptement et à temps ?

L'ennemi paraît en offensive ; celui qui doit le combattre prépare ses moyens ; celui qui doit agir hypothétiquement attend sans inquiétude, et laisse écouler en pure perte un temps précieux ; l'ennemi marche à moi, je réunis mes troupes d'une manière méthodique et précise, je sais à un jour près le moment où le plus grand nombre au moins sera en ligne, à quelle époque les autres seront en liaison avec moi, et d'après cet état de choses, je me détermine à agir ou à temporiser ; mais ces calculs je ne puis les faire que pour des troupes qui sont purement et simplement à mes ordres. Pour celles qui n'y sont pas, que de lenteurs ! que d'incertitudes et de temps perdu ! J'annonce la marche de l'ennemi et je demande des secours, on me répond par des observations ; ma lettre n'est parvenue que lentement parce que les communications sont difficiles dans ce pays ; la réponse à ma réplique vient de même, et l'ennemi sera sur moi. Mais comment pourrai-je même d'avance faire des calculs raisonnables sur les mouvemens de troupes dont je ne connais ni la force ni l'emplacement ? Lorsque je ne sais rien de la situation du pays ni des besoins de troupes qu'on y éprouve ? Je ne puis raisonner que sur ce qui est à mes ordres, et puisque les troupes qui n'y sont pas me sont cependant nécessaires pour combattre, et sont comptées comme partie de la force que je dois opposer à l'ennemi, je suis en fautive position, et je n'ai les moyens de rien faire méthodiquement et avec connaissance de cause.

Si l'on considère combien il faut de prévoyance pour exécuter le plus petit mouvement en Espagne, on doit se convaincre de la nécessité qu'il y a de donner d'avance mille ordres préparatoires sans lesquels les mouvemens rapides sont impossibles. Ainsi les troupes du nord m'étant étrangères habituellement, et m'étant cependant indispensables pour combattre, le succès de toutes mes opérations est dépendant du plus ou du moins de prévoyance et d'activité d'un autre chef : je ne puis donc pas être responsable des événemens.

Mais il ne faut pas seulement considérer l'état des choses pour la défensive du nord, il faut la considérer pour celle du midi. Si lord Wellington porte six divisions sur la rive gauche du Tage, le duc de Dalmatie a besoin d'un puissant secours ; si dans ce cas, l'armée du nord ne fournit pas de troupes pour relever une partie de l'armée de Portugal dans quelques-uns des postes qu'elle doit évacuer alors momentanément, mais qu'il est important de tenir, et pour la sûreté du pays et pour maintenir la Galice et observer les deux divisions ennemies qui seraient sur l'Agueda, et qui feraient sans doute quelques démonstrations offensives : si, dis-je, l'armée du nord ne vient pas à son aide, l'armée de Portugal, trop faible, ne pourra pas faire un détachement d'une force convenable, et Badajoz tombera. Certes, il faut des ordres pour obtenir de l'armée du nord un mouvement dans cette hypothèse, et le temps utile pour agir ; si on s'en tenait à des propositions et à des négociations, ce temps, qu'on ne pourrait remplacer, serait perdu en vaines discussions. Je suis autorisé à croire ce résultat.

L'armée de Portugal est en ce moment la principale armée d'Espagne ; c'est à elle à couvrir l'Espagne contre les entreprises des Anglais ; pour pouvoir manœuvrer, il faut qu'elle ait des points d'appui, des places, des forts, des têtes-de-pont, etc.

Il faut pour cela du matériel d'artillerie, et je n'ai ni canons ni munitions

à y appliquer, tandis que les établissemens de l'armée du nord en sont tout remplis ; j'en demanderai, on m'en promettra, mais en résultat je n'obtiens rien.

Après avoir discuté la question militaire, je dirai un mot de l'administration. Le pays donné à l'armée de Portugal a des produits présumés les tiers de ceux des cinq gouvernemens.

L'armée de Portugal est beaucoup plus nombreuse que l'armée du nord ; le pays qu'elle occupe est insoumis ; on n'arrache rien qu'avec la force, et les troupes de l'armée du nord ont semblé prendre à tâche, en l'évacuant, d'en enlever toutes les ressources. Les autres gouvernemens, malgré les guérillas, sont encore dans la soumission, et acquittent les contributions sans qu'il soit besoin de contrainte. D'après cela il y a une immense différence dans le sort de l'une et de l'autre, et comme tout doit tendre au même but, que partout ce sont les soldats de l'empereur, que tous les efforts doivent avoir pour objet le succès des opérations, ne serait-il pas juste que les ressources de tous ces pays fussent partagées proportionnellement aux besoins de chacun ; et comment y parvenir sans une autorité unique ?

Je crois avoir démontré que, pour une bonne défense du nord, le général de l'armée de Portugal doit avoir toujours à ses ordres les troupes et le territoire de l'armée du nord, puisque ces troupes sont appelées à combattre avec les siennes, et que les ressources de ce territoire doivent être en partie consacrées à les entretenir.

Je passe maintenant à ce qui regarde le midi de l'Espagne. Une des tâches de l'armée de Portugal est de soutenir l'armée du midi, d'avoir l'œil sur Badajoz et de couvrir Madrid ; et pour cela, il faut qu'un corps assez nombreux occupe la vallée du Tage ; mais ce corps ne pourra subsister et ne pourra préparer des ressources pour d'autres troupes qui s'y rendraient pour le soutenir, s'il n'a pas un territoire productif, et ce territoire, quel autre peut-il être que l'arrondissement de l'armée du centre ? Quelle ville peut offrir des ressources et des moyens dans la vallée du Tage si ce n'est Madrid ? Cependant aujourd'hui l'armée de Portugal ne possède sur le nord du Tage, qu'un désert qui ne lui offre aucune espèce de moyen, ni pour les hommes ni pour les chevaux, et elle ne rencontre de la part des autorités de Madrid, que haine, qu'animosité. L'armée du centre, qui n'est rien, possède à elle seule un territoire plus fertile, plus étendu que celui qui est accordé pour toute l'armée de Portugal ; cette vallée ne peut s'exploiter faute de troupes, et tout le monde s'oppose à ce que nous en tirions des ressources. Cependant si les bords du Tage étaient évacués par suite de la disette, personne à Madrid ne voudrait en apprécier la véritable raison, et tout le monde accuserait l'armée de Portugal de découvrir cette ville.

Il existe, il faut le dire, une haine, une animosité envers les Français, qu'il est impossible d'exprimer, dans le gouvernement Espagnol. Il existe un désordre à Madrid qui présente le spectacle le plus révoltant. Si les subsistances employées en de fausses consommations dans cette ville eussent été consacrées à former un magasin de ressources pour l'armée de Portugal, les troupes qui sont sur le Tage seraient dans l'abondance et pourvues pour longtemps ; on consomme 22 mille rations par jour à Madrid, et il n'y a pas 3000 hommes : c'est qu'on donne et laisse prendre à tout le monde, excepté à ceux qui servent. Mais bien plus, je le répète, c'est un crime que d'aller prendre ce que l'armée du centre ne peut elle-même ramasser. Il est vrai qu'il paraît assez conséquent que ceux qui, depuis deux ans, trompent le roi, habillent et arment chaque jour des soldats qui, au bout de deux jours, vont se joindre à nos ennemis et semblent en vérité avoir ains-

consacré un mode régulier de recrutement des bandes que nous avons sur les bras, s'occupent de leur réserver des moyens de subsistance à nos dépens.

'La seule communication carrossable entre la gauche et le reste de l'armée de Portugal est par la province de Ségovie, et le mouvement des troupes et des convois ne peut avoir lieu avec facilité, parce que, quoique ce pays soit excellent et plein de ressources, les autorités de l'armée du centre refusent de prendre aucune disposition pour assurer leur subsistance.

'Si l'armée de Portugal peut être affranchie du devoir de secourir le midi, de couvrir Madrid, elle peut se concentrer dans la Vieille-Castille, et elle s'en trouvera bien : alors tout lui devient facile ; mais si elle doit au contraire remplir cette double tâche, elle ne le peut qu'en occupant la vallée du Tage, et dans cette vallée elle ne peut avoir les ressources nécessaires pour y vivre, pour y manœuvrer, pour y préparer des moyens suffisans pour toutes les troupes qu'il faudra y envoyer, qu'en possédant tout l'arrondissement de l'armée du centre et Madrid. Ce territoire doit conserver les troupes qui l'occupent à présent, afin qu'en marchant à l'ennemi, l'armée ne soit obligée de laisser personne en arrière, mais qu'au contraire elle en tire quelque secours pour sa communication. Elle a besoin surtout d'être délivrée des obstacles que fait naître sans cesse un gouvernement véritablement ennemi des armes Françaises ; quelles que soient les bonnes intentions du roi, il paraît qu'il ne peut rien contre l'intérêt et les passions de ceux qui l'environnent ; il semble également que jusqu'à présent il n'a rien pu contre les désordres qui ont lieu à Madrid, contre l'anarchie qui règne à l'armée du centre. Il peut y avoir de grandes raisons en politique pour que le roi réside à Madrid, mais il y a mille raisons positives et de sûreté pour les armes Françaises, qui sembleraient devoir lui faire choisir un autre séjour. Et en effet, ou le roi est général et commandant des armées, et dans ce cas il doit être au milieu des troupes, voir leurs besoins, pourvoir à tout, et être responsable ; ou il est étranger à toutes les opérations, et alors, autant pour sa tranquillité personnelle que pour laisser plus de liberté dans les opérations, il doit s'éloigner du pays qui en est le théâtre et des lieux qui servent de points d'appui aux mouvemens de l'armée.

'La guerre d'Espagne est difficile dans son essence, mais cette difficulté est augmentée de beaucoup par la division des commandemens et par la grande diminution des troupes que cette division rend encore plus funeste. Si cette division a déjà fait tant de mal, lorsque l'empereur, étant à Paris, s'occupant sans cesse de ses armées de la Péninsule, pouvait en partie remédier à tout, on doit frémir du résultat infallible de ce système, suivi avec diminution de moyens, lorsque l'empereur s'éloigne de trois cents lieues.

'Monseigneur, je vous ai exposé toutes les raisons qui me semblent démontrer jusqu'à l'évidence la nécessité de réunir sous la même autorité toutes les troupes et tout le pays, depuis Bayonne jusques et y compris Madrid et la Manche ; en cela, je n'ai été guidé que par mon amour ardent pour la gloire de nos armes et par ma conscience. Si l'empereur ne trouvait pas convenable d'adopter ce système j'ose le supplier de me donner un successeur dans le commandement qu'il m'avait confié. J'ai la confiance et le sentiment de pouvoir faire autant qu'un autre, mais tout restant dans la situation actuelle la charge est au-dessus de mes forces. De quelques difficultés que soit le commandement général, quelque imposante que soit la responsabilité qui l'accompagne, elles me paraissent beaucoup moindres que celles que ma position entraîne en ce moment.

'Quelque flatteur que soit un grand commandement, il n'a de prix à

mes yeux que lorsqu'il est accompagné des moyens de bien faire: lorsque ceux-ci me sont enlevés, alors tout me paraît préférable, et mon ambition se réduit à servir en soldat. Je donnerai ma vie sans regret, mais je ne puis rester dans la cruelle position de n'avoir pour résultat de mes efforts et de mes soins de tous les momens, que la triste perspective d'attacher mon nom à des événemens fâcheux et peu dignes de la gloire de nos armes.

(Signé)

LE MARÉCHAL DUC DE RAGUSE.

Joseph to Napoleon.

“*Madrid, Mai 18, 1812.*

“SIRE—Il y a aujourd'hui un mois et demi que j'ai reçu la lettre du prince de Neufchâtel en date du 16 Mars dernier, qui m'annonce que votre majesté impériale et royale me confiait le commandement de ses armées en Espagne, et me prévenait que les généraux-en-chef des armées du nord, de Portugal, du midi et de l'Aragon recevaient les ordres convenables.

“Depuis cette époque il m'a été impossible de remplir les intentions de V. M. impériale et royale. Le général-en-chef de l'armée du nord s'est refusé à m'envoyer aucun rapport, disant et écrivant qu'il n'avait aucun ordre à cet égard. M. le maréchal commandant en chef l'armée du midi n'a encore répondu à aucune des lettres que je lui ai écrites ou fait écrire depuis cette époque. M. le maréchal commandant en chef l'armée d'Aragon ne m'envoie aucun rapport, et reste entièrement isolé de moi. M. le maréchal commandant en chef l'armée de Portugal m'a fait beaucoup de demandes auxquelles il savait parfaitement que je ne pouvais satisfaire, comme celles de troupes de l'armée du nord, des vivres, &c. Sa conduite est tellement indécente qu'elle n'est pas concevable. V. M. I. et R. et pourra en juger par mes dépêches au prince de Neufchâtel.——Sire, en acceptant le commandement des armées Françaises à l'époque où je l'ai reçu, j'ai cru remplir un devoir que tous les liens qui m'attachent à V. M. I. et R. et à la France m'imposaient, parce que j'ai pensé pouvoir être utile, mais j'étais persuadé que V. M. I. et R. me confiant un dépôt si précieux, les généraux-en-chef s'empresseraient d'obéir à la volonté de V. M. Il n'en est pas ainsi; je m'adresse donc à elle pour qu'elle veuille bien écrire ou faire écrire aux généraux-en-chef quelle est sa volonté, pour qu'elle leur fasse déclarer que leur désobéissance à mes ordres les mettrait dans le cas d'être renvoyés en France où ils trouveraient un juge juste mais sévère dans V. M. I. et R. Si V. M. majesté ne trouve pas le moyen de persuader à ces messieurs que sa volonté est que je sois obéi, je la supplie de considérer que le rôle auquel je suis exposé est indigne de mon caractère et du nom de V. M. Si la guerre du nord a lieu, je ne puis être utile ici qu'autant que je suis obéi et je ne puis être obéi qu'autant que ces messieurs sauront que j'ai le droit de les remplacer; je ne puis infliger, moi, d'autre punition que celle-là à un général-en-chef. Si je ne suis pas obéi, et que V. M. aille au nord, l'Espagne sera évacuée honteusement par les troupes impériales, et le nom que je porte aura présidé inutilement à cette époque désastreuse.

“Le mal est grand, mais il n'est au-dessus ni de mon dévouement ni de mon courage. C'est à votre majesté à les rendre efficaces par la force dont il est indispensable qu'elle m'entoure; le salut des armées impériales et de l'Espagne en dépendent.”

No. X.

TARIFA.

[The anonymous extracts are from the memoirs and letters of different officers engaged in the siege. The Roman characters mark different sources of information.]

SECTION I.

Number and conduct of the French.

A.

"As to the numbers of the French; the prisoners, the intercepted letters, the secret information from Chielana, all accounts, in fact, concurred in stating that the troops employed exceeded *nine thousand men!*"

Extracts from Colonel Skerrett's despatch

"The enemy's force employed in the siege is stated at *ten thousand*, probably *this is in some degree exaggerated.*"

B.

"The fact of the enemy, with *eleven thousand experienced soldiers*, not having made another effort after his assault of the 31st, &c. &c."

Lord Wellington's despatch.

"January 19, 1812.

"By accounts which I have from Cadiz to the 27th December, I learn that the enemy invested Tarifa with a force of *about five thousand men* on the 20th December, covering their operation against that place by another corps at Vejer."

Conduct of the French.

A.

"There was not on the part of the leading French officer (an old lieutenant of the 94th) or of his followers, any appearance of panic or perturbation. Their advance was serene, steady and silent, worthy of the 5th corps, of their Austrian laurels, of their '*vieilles moustaches.*'"

SECTION II

Conduct of the Spanish soldiers.

B.

"At the assault General Copons himself was the only person who showed his head above the parapet. The precaution of outflanking him by three companies of the 47th regiment remedied the chance of evil, which so lamentable a want of chivalry might have occasioned, but the knights of older times were probably better fed than were our poor distressed 'friends.'"

SECTION III

Conduct of Colonel Skerrett.

A.

"It is necessary to advert to the 18-pounder mounted on the Gusmans' tower, as Southey's History contains some strange misrepresentation on the

subject."—"The French made the 18-pounder an early object of attack, but they did not succeed in crushing it. Unfortunately one of the spherical case shot, not precisely fitting its old and worn calibre, burst in passing over the town, and killed or wounded a person in the street. This produced some alarm and complaint amongst the inhabitants for a moment, and in the first feeling of that moment, Skerrett with characteristic impetuosity directed the gun to be placed '*hors de service*.' There was no ambiguity in his command, '*Let it be spiked*.'"—"Had he referred the case to the commanding officer of artillery, the order would not have been executed, means would have been found to remove the first impression and tranquilize the people, without the sacrifice of the gun, which might have added materially to the offensive powers of the garrison, particularly if the siege had been prolonged."

B.

"On the 29th of December, Colonel Skerrett, with a rare activity, dismounted a 32-pound carronade that looked into the enemy's batteries at the distance of about four hundred yards, and he succeeded in spiking and knocking off the trunnion of an 18-pounder, borrowed from the Stately. This gun was mounted on the tower of the Gusmans."

General Campbell to Lord Liverpool.

"January 3, 1812.

"Annexed is a letter received last night from Colonel Skerrett; and notwithstanding the despondency therein expressed, which has been equally so in other letters that I have received from him, my opinion remains the same as formerly."

A.

"At the crisis produced by Skerrett's desire to retire from the town, and desire to leave the island also, General Campbell sent express instructions that the town should not be abandoned without the concurrence of the commanding officers of artillery and engineers; and accompanied these instructions with a positive command that every officer and soldier belonging to Gibraltar should, in future, be stationed in the island, to insure at all events the preservation of that port."

SECTION IV.

Sir C. Smith's conduct.

"Smith never tolerated the idea of surrender—never admitted the possibility of defeat."

"Comprehending from the first the resources and capabilities of his post and with a sort of intuition anticipating his assailant, he covered the weak points while he concealed his strength; and so conducted the skirmish which preceded the investment that he, as it were, dictated the whole plan of attack, and in reality pointed out with his finger the position of the breaching battery."

"Had the dictates of his vigorous mind and enterprising spirit been duly listened to within, the defence would have been more active and more brilliant."

SECTION V.

[Extracts.]

Lord Wellington to Lord Liverpool.

"January 9, 1812.

"From the accounts which I have received of the place (Tarifa) it appears to me quite impossible to defend it, when the enemy will be equipped to attack it. The utmost that can be done is to hold the island contiguous to Tarifa; for which object Colonel Skerrett's detachment does not appear to be necessary. I don't believe that the enemy will be able to obtain possession of the island, without which the town will be entirely useless to them, and indeed, if they had the island as well as the town, I doubt their being able to retain these possessions, adverting to the means of attacking them with which General Ballesteros might be supplied by the garrison of Gibraltar, unless they should keep a force in the field in their neighborhood to protect them."

Lord Wellington to Major-General Cooke.

"February 1, 1812.

"SIR,—I have omitted to answer your letters of the 27th December and of the 7th January, relating to the correspondence which you had had with the Governor of Gibraltar, upon the conditional orders, which you had given Colonel Skerrett to withdraw from Tarifa, because I conclude that you referred that correspondence to the secretary of State, with whom alone it rests to decide whether it was your duty to recall Colonel Skerrett, and whether you performed that duty at a proper period, and under circumstances which rendered it expedient that you should give Colonel Skerrett the orders in question. From the report of Colonel Skerrett, and Lord Proby, and other information which I had received respecting Tarifa, I concurred in the orders that you gave to Colonel Skerrett, and my opinion on that subject is not at all changed by what has occurred since. We have a right to expect that his majesty's officers and troops will perform their duty upon every occasion; but we have no right to expect that comparatively a small number would be able to hold the town of Tarifa, commanded as it is at short distances, and enfiladed in every direction, and unprovided with artillery and the walls scarcely cannon-proof. The enemy, however, retired with disgrace, infinitely to the honor of the brave troops who defended Tarifa, and it is useless to renew the discussion. It is necessary, however, that you should now come to an understanding with General Campbell regarding the troops which have been detached from Cadiz and this army under Colonel Skerrett."

Ditto to Ditto.

"February 25, 1812.

"I have already in my letter of the 1st instant, stated to you my opinion regarding Tarifa. I do not think that Captain Smith's letter throws new light upon the subject. The island appears still to be the principal point to defend, and the easiest to be defended at a small expense and risk of loss. Whether the town and the hill of Santa Catalina can be made subservient to the defence of the island depends upon circumstances upon which it would be possible to decide, only by having a local knowledge of the place. It is very clear to me, however, that the enemy will not attack Tarifa in this spring, and that you will not be called upon to furnish troops

to garrison that place as soon as you expect. If you should be called upon either by the Spanish government or by the Governor of Gibraltar you must decide the question according to the suggestions which I made to you in my despatch of the 15th instant. If you should send a detachment from Cadiz at the desire of the Spanish government for purposes connected with the operations of General Ballesteros, I conceive that the Governor of Gibraltar has nothing to say to such detachments; if you should send one to Tarifa at the desire of the Governor of Gibraltar, or of the Spanish government, it is better not to discuss the question whether the detachment shall or shall not obey the orders of the Governor of Gibraltar. He has occupied Tarifa permanently, and he is about to improve the defences of the place which he conceives to be under his orders; but, according to all the rules of his majesty's service, the senior officer should command the whole. I have nothing to say to the division of the command of the island and town of Tarifa, which I conclude has been settled by the Governor of Gibraltar."

Extract from the Notes of an Officer engaged in the Siege.

"Though the Duke of Wellington yielded to the opinions and wishes of General Cooke, Colonel Skerrett, and Lord Proby, yet his characteristic and never failing sagacity seems to have suggested to him a fear or a fancy, that part of the case was kept concealed. A local knowledge was necessary, not only to judge of the relation and reciprocal defences and capabilities of the town and island, but to estimate the vast importance of the post, the necessity, in fact, of its possession. It was my impression then, and it amounts to conviction now, that the island, particularly during the winter, half fortified as it was, and totally destitute of shelter from bombardment or from weather, could not have been maintained against an enemy in possession of the town, the suburb, and the neighboring heights. But even if it had, by means of British bravery, resolution, and resource, been provisioned and defended, still the original and principal objects of its occupation would have been altogether frustrated, namely, the command and embarkation of supplies for Cadiz and the fostering of the patriotic flame. It is demonstrable that, had the Duke of Dalmatia once become possessor of the old walls of Tarifa, every city, village, fort, and watch-tower on the Andalusian coast would soon have displayed the banner of King Joseph, and the struggle in the south of Spain was over."

General Campbell to Lord Liverpool.

"Gibraltar, April 2, 1812.

"MY LORD,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of the 8th of February last, and I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the documents herewith, particularly to the report of Captain Smith, Royal Engineers, which I trust will prove that the defence of the town of Tarifa was not taken up on slight grounds, and that the detachment from Cadiz under the orders of Colonel Skerrett, together with the troops from hence which formed the garrison of the town, were never in any danger of being cut off, as their retreat would have been covered by the castle of the Guzmans, the redoubt of Santa Catalina, and the island; the two first of these points being connected by a field-work, and the whole mounting twenty-nine pieces of cannon and mortars exclusively of what remained in the town: the enemy's batteries being completely kept in check during such an operation by the island and the castle of the Guz-

mans. My Lord, Colonel Skerrett stood alone in his opinion respecting this post, and in direct opposition to my own and that of Captain Smith, Royal Engineers, who is considered by his corps as an officer of first rate professional abilities. Major-general Cooke must therefore have acted on the reports of the Colonel when he authorized him to abandon his post, for the Major-general was unacquainted with its resources: besides, my Lord, I had a right to expect that troops sent to that point to assist in its defence should not be withdrawn without my consent. Had the place been lost, my Lord, by such misrepresentation, it would have been attributed to any other than the real cause, and the odium would have been fixed upon me, as having taken up the position; I am happy, however, that its capability has been proved whilst it remained under my orders, and that by interposing my authority the valuable possession of Tarifa has been saved from the grasp of the enemy. I was besides deeply concerned in the fate of the place; a great quantity of military stores and provision having been embarked on that service by my authority, from a conviction that they were fully protected by this additional force.

"After the execution of a service, my Lord, from which I concluded I was entitled to some consideration, it is no small mortification for me to find that my conduct should be deemed questionable; but I flatter myself that if the government of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent will do me the justice to read the annexed papers, they will perceive that if I had done less his Majesty's arms must have been dishonored. In regard to the assumption of command on that occasion, I have only to observe that considering the post of Tarifa as a dependency of Gibraltar, having occupied it exclusively for these two years past, and that a commandant and staff were appointed from my recommendation, with salaries annexed, and this with the approbation of both governments, these circumstances added to what I have seen on similar occasions put it past a doubt in my mind, and Colonel Skerrett having applied to me for 'precise orders,' shows that he was aware that such was the case. If, my Lord, I ever had a right to exercise an authority over the post of Tarifa from what I have stated, the entry of troops from another quarter, unless actually commanded by an officer senior to myself, could not, according to the custom of our service, deprive me of it; and I have heard that the case has been referred to Lord Wellington, who was of the same opinion. This however, I only take the liberty to advance in justification of my conduct, and not in opposition to the opinion formed by the government of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. I trust therefore I shall be excused in the eyes of government in declaring without reserve, that if I had not retained the command the place would not now be in our possession, and the wants of our enemies would have been completely supplied by its affording a free communication with the states of Barbary. I have the honor to report that I have made the necessary communication with Major-general Cooke, in consequence of its being the wish of government that Tarifa shall be occupied by troops from Cadiz. The Major-general informs me in answer thereto, that he has communicated with Lord Wellington, as he has not received orders to that effect nor has he the means at present to make the detachment required, and your Lordship is aware that I have it not in my power to reinforce that post in case of need." &c., &c.—P.S. "Should your Lordship wish any further information with respect to that post, it will be found on referring to my report made after I had visited Tarifa, where Commodore Penrose and Colonel Sir Charles Holloway, Royal Engineers, accompanied me."

Extract from Captain C. F. Smith's report.

"Tarifa, December 14, 1811."

"I do not hesitate to declare that I place the utmost reliance on the resources of the place, and consider them such as ought to make a good and ultimately successful defence."

Ditto, ditto.

"December 24, 1811."

"My opinion respecting the defences of this post is unalterable, and must ever remain so,—that till the island is more independent in itself, there is a necessity of fairly defending the town as an outwork."

Extract of a letter from Colonel King, the senior officer of the troops detached from Gibraltar for the defence of Tarifa.

"August 6, 1834.

"I probably had better mention a circumstance which occurred two days before the assault of the breach at Tarifa; Colonel Skerrett assembled the commanding officers of corps on the evening of the 29 Dec. 1811, and asked their opinion as to the possibility of defending Tarifa. I think they were all of his opinion, inclined to abandon it, except myself and his engineer Captain Smith, now Colonel Sir C. F. Smith. We both urged in strong language our capability of defending it; when he ordered us to retire to our quarters, and the commanding officers to give him their opinion in writing as soon as possible. I immediately wrote, and gave in the following opinion:—

"Tarifa, December 29, 1811.

"I am decidedly of opinion that the defence of Tarifa will afford the British garrison an opportunity of gaining eternal honor, and it ought to be defended to the last extremity.

"H. KING, major, 82d regt.

"Commandant of Tarifa."

"On the morning of the 30th, Colonel Skerrett called upon me to say he had determined to embark with his force of 1200 men, and wished to know what I meant to do. I expressed my regret, and told him I was resolved to defend the place, and if he did embark I hoped he would do it at night when he could not be seen by the enemy. Captain Smith soon after called on me to offer his services, which I gladly accepted, if Skerrett would allow him to remain as he belonged to his command. I immediately sent an express to General Campbell at Gibraltar, informing him of Skerrett's determination and my wish that he should send me two or three companies as soon as possible, and that he might depend upon my defending Tarifa to the very last extremity. Late in the evening, a naval officer from Gibraltar arrived with an order for the transports to proceed to the Rock and not take a soldier on board."

NOTE.—Major King is mistaken in thinking that all the commanding officers of regiments were in favor of abandoning the place. Colonel Gough was as decidedly averse to it as Major King himself was.]

No. XI.

STORMING OF CIUDAD RODRIGO AND BADAJOS.

[The anonymous extracts are taken from the memoirs and journals of officers engaged in, or eye-witnesses of the action described. The Roman characters mark different sources of information.]

SECTION I. CIUDAD RODRIGO.

A.

"The Duke of Wellington, standing on the top of some ruins of the convent of Francisco, pointed out to Colonel Colborne and to Major Napier,* commanding the storming-party of the light division, the spot where the small breach was. Having done this, he said "*Now do you understand exactly the way you are to take so as to arrive at the breach without noise or confusion?*" He was answered, "*Yes, perfectly.*" Some one of the staff then said to Major Napier, "Why don't you load?" He answered, "No, if we can't do the business without loading, we shall not do it at all." The Duke of Wellington immediately said, "Leave him alone."

—"The caçadores under Colonel Elder were to carry haybags to throw into the ditch, but the signal of attack having been given and the fire commencing at the great breach, the stormers would not wait for the hay-bags, which from some confusion in the orders delivered had not yet arrived; but from no fault of Colonel Elder or his gallant regiment; they were always ready for and equal to anything they were ordered to do.

"The troops jumped into the ditch; the *'fausse braye'* was faced with stone, so as to form a perpendicular wall about the centre of the ditch; it was scaled and the foot of the breach was attained. Lieutenant Gurwood had gone too far to his left with the forlorn hope and missed the entrance of the breach; he was struck down with a wound on the head, but sprang up again and joined Major Napier, Captain Jones, 52d regt., Mitchell, 95th, Ferguson, 43d., and some other officers, who at the head of the stormers were all going up the breach together."

—"Colonel Colborne, although very badly wounded in the shoulder, formed the fifty-second on the top of the rampart and led them against the enemy."

"The great breach was so strongly barricaded, so fiercely defended, that the third division had not carried it, and were still bravely exerting every effort to force their way through the obstacles when Colonel M'Leod of the forty-third poured a heavy flank fire upon the enemy defending it."

B.

"The third division having commenced firing we were obliged to hurry to the attack. The forlorn hope led, we advanced rapidly across the glacis and descended into the ditch near the ravelin under a heavy fire. We found the forlorn hope placing ladders against the face of the work and our party turned towards them, when the engineer officer called out, '*You are wrong, this is the way to the breach, or the fausse braye which leads to the breach you are to attack.*'"

—"We ascended the breach of the *'fausse braye'*, and then the breach of the body of the place without the aid of ladders."

—"We were for a short time on the breach before we forced the en

* Brother to the Author of this work

trance. A gun was stretched across the entrance but did not impede our march. Near it some of the enemy were bayoneted, amongst the number some deserters who were found in arms defending the breach."

—"Major Napier was wounded at the moment when the men were checked by the heavy fire and determined resistance of the enemy about two-thirds up the ascent. It was then that the soldiers, forgetting they were not loaded, as the Major had not permitted them, snapped all their firelocks."

—"No individual could claim being the first that entered the breach it was a simultaneous rush of about twenty or thirty. The forlorn hope was thrown in some degree behind, being engaged in fixing ladders against the face of the work, which they mistook for the point of attack."

"Upon carrying the breach, the parties moved as before, directed by Major Napier; that is, the fifty-second to the left, the forty-third to the right. The forty-third cleared the ramparts to the right, and drove the enemy from the places they attempted to defend until it arrived near the great breach at a spot where the enemy's defences were overlooked. At this time the great breach had not been carried and was powerfully defended by the enemy. The houses bearing on it were loop-holed, and a deep trench lined with musketry bearing directly upon it; the flanks of the breach were cut off, and the descent into the town from the ramparts at the top of it appeared considerable, so as to render it exceeding difficult, i. not impossible, to force it without some other aid than a front attack."

—"The moment the light division storming-party arrived at the spot described, they opened a heavy enfilading fire of musketry upon the trench, which was the main defence of the great breach, and drove the enemy from it with the aid of the storming-party of the third division that now entered. I was wounded at this time, and retired a short way back on the rampart when I saw the first explosion on the rampart near the great breach. I was, in my opinion, next to impossible, as I have said before, to force the great breach by a front attack, as long as the enemy held their defences but the moment the light division turned their defences the breach was instantly carried."

Abstract of the Journal of General Harvey, Portuguese Service.

"I stood on rising ground and watched the progress of the attack. The great breach was attacked first. At the top of it the third division opened their fire heavily and it was returned heavily; but there was a distressing pause. The small breach was carried first, and there was one considerable explosion and two or three smaller ones on the ramparts."

SECTION II.—BADAJOS.—ASSAULT OF PICURINA.

C.

"An engineer officer who led the attack told me two days after, 'that the place never would have been taken had it not been for the intelligence of these men (a detachment from the light division) in absolutely walking round the fort, and finding out the gate, which was literally beaten down by them, and they entered at the point of the bayonet. Lieutenant Nixon of the fifty-second was shot through the body by a Frenchman a yard or two inside the gate.'

ASSAULT OF BADAJOS.

[NOTE.—The account of Major-General Shaw Kennedy's intrepidity and coolness on the third breach was derived from his heroic companion, Captain Nicholas, who related it with admiration when dying himself of his wounds.]

D.

“For the descent of the light and fourth divisions into the ditch, only *five ladders* were placed, and those five ladders were close to each other. The *advance* (or storming party) of the eighth division preceded that of the fourth division, and I believe that no part of the fourth division was up in time to suffer from the first great explosion, and the storming-party only had entered when that explosion took place; but observe, that although the *advance* of the light division preceded the *advance* of the fourth division, I only mean by that, that the head of the light division entered the ditch sooner than the *head* of the fourth division, for the main bodies of the two divisions joined at the ladders and were descending into the ditch at the same time.”

“I consider that the centre breach at Badajos was never seriously attacked. I was not at the centre breach on the night of the assault, therefore I cannot positively assert what took place there. But there were not bodies of dead and wounded at the centre or curtain breach in the morning, to indicate such an attack having been made upon it, and being in the curtain it was far retired from the troops, and the approach of it was made extremely difficult by *deep cuts*, and I think it passed unobserved except by a straggling few.”

—“I consider that ‘*chevaux de frise*’ were placed upon the summit of the centre breach during the assault. I was there at daybreak. The approach to it was extremely difficult, both from the difficulty of finding it, and from the deep holes that were before it, which to my recollection resembled the holes you see in a clay-field, where they make bricks. Another great obstruction was the fire from the faces and flanks of the two bastions, which crossed before the curtain.”

Extract from a Memoir by Captain Barney, Chasseurs Britanniques, acting Engineer at the siege.

“The explosion of the ‘*Bariques foudroyantes*’ resembled ‘*fougasses*,’ and I expected the bastion would have crumbled to pieces. At this moment I perceived one person in the midst of the fire, who had gained the top of the breach in the face of the bastion, he seemed impelling himself forward towards the enemy in an offensive position when he sank down, apparently destroyed by the fire. On examining this breach at daylight, I found a Portuguese grenadier, whom I suppose to be the person, as he lay dead the foremost on this breach.”

—“Twice the bugles sounded to retire from the breaches. The fire diminished, and passing along the glacis of the ravelin, I hastened to the attack of General Pieton, and found but *two ladders*, one only just long enough to reach the embrasure, and the other with several of the upper rounds destroyed. The castle was full of men, and had the enemy thrown shells among them, I do not think it could have been kept possession of. Major Burgh came to ascertain the result of the attack, and the reserves were ordered up. On coming down from the castle I met General Pieton, and told him the castle was full of men, but they had not advanced into the town. He immediately ordered sorties to be made to clear the breach, and

a good look out to be kept towards Christoval."—"Passing in front of the battery where Lord Wellington was, I went on the right bank of the inundation till I could cross, and going towards the breach, I was overtaken by the Prince of Orange, carrying an order for Colonel Barnard to occupy the breach. The enemy's fire had ceased, yet none of the storming-party knew whether we were successful or not. I told the prince I was just come from the castle, which was occupied in force. As we approached the breach the stench of burnt hair and scorched flesh was horrible, and on the crest of the glacis the dead and wounded lay in such numbers it was impossible to pass without treading on them."

"Here I also found but *three ladders*, one broken so as to render it useless. On arriving at the *curtain-breach*, some men of the light division assisted me in removing from the top *the chevaux de frise of sword-blades and pikes.*"

Letter from Major Squire, of the Engineers.

[Extract.]

"April 8, 1812.

The enemy made a most obstinate resistance, and had prepared the breaches in such a manner with *chevaux de frise*, planks with tenter-hooks, shells and barrels of gunpowder, that to enter them became impossible."

Extract from a Memoir on the Escalade of St. Vincent, by Captain Ellers P. Hopkins, fourth regiment.

"The column halted a few yards from a breast-work surmounted with a stockade and a *chevaux de frise* concealing a guard-house on the covered way, and at this moment a most awful explosion took place, followed by the most tremendous peals of musketry. 'That is at the breaches,' was the whisper amongst our soldiers, and their anxiety to be led forward was intense, but their firmness and obedience were equally conspicuous. The moon now appeared. We could hear the French soldiers talking in the guard-house, and their officers were visiting the sentries. The engineer officer who preceded the column, said '*now is the time;*' the column instantly moved to the face of the gateway. It was only at this moment that the sentry observed us, and fired his alarm-shot, which was followed by musketry. The two companies of Portuguese carrying the scaling-ladders threw them down, and deaf to the voices of their officers, made off. This occurrence did not in the least shake the zeal and steadiness of our men, who occupied immediately the space left, and shouldering the ladders moved on. We could not force the gate open, but the breast-work was instantly crowded, and the impediments cut away sufficiently to allow of two men entering abreast."—"The engineer officer was by this time killed. We had no other assistance from that corps, and the loss was most severely felt at this early period of the attack."

"The troops were now fast filling the ditch; they had several ladders, and I shall never forget the momentary disappointment amongst the men when they found that the ladders were too short."—"The enemy took advantage of this to annoy us in every way, rolling down beams of wood, fire-balls, &c., together with an *enfilading* fire.

"We observed near us an embrasure unfurnished of artillery, its place being occupied by a gabion filled with earth. A ladder was instantly placed under its mouth, and also one at each side. This allowed three persons to ascend at once, but only one at a time could enter in at the embrasure. The

first several attempts were met with instant death. The ladders were even now too short, and it was necessary for one person to assist the other by hoisting him up the embrasure."—"Some shots were fired from a building in the town, and Colonel Piper was sent with a party to dislodge the enemy, while General Walker, at the head of his brigade, attempted to clear the rampart to the right, &c., &c.

"The enemy retired from the building on our approach, and Colonel Piper did not return to the ramparts, but moved into the body of the town. Could we have divested our minds of the real situation of the town it might have been imagined that the inhabitants were preparing for some grand fête, as all the houses in the streets and squares were brilliantly illuminated, from the top to the first floor, with numerous lamps. This illumination scene was truly remarkable, not a living creature to be seen, but a continual low buzz and whisper around us, and we now and then perceived a small lattice gently open and re-shut, as if more closely to observe the singular scene of a small English party perambulating the town in good order, the bugleman at the head blowing his instrument. Some of our men and officers now fell wounded; at first we did not know where the shots came from, but soon observed they were from the sills of the doors. We soon arrived at a large church facing some grand houses, in a sort of square. The party here drew up, and it was at first proposed to take possession of this church, but that idea was abandoned. We made several prisoners leading some mules laden with loose ball cartridges in large wicker baskets, which they stated they were conveying from the magazines to the breaches. After securing the prisoners, ammunition, &c., we moved from the square with the intention of forcing our way upon the ramparts. We went up a small street towards them, but met with such opposition as obliged us to retire with loss. We again found ourselves in the square. There an English soldier came up to us who had been confined in the jail, probably a deserter. He said our troops had attacked the castle and had failed, but that the French troops had afterwards evacuated it. At this period rapid changes took place. Several French officers came into the square; the town belonged to the English; the great Wellington was victorious. A scene of sad confusion now took place; several French officers of rank, their wives and children, ran into the square in a state of frenzy, holding little caskets containing their jewels and valuables, and their children in their arms. The situation of these females was dreadful; they implored our protection, and I believe this party escaped the plunder and pillage which was now unfortunately in progress. The scene that now commenced surpassed all that can be imagined: drunkenness, cruelty, and debauchery, the loss of many lives and great destruction of property was one boon for our victory. The officers had lost all command of their men in the town; those who had got drunk and had satisfied themselves with plunder congregated in small parties and fired down the streets. I saw an English soldier pass through the middle of the street with a French knapsack on his back; he received a shot through his hand from some of the drunkards at the top of the street; he merely turned round and said, Damn them, I suppose they took me for a Frenchman. An officer of the Brunswickers, who was contending with a soldier for the possession of a canary-bird, was shot dead by one of these insane drunkards. Groups of soldiers were seen in all places, and could we have forgotten the distressing part of the scene never was there a more complete masquerade. Some dressed as monks, some as friars, some in court-dresses, many carrying furniture, cloth, provisions, money, plate from the churches; the military chest was even got at by the soldiers."

No. XII.

SECTION I.

ENGLISH PAPERS RELATING TO SOULT'S AND MARMONT'S OPERATIONS.

Colonel Le Mesurier, commandant of Almeida, to Brigadier-General Trant.

"Almeida, March 28, 1812.

"When I took possession of the fortress, ten days since, I found not a single gun in a state for working; either owing to the want of side-arms or the ill assortment of shot and ammunition not a single platform was laid down, and scarcely a single embrasure opened in any part of the newly-repaired fronts. My powder was partly in an outwork, partly in two buildings scarcely weather-proof, only one front of my covered way palisaded, and the face of one of my ravelins without any revêtement whatever; the revêtement throughout the whole of the nearly-repaired fronts not being more than one-third or one-fourth of its former height. Many of these defects have been remedied; we have platforms and embrasures throughout the new fronts, the guns posted with their proper side-arms and shot-piles, and with a proper assortment of ammunition in the caissons; the bulk of our powder and ordnance-cartridge being distributed in bomb-proofs; we have formed a respectable entrenchment on the top of the breach of the mined ravelin, which it is proposed to arm with palisades, but the almost total want of transport has prevented our being able to complete more than two fronts and a half of our covert way with those essential defences. From this sketch you will collect that, though the fortress is not to be walked into, it is yet far from being secure from the consequences of a resolute assault, particularly if the garrison be composed of raw and unsteady troops."

Extract from a Memoir of General Trant.

"Now it so happened that on this same night Marmont had marched from Sabugal in order to attack me in Guarda; he had at the least five thousand infantry, some reports made his force seven thousand, and he had five or six hundred cavalry. My distrust of the militia with regard to the execution of precautions such as I had now adopted, had induced me at all times to have a drummer at my bed-room door in readiness to beat to arms; and this was most fortunately the case on the night of the 13th April, 1812, for the very first intimation I received of the enemy being near at hand was given me by my own servant, on bringing me my coffee at daybreak of the 14th. He said such was the report in the street, and that the soldiers were assembling at the alarm rendezvous in the town. I instantly beat to arms, and the beat being as instantly taken up by every drummer who heard it, Marmont, who at that very moment was with his cavalry at the very entrance of the town (quite open on the Sabugal side more than elsewhere,) retired. He had cut off the outposts without their firing a shot, and had he only dashed headlong into the town, must have captured Wilson's and my militia divisions without losing probably a single man. I was myself the first out of the town, and he was not then four hundred yards from it, retiring at a slow pace. I lost no time in forming my troops in position, and sent my few dragoons in observation. When at a couple of miles distant, Marmont drew up fronting Guarda, and it turned out, as I inferred, that he expected infantry."

Lord Wellington to Sir N. Trant.

'Castello Branco, April 17, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,—I arrived here about two hours ago. Marshal Beresford received your letter of the 13th upon the road, and I received that of the 12th from General Bacellar this morning. We shall move on as soon as the troops come up; it would appear that the French are collecting more force upon the Agueda and Coa. You should take care of yourselves on Guarda if they should collect two divisions at or in the neighborhood of Sabugal; Guarda is the most treacherous position in the country, although very necessary to hold. I should prefer to see an advanced guard upon it, and the main body on the Mondego behind. Have you saved my magazines at Celerico? I enclose a letter for the commissary there, and one for Don Carlos d'Espagna. Pray forward both; the former is to order forward fresh supplies to Celerico. Show this letter to General Bacellar: I don't write to him as I have no Portuguese with me," &c. &c. "WELLINGTON."

Ditto to ditto.

"Pedrogao, April 21, 1812.

"DEAR SIR,—I have received your letter of the 15th, and you will see by mine of the 17th, written as soon as I knew that your division and that of General Wilson were on Guarda, that I expected what happened, and that I wished you to withdraw from that position. In fact, troops ought not to be put in a strong position in which they can be turned if they have not an easy retreat from it; and if you advert to that principle in war, and look at the position of Guarda, you will agree with me that it is the most treacherous position in Portugal. I can only say that, as Marmont attacked you, I am delighted that you have got off so well; which circumstance I attribute to your early decision not to hold the position, and to the good dispositions which you made for the retreat from it.

"As to your plan to surprise Marmont at Sabugal, you did not attempt to put it in execution and it is useless to say anything about it. I would observe however upon one of your principles, viz., that the magnitude of the object would justify the attempt, that in war, particularly in our situation and with such troops as we, and you in particular command, nothing is so bad as failure and defeat. You could not have succeeded in that attempt, and you would have lost your division and that of General Wilson. I give you my opinion very freely upon your plans and operations, as you have written me upon them, begging you at the same time to believe that I feel for the difficulty of your situation, and that I am perfectly satisfied that both you and General Wilson did everything that officers should do with such circumstances, and that I attribute to you the safety of the two divisions. I shall be at Sabugal to-morrow or the next day: and I hope to see you before we shall again be more distant from each other." &c. &c.

"WELLINGTON."

SECTION II.

FRENCH PAPERS RELATING TO SOULT'S AND MARMONT'S OPERATIONS.

Translated. Extracts from Soult's intercepted despatches.

"Seville, April 14, 1812.

"I enclose copies of a letter from the Duke of Ragusa, dated 22d February, and another from General Foy, dated Velvis de Jara, 28th February

which announced positively that three divisions of infantry and one division of cavalry of the army of Portugal would join me if Badajos was attacked; but those divisions, fifteen days afterwards, marched into Old Castile at the moment when they knew that all the English army was moving upon Badajos, and at the instant when I, in virtue of your Highness's (Berthier's) orders, had sent five regiments of infantry and two of cavalry, and my skeleton regiments to Talavera. It is certain that if those three divisions had remained in the valley of the Tagus, the enemy would not have attacked Badajos, where they could have been fought to advantage.

"The contrary has arrived. I have been left to my own forces, which have been reduced by fifteen thousand men as I have stated above, and not even a military demonstration has been made much less success, because the attack on Beira could not influence the siege and did not."—"Badajos fell by a '*coup de fortune*,' because it was not in human foresight to think that five thousand men defending the breach successfully, would suffer a surprise on a point where no attack was directed, and when I was within a few marches with twenty-four thousand men strongly organized.

"If I had received your Highness's letter when I was before the English, I might, although unaided by M. Marmont, and numerically inferior, have given battle to save Badajos; but I should probably have been wrong, and I should have lost the force I left in Andalusia, where not only Seville was invested, and my communications cut, but a general insurrection was commencing. Happily I heard in time of the fall of Badajos; but I have not even yet opened my communications with New Castile, Grenada, or Malaga. I have however prepared in time to deliver a great battle on my own ground—Andalusia.

"The Emperor of course cannot foresee all things, and in his orders naturally meant that his Generals should act with discretion on such occasions; hence if Marmont had only made demonstrations on Beira with a part of his army, and had crossed the Tagus to unite with my troops, the siege would have been raised before the breach was practicable. Marmont had nothing before him, and he knew Wellington had passed the Guadiana and commenced the siege: I say that all the English army had passed the Guadiana, and this was its disposition.

"General Graham commanding the first corps of observation had the sixth and seventh divisions of infantry and Cotton's cavalry, two thousand five hundred strong, with thirty guns. This corps pushed my right wing to Granja and Azagua, at the '*debouche*' of Fuente Ovejuna, while Hill, with the second and third divisions, twelve hundred cavalry under Erskine, and twelve guns, moved on my extreme right in the direction of La Lerena from Belenderzer.

"Wellington carried on the siege in person, having the fourth division, part of the third division, a Portuguese corps, and I am assured he has also two or three thousand Spaniards, which made round the place eighteen thousand men.

"The fifth division remained at first on the right bank of the Tagus with a brigade of cavalry; but they were also called up and came to Elvas on the 4th or 5th of April. The best accounts gave Wellington thirty thousand men, and some make him as high as forty thousand, at the moment when I was before him at Villalba; and if the army of Portugal had joined me with twenty-five thousand men, Badajos would have been saved or retaken: and a great victory would throw the English back into their lines. I was not strong enough alone; and besides the loss I should have suffered I could not have got back in time to save my troops in Andalusia.

"The English did not hide their knowledge that Marmont was gathering in Leon; but they knew he had no battering-train, and that the wasted state of the country would not permit him to penetrate far into Portugal. So measured, indeed, were their operations, that it is to be supposed they had intercepted some despatch which explained the system of operation and the irresolution of Marmont."

"Your Highness tells me 'I should not have left Hill after his last movement in December on Estremadura, nor have permitted him to take my magazines:' I say he has taken nothing from me. The advanced guard at Merida lived from day to day on what was sent to them from La Larena. I know not if some of this has fallen into his hands; but it can be but little. But at this period Wellington wished to besiege Badajos, and only suspended it because of the rain, which would not let him move his artillery, and because three divisions of the army of Portugal were in the valley of the Tagus. If they had remained, the siege would not have been undertaken, and Marmont knew this; for on the 22d February he wrote to me to say that, independent of those three divisions under Foy which he destined to send to the aid of Badajos, he himself would act so as to surmount the difficulties which the state of his munitions opposed to his resolution to defeat the enemy's projects."

"If your Highness looks at the states of the 14th April, you will see that I had not, as you suppose by your letter of 19th February, forty thousand men; I had only thirty-five thousand, including the garrison of Badajos, out of which I had brought with me twenty-four thousand, the rest being employed before Cadiz, at Seville, in Grenada and Murcia, and against Ballesteros. You must consider that fifteen days before the English passed the Guadiana I had sent five regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and many skeletons upon Talavera, in all fifteen thousand men; and since two years I have sent many other skeleton regiments to France, being more than fifteen thousand men changing their destination or worn out, without having yet received the troops from the interior destined for my army, although these are borne on the states; besides which, I have four thousand men unfit for the field who ought to go to France, but I am forced to employ them in the posts. Ballesteros has, besides the arm of Murcia, ten thousand men; and in Murcia the Spaniards are strong, because the fugitives from Valencia had joined two divisions which had not been engaged there, and thus, including the garrisons of Alicant and Carthagena, they had fifteen thousand men. Suchet's operations have certainly produced great results, but for *one moment* have hurt me, because all who fly from him come back upon my left flank at a moment when I have only three battalions and four hundred cavalry to oppose them at Grenada only. I have sent my brother there in haste to support them. The English, Portuguese, and Spanish at Cadiz, Gibraltar, and on the ocean could also at any time descend with ten or twelve thousand men on any part of my line, and I want at least as many to oppose them and guard my posts. I may therefore be accused of having carried too many men to the relief of Badajos; and that army was not strong enough, though excellent in quality.

"I cannot hold twenty thousand men, as your highness desires, on the Guadiana unless I am reinforced, especially since the fall of Badajos; but as soon as I know the English have repassed that river, all my right under D'Erlon, *i. e.*, nine regiments of infantry and four of cavalry, and twelve guns, shall march into the interior of Estremadura and occupy Medellin, Villafranca, and even Merida, and, if possible, hold in check the garrison of Badajos and the English corps left in Alentejo, and so prevent any grand movement up the valley of the Tagus against Madrid.

"Since my return here the demonstrations of the English appear directed to invade Andalusia so far as to have obliged me to unfurnish many points, and even in a manner raise the siege of Cadiz; Graham has come to Lerena, and Cotton to Berlanga, where we had an affair, and lost sixty men." "I have ordered D'Erlon to repass the Guadalquivir, and come to me to fight the English if they advance; if not, he shall go on again, and I think the English general will not commit the fault of entering the mountains, though he says he will!"

No. XIII.

SECTION I.

SUMMARY OF THE FORCE OF THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE ARMY AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, EXCLUSIVE OF DRUMMERS AND ARTILLERYMEN.

October 1, 1811.—Cavalry.

	Present.	Sick.	Command.	Prisoners.	Total.
British.....	3571	1114	947	298	5930
Portuguese....	1373	256	1140	—	2769
Total Cavalry..	4944	1370	2087	298	8699

Infantry.

British.....	29,530	17,974	2663	1684	51,851
Portuguese....	23,689	6,009	1707	75	31,480
Total Infantry..	53,219	23,983	4370	1759	83,331

General Total, including serjeants, 58,263 sabres and bayonets in the field.

January 8, 1812.—Cavalry.

British.....	4949	841	741	—	6531
Portuguese....	613	43	275	—	931
Total Cavalry..	5562	884	1016	—	7462

Infantry.

British.....	30,222	11,414	2827	—	44,463
Portuguese....	20,455	4,849	2360	51	27,715
Total Infantry..	50,677	16,263	5187	51	72,178

General Total, including serjeants, 56,239 sabres and bayonets in the field.

NOTE.—The abuses and desertions in the Portuguese cavalry had been so great that one division was suppressed.

April 5, 1812.—Cavalry.

	Present.	Sick.	Command.	Prisoners.	Total.
British.....	4299	564	755	3	6048
Portuguese.....	347	9	492	—	848
Total Cavalry....	4646	573	1247	3	6896

Infantry.

British.....	26,897	11,452	2779	2	40,703
Portuguese....	20,224	5,532	1507	18	27,281
Total Infantry.	47,121	16,984	4286	20	67,984

Sabres and Bayonets.....	51,767
Field Artillerymen.....	1,980
Gunners in the Batteries.....	900

General Total.. 54,647

NOTE.—The heavy German cavalry were in the rear at Estremos, and two Portuguese regiments were in Abrantes.

TROOPS EMPLOYED AT THE SIEGE OF BADAJOS, APRIL, 1812.

British.

Light Division.....	2679
Third Division.....	2882
Fourth Division.....	2579
Fifth Division.....	2896
	—11,036

Portuguese.

Hamilton's Division.....	4685
Light Division.....	858
Third Division.....	976
Fourth Division.....	2384
Fifth Division.....	1845
	—10,748

Total..... 21,784

ALLIED COVERING CORPS IN APRIL, 1812.

Cavalry under General Hill.—Left Wing.

British.....	783
Portuguese.....	347
	—1,130

Infantry ditto.

British.....	6156
Portuguese.....	2385
	—8,541

Total under General Hill.... 9,671

Cavalry under General Graham—Right Wing.	
British	3517
Portuguese.....	—
	— 3,517
Infantry ditto.	
British.....	10,154
Portuguese.....	5,896
	— 16,050
Total under General Graham....	19,567

General Total of the covering army, exclusive of the artillerymen and the heavy German cavalry, who remained in the rear at Estremos, 29,238 sabres and bayonets.

SECTION II.

SUMMARY OF THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE LOSSES AT BADAJOS,
1812.

ASSAULT.

<i>British Loss.</i>		
	Killed.	Wounded.
Generals	—	5
Staff	1	11
	Officers.	Soldiers.
Artillery	2	20
Engineers	5	5
	—	—
Total	7	25

Light Division.—*Line.*

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
43rd	18	329	347
52nd	18	305	323
95th, 1st bat.	14	179	193
95th, 3rd bat.	8	56	64
	—	—	—
Total ...	58	869	927

Third Division.

5th	4	41	45
45th	14	83	97
74th	7	47	54
77th	3	10	13
83rd	8	62	70
88th	10	135	145
94th	2	154	156
	—	—	—
	48	532	580

Fourth division.

	Officers.	Soldiers.	Total.
7th	17	163	180
23rd	17	134	151
27th	15	170	185
40th	16	124	140
48th	19	154	173
	<u>84</u>	<u>745</u>	<u>829</u>

Fifth division.

1st	2	—	2
4th	17	213	230
9th	—	—	—
30th	6	126	132
38th	5	37	42
44th	9	95	104
	<u>39</u>	<u>471</u>	<u>510</u>
60th*	4	30	34
Brunswick Oels*	2	30	32

Total British loss at the assault.

Officers.	Sergeants.	Soldiers.	Total.
51	40	560 killed	} 3022
213	153	1983 wounded	
—	1	21 missing	

Total Portuguese loss at the assault.

8	6	141 killed	} 730	
45	32	468 wounded		
—	—	32 missing		
<u>Grand Total</u>	<u>317</u>	<u>232</u>	<u>3203</u>	<u>3752</u>

British loss during the whole siege.

60	45	715 killed	} 3800
251	178	2578 wounded	
—	1	30 missing	

Portuguese loss during the whole siege.

12	6	137 killed	} 965	
55	38	687 wounded		
—	—	30 missing		
<u>General Total</u> ..	<u>378</u>	<u>268</u>	<u>4179</u>	<u>4825</u>

* These regiments were attached by companies to the third, fourth, and fifth divisions.

SECTION III.

SUMMARY OF THE FRENCH FORCE IN SPAIN AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, EXTRACTED FROM THE IMPERIAL MUSTER-ROLLS.

	<i>Under arms.</i>		<i>Detached.</i>		<i>Absent.</i>		<i>Effective.</i>	
	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.	Hosp.	Pris.	Men.	Horses.
August, 1811....	262,276	87,669	50,502	10,869	41,452	"	354,418	85,348
Reinforcements in March....	17,361	8,929	81	"	981	"	18,423	13,190 train 8,929
Total....	279,637	41,598	50,583	10,869	42,433	"	372,841	52,467
January, 1812....	258,156	41,049	22,805	5,434	42,056	"	324,933	42,348
April, 1812....	240,654	36,590	12,224	3,814	33,504	"	286,440	40,461
Reserve at Bayonne.....	4,088	157	36	35	865	"	4,939	192
Total....	244,692	36,747	12,260	3,849	34,369	"	291,379	40,653

Observation.—In September, 1811, an army of reserve, consisting of two divisions of infantry and one of cavalry, with artillery, in all 20,287 under arms, was formed for the *armée du midi*.

1st August, 1811.

	<i>Under Arms.</i>		<i>Detached.</i>		<i>Hospital.</i>	<i>Effective.</i>		
	Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.		Men.	Horses.	
Armée du Midi.	50,597	10,008	32,043	5,359	11,836	94,508	1,195	} 4,608
							3,413	
du Centre....	16,540	3,729	391	64	1,781	18,712	3,236	} 3,793
							557	
de Portugal...	38,392	5,826	7,901	3,100	10,424	56,733	6,692	} 8,926
							2,234	
d'Aragon.....	45,102	5,718	1,397	388	5,458	51,957	3,667	} 6,106
							2,439	
du Nord.....	88,092	11,020	7,617	1,805	6,654	102,413	3,531	} 12,825
							4,294	
de Catalogne..	28,553	1,368	1,158	153	5,305	30,095	1,268	} 1,521
							253	
Total.....	262,276	37,669	50,502	10,869	41,452	354,418	35,348	} 48,538
Reinforcements..	17,361	8,929	81	"	981	18,423	13,190 2,929	
General Total....	279,637	41,508	50,583	10,869	42,443	372,841	39,277 13,190	} 52,467

STATE OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS.

15th August, 1811

<i>Under arms.</i>		<i>Detached.</i>		<i>Hospital.</i>	<i>Effective.</i>	
Men.	Horses.	Men.	Horses.		Men.	Horses.
12,797	3,193	3,944	14	1,189	17,613	3,179