

CHAPTER VII.

General observations—The campaign considered—The justice of Napoleon's views vindicated, and Marmont's operations censured as the cause of the French misfortunes—The operations of the army of the centre and of the south examined—Lord Wellington's operations eulogized—Extraordinary adventures of Captain Colquhoun Grant—The operations of the siege of Badajoz examined—Lord Wellington's conduct vindicated.....388

BOOK XVII.

CHAPTER I.

Summary of the political state of affairs—Lord Wellesley resigns—Mr. Perceval killed—New administration—Story of the war resumed—Wellington's precautionary measures described—He relinquishes the design of invading Andalusia and resolves to operate in the north—Reasons why—Surprise of Almaraz by General Hill—False alarm given by Sir William Erskine prevents Hill from taking the fort of Mirabete—Wellington's discontent—Difficult moral position of English generals.....407

CHAPTER II.

Progress of the war in different parts of Spain—State of Galicia—French precautions and successes against the partidas of the north—Marmont's arrangements in Castile—Maritime expedition suggested by Sir Howard Douglas—He stimulates the activity of the northern partidas—The curate Merino defeats some French near Aranda de Duero—His cruelty to the prisoners—Mina's activity—Harasses the enemy in Aragon—Is surprised at Robres by General Pannetier—Escapes with difficulty—Re-appears in the Rioja—Gains the defiles of Navas Tolosa—Captures two great convoys—Is chased by General Abbé and nearly crushed, whereby the partidas in the north are discouraged—Those in other parts become more enterprising—The course of the Ebro from Tudela to Tortosa so infested by them that the army of the Ebro is formed by drafts from Suchet's forces and placed under General Reille to repress them—Operations of Palombini against the partidas—He moves towards Madrid—Returns to the Ebro—Is ordered to join the King's army—Operations in Aragon and Catalonia—The Catalonians are cut off from the coast line—Eroles raises a new division in Talarn—Advances into Aragon—Defeats General Bourke at Rhoda—Is driven into Catalonia by Severoli—Decaen defeats Sarsfield and goes to Lerida—Lacy concentrates in the mountains of Olot—Descends upon Mattaro—Flies from thence disgracefully—Lamarque defeats Sarsfield—Lacy's bad conduct—Miserable state of Catalonia.....420

CHAPTER III.

Operations in Valencia and Murcia—Suchet's able government of Valencia—O'Donnell organizes a new army in Murcia—Origin of the Sicilian expedition to Spain—Secret intrigues against Napoleon in Italy and other parts—Lord William Bentinck proposes to invade Italy—Lord Wellington opposes it—The Russian Admiral Tchitchagoff projects a descent upon Italy—Vacillating conduct of the English ministers productive of great mischief—Lord William Bentinck sweeps the money-markets to the injury of Lord Wellington's operations—Sir John Moore's plan for Sicily rejected—His ability and foresight proved by the ultimate result—Evil effects of bad government shown by examples.....438

CHAPTER IV.

Operations in Andalusia and Estremadura—Advantage of Lord Wellington's position shown—Soul's plans vast but well-considered—He designs to besiege Tarifa, Alicant, and Carthagena, and march upon Lisbon—Restores the French interest at the court of Morocco—English embassy to the Moorish Emperor fails—Soul bombards Cadiz, and menaces a serious attack—Ballesteros, his rash conduct—He is defeated at Bornos—effect of his defeat upon the allies in Estremadura—Foy succors the fort of Mirabete—Hill is reinforced—Drouet falls back to Azagua—Followed by Hill—General Slade defeated by Lallemand in a cavalry combat at Macquilla—Exploit of Cornet Strenowitz—General Barrois marches to reinforce Drouet by the road of St. Ollalla—Hill falls back to Albuera—His disinterested conduct.....440

CHAPTER V.

Political situation of France—Secret policy of the European courts—Causes of the Russian war—Napoleon's grandeur and power—Scene on the Niemen—Design attributed to Napoleon of concentrating the French armies behind the Ebro—No traces of such an intention to be discovered—His proposals for peace considered—Political state of England—Effects of the continental system—Extravagance, harshness, and improvident conduct of the English ministers—Dispute with America—Political state of Spain—Intrigues of Carlotta—New scheme of mediation with the colonies—Mr. Sydenham's opinion of it—New constitution adopted—Succession to the crown fixed—Abolition of the Inquisition agitated—Discontent of the clergy and absolute monarchy men—Neglect of the military affairs—Dangerous state of the country—Plot to deliver up Ceuta—Foreign policy of Spain—Negotiations of Bardaxi at Stockholm—Fresh English subsidy—Plan of enlisting Spanish soldiers in British regiments fails—The councillor of state Sobral offers to carry off Ferdinand from Valençay, but Ferdinand rejects his offer—Joseph talks of assembling a Cortes at Madrid, but secretly negotiates with that in the Isla...445

CHAPTER VI.

Political state of Portugal—Internal condition not improved—Government weak—Lord Strangford's conduct condemned—Lord Wellesley resolves to recall him and send Lord Louvaine to Rio Janeiro—Reasons why this did not take place—Lord Strangford's career checked by the fear of being removed—Lord Wellington obtains full powers from the Brazils—Lord Castlereagh's vigorous interference—Death of Linhares at Rio Janeiro—Domingo Souza succeeds him as chief minister, but remains in London—Lord Wellington's moderation towards the Portuguese Regency—His embarrassing situation described—His opinion of the Spanish and Portuguese public men—His great diligence and foresight, aided by the industry and vigor of Mr. Stuart, supports the war—His administrative views and plans described—Opposed by the Regency—He desires the Prince Regent's return to Portugal without his wife—Carlotta prepares to come without the Prince—Is stopped—Mr. Stuart proposes a military government, but Lord Wellington will not consent—Great desertion from the Portuguese army in consequence of their distressed state, from the negligence of the government—Severe examples do not check it—The character of the Portuguese troops declines—Difficulty of procuring specie—Wellington's resources impaired by the shameful cupidity of English merchants at Lisbon and Oporto—Proposal for a Portuguese bank made by Domingo Souza, Mr. Vansittart, and Mr. Villiers—Lord Wellington ridicules it—He permits a contraband trade to be carried on with Lisbon by Soul for the sake of the resources it furnishes.....457

LIST OF PLATES.

1. Battle of Barosa.....	<i>to face page 87</i>
2. Massena's Retreat.....	47
3. Battle of Fuentes Onoro.....	81
4. Battle of Albuera.....	95
5. Siege of Tortosa.....	129
6. Siege of Tarragona.....	155
7. Combat of Elbodon.....	259
8. Siege and Battle of Saguntum.....	279
9. Siege and Battle of Valencia.....	295
10. Hill's Operations. Aroyo Molino.....	311
11. Siege of Tarifa.....	315
12. Siege of Rodrigo.....	343
13. Siege of Badajos.....	357
14. Surprise of Almaraz.....	413

APPENDIX.

No.	PAGE
1. A Letter from Lieutenant-General Graham to the Right Hon. H. Wellesley, and state of the troops at Tarifa, under his command.....	469
Extract of a Letter from General Frederick Ponsonby, and various other documents.....	472
2. Extracts from the Correspondence of Captain Squire, of the Engineers.....	479
3. Extract of a Letter from General Campbell to Lord Liverpool.....	480
4. Justificatory Papers relating to the state of Spain at different periods.....	480
5. Siege of Tarragona.....	491
6. Political State of King Joseph.....	500
7. Operation projected for the Army of Portugal.....	520
8. Conduct of the English Government, and extracts from Mr. Canning's and Lord Wellesley's instructions to Mr. Stuart.....	521
9. Marmont and Dorsenne's Operations.....	527
10. Siege of Tarifa, with anonymous extracts from memoirs and letters of different officers employed in the siege.....	537
11. Storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, with anonymous extracts from memoirs and letters of officers engaged in, or eye-witness of the action described.....	543
12. English Papers relating to Soult and Marmont's operations, and French papers relating to the same.....	548
13. Summary of the force of the Anglo-Portuguese Army at different periods, exclusive of drummers and fifers, with summary of the French force at different periods, extracted from the imperial muster-roll.....	552
14. Mr. Tupper's Report to Sir H. Wellesley.....	558

HISTORY

OF THE

PENINSULAR WAR.

BOOK XII.

CHAPTER I.

General sketch of the state of the war—Lord Wellington objects to maritime operations—Expedition to Fuengirola—Minor operations in Andalusia—National Cortes assemble in the Isle de Leon—Its proceedings—New Regency chosen—Factions described—Violence of all parties—Unjust treatment of the colonies.

IN the preceding book, Spanish affairs have been little noticed, although Lord Wellington's combinations were deeply affected by them. The general position of the allies, extending from Coruña to Cadiz, presented a great crescent, in the convex of which the French armies were operating; and it was clear that, when checked at Lisbon, the most important point, their wings could reinforce the centre, unless the allied forces, at the horns of the crescent, acted vigorously on a system which the harbors and fortresses at either extremity pointed out as suitable to those who possessed the absolute command of the sea. A British army and fleet were therefore established at Cadiz, and a squadron of frigates at Coruña, and how far this warfare relieved the pressure on Lord Wellington I shall now show.

The Gallician troops, under Mahi, usually hanging on the borders of Leon, were always reported to be above twenty thousand men, when arms or stores were demanded from England, but there were never more than ten or twelve thousand in line; and, although Serras' division, of only eight thousand, was spread over the plains, from Benevente to the Agueda, during Massena's advance, no stroke of importance was effected against it. The arrival of the ninth corps, in October, put an end to all hopes from the Gallicians in

that quarter, although the partidas often surprised both posts and convoys. Behind Mahi there was, however, a second army, from four to six thousand strong, embodied to defend the coast line towards the Asturias; and, in the latter province, about eight thousand men, including the irregular bands of Porlier and other chiefs, constantly watched Bonnet's movements.

That General frequently mastered the Asturias, but could never maintain himself there; because the country is a long defile, lying between the great mountains and the sea, and being crossed by a succession of parallel ridges and rivers, is admirably calculated for partisan warfare in connection with a fleet. If he penetrated towards Galicia, British and Spanish frigates, from Coruña, landing troops at the ports of Gihon, Santander, or Santona, could always form a junction with the great bands of Longa, Mina, and Amor, and excite insurrections on his rear. In this manner Porlier, as before related, forced him to withdraw from Castropol, after he had defeated General Ponte at Sales, about the period of Almeida being invested. The advantages of such operations being evident, the British government sent Sir Home Popham to direct the naval, and General Walker the military affairs at Coruña. Preparations were then made to embark a considerable force, under Renovales, to renew the attack at Santona and Santander; the partidas of the interior were to move at the same time; a battalion of marines was assembled, in England, to garrison Santona, when taken, and Mahi promised to co-operate by an incursion. Serras, however, threatened the frontier of Galicia, Mahi remained in suspense, and this, together with the usual procrastination of the Spaniards, and the late arrival of Sir Home Popham, delayed the expedition until October, although Porlier, Escadron, and other chiefs had commenced an isolated attack in the beginning of September.* Finally, Serras returned to Zamora, Mahi sent a division into Leon, and Bonnet, aware of the preparations at Coruña, first concentrated at Oviedo, and then fell back towards Santander, leaving a post at Gihon.

On the 16th of October Renovales sailed, but with only thirteen hundred men; accompanied, however, by General Walker, who carried ten thousand stand of arms and ammunition. The 19th, entering the harbor of Gihon, they captured some French vessels, and Porlier, coming up on the land side, took some treasure and eighty prisoners. The next day, Renovales proceeded to Santona, but tempests impeded his landing, and he returned to Coruña the second of November, with only eight hundred and fifty men: a frigate and a brig had foundered, with the remainder of his troops,

* Mr. Stuart's Papers, MS.

in a dreadful gale, which destroyed all the Spanish naval force along the coast, twelve vessels being wrecked even in the harbor of Coruña. Meanwhile, Mahi, leaving Toboado Gil's division to watch Serras, entered the Asturias with the rest of the Gallicians, and being joined first by the troops of that province, and soon after by Renovales, was very superior to the French; yet he effected nothing, and Bonnet maintained his line from Gihon, through Oviedo, to the borders of Leon.

In this manner hostilities wore feebly on; the Junta of the Asturias continued, as from the first, distinguished by their venality and indifference to the public good, their province was in a miserable and exhausted state; and the powers of the British naval officers on the coast not being defined, occasioned some dispute between them and General Walker, and gave opportunity to the Junta to interfere improperly with the distribution of the English stores.* Galicia was comparatively rich, but its Junta, culpably inactive in the discharge of duties and oppressive in government, disgusted the whole province, and a general desire to end their power was prevalent. In the course of the winter a combination of the clergy was formed to oppose both the local Junta and the general Cortes, and assumed so threatening an aspect, that Mahi, who was then on the coast, applied to be taken in an English vessel to Coruña, to insure his personal safety. One Acuña was soon after arrested at Ponferrada, the discontent spread, and the army was more employed to overawe these factions than to oppose the enemy. Little advantage, therefore, was derived from the Spanish operations in the north; and General Walker, despairing to effect anything useful, desired either that a British force should be placed at his disposal, or that he might join the army in Portugal.

These expeditions from Coruña naturally increased the audacity of the inland partidas, who could only become really dangerous by having a seaport where they could receive supplies and reinforcements; or, embarking, save themselves in extremity, and change the theatre of operations. To prevent this, the Emperor employed considerable numbers of men in the military governments touching on the Bay of Biscay, and had directed, as we have seen, the "*corps d'armée*," in their progress towards Portugal, to scour all the disturbed countries to the right and left. The ninth corps had been thus employed during the months of August and September, but when it passed onward, the partidas resumed their activity. Mina, Longa, Campillo, and Amor frequently united about Villar Caya and Espinosa in numbers sufficient to attack large French detachments with success; and to aid them, General Walker repeatedly

* Abstract of General Walker's Military Reports from Galicia, MS.

recommended the taking possession of Santona with a corps of British troops. That town, having the best winter harbor along the coast, and being built on a mountain promontory joined to the main by a narrow sandy neck, could have been made very strong. It would have cut off Bonnet's communication with France by sea, have given the British squadron a secure post from whence to vex the French coasts, and it offered a point of connection with the partidas of the Rioja, Biscay, and Navarre.

Lord Liverpool, swayed by these considerations, desired to employ a corps of four thousand men to secure it; but, having first demanded Lord Wellington's opinion, the latter "earnestly recommended that no such maritime operations should be undertaken. For," said he, "unless a very large force was sent, it would scarcely be able to effect a landing and maintain the situation of which it might take possession. Then that large force would be unable to move or effect any object at all adequate to the expense, or to the expectations which would be formed from its strength, owing to the want of those equipments and supplies in which an army landed from its ships must be deficient. It was in vain to hope for any assistance, even in this way, much less military assistance from the Spaniards; the first thing they would require uniformly would be money; then arms, ammunition, clothing of all descriptions, provisions, forage, horses, means of transport, and everything which the expedition would have a right to require from them; and, after all, *this extraordinary and perverse people would scarcely allow the commander of the expedition to have a voice in the plan of operations, to be followed when the whole should be ready to undertake any, if indeed they ever should be ready.*"*

Napoleon now caused Caffarelli's reserve to enter Spain, ordered Santona to be fortified, directed other reinforcements from France upon the northern provinces, and finally sent Marshal Bessières to command the Young Guard, the third and fourth governments, and that of the Asturias, including Bonnet's division, the whole forming a distinct force, called the army of the north, which, on the 1st of January, 1811, exceeded seventy thousand, fifty-nine thousand men and eight thousand horses being present under arms;† and Bessières, who had received unusual powers, was especially ordered to support and furnish all necessary assistance to the army of Portugal. This was the state of the northern part of Spain.

In the middle parts, the army of the centre, or that immediately under the King, at first about twenty thousand, was, before the end of the year, carried up to twenty-seven thousand, exclusive of French and Spanish guards and juramentados, or native troops,

* Letter to Lord Liverpool, 7th May, 1811, MS.

† Appendix 15, § 6, Vol. II.

who had taken the oath of allegiance ; with this power he protected his court, watched the movements of the Valencians, and chased the guerillas of the interior.

The summer and autumn of 1810 were, however, for reasons before mentioned, a period of great activity with these irregulars ; numerous petty actions were constantly fought around the capital, many small French posts, and numbers of isolated men and officers, were cut off, and few despatches reached their destinations without a considerable escort. To remedy this, the lines of correspondence were maintained by small fortified posts which ran from Madrid, through Guadarama and Segovia, to the provinces of Valladolid and Salamanca ; through Buitrago and Somosierra to the army of the north ; through Guadalaxara and Calatayud to the army of Aragon ; through La Mancha to the army of the south ; and by the valley of the Tagus, Arzobispo, and Truxillo, to the fifth corps during its incursions into Estremadura ; a brigade of cavalry was also generally stationed at Truxillo.

As the warfare of the partidas was merely a succession of surprises and massacres, little instruction, and no pleasure, can be derived from the details ; but in the course of the summer and autumn, not less than twelve considerable, and an infinite number of trifling affairs, took place between the movable columns and these bands : the latter were, however, almost always beaten, and at the close of the year, only the Empecinado, Duran, Sanchez, Longa, Campillo, Porlier, and Mina retained any great reputation ; and the country people were so harassed, that counter partidas, in many places, assisted the French.

The situation of the army of the centre enabled the King to aid Massena, either by an advance upon the Elga, or by reinforcing, or, at least, supporting the fifth corps in Estremadura. But Joseph, troubled by the partidas, and having many convoys to protect, was also averse to join any of the Marshals, with all of whom, except Massena, he was on ill terms ; neither were his relations with Napoleon such as to induce him to take an interest in any military operations save those which affected the immediate security of his court. His poverty was extreme ; he was surrounded by French and Spanish intriguers ; his plan of organizing a national party was thwarted by his brother's regulations ; plots were formed, or supposed to be formed, against his person ; and, in this uneasy posture, the secondary part he was forced to sustain, combined with his natural gentleness, which shrunk from the terrible scenes of bloodshed and devastation continually before his eyes, rendered his situation so irksome, that he resolved to vacate the throne and retire to France, a resolution which he soon afterwards

partially executed.* Such being the course of affairs in the northern and central provinces, it remains to trace the more important military operations at the southern horn of the crescent, where the allies were most favorably situated to press the left flank of the invaders.

Sebastiani was peculiarly exposed to a harassing warfare, because of the city of Granada and other towns in the interior, which he was obliged to hold at the same time with those on the coast, although the two districts were completely separated by the mountains. Hence a large body of troops were necessarily kept in the strip of country bordering the Mediterranean, although they were menaced, on the one flank, by Gibraltar and the Spanish troops at San Roque; on the other, by the Murcian army; and in front, by continual descents from the sea; while, from the shallowness and length of their position, they were unable to concentrate in time to avoid being cut off in detail. Now the Murcian army, nominally twenty thousand, was based upon the cities of Murcia and Carthagena, and menaced alike the coast-line and that of Granada by the route of Baza and Guadix; and any movement towards the latter was sure to attract the French, while troops landing from Cadiz or Gibraltar fell upon their disseminated posts along the coast.

To meet this system, Sebastiani, keeping his reserves about Granada, where he had intrenched a permanent camp, made sudden incursions, sometimes against the Murcians, sometimes against the Spanish forces on the side of Gibraltar; but that fortress afforded a refuge to the patriots on one side, and Carthagena, surrounded by arid lands, where, for two marches, no water is to be found, always offered a sure retreat on the other. Meanwhile the French General endeavored to gain the important castles on the coast, and to put them into a state of defence; Estipona and Marbella were defended, and the latter sustained many attacks, nor was it finally reduced until the 9th of December, when the garrison, of one hundred men, took refuge on board the *Topaze* frigate. But Sebastiani's hold of these towns, and even the security of the French troops along the coast, depended upon the communications across the mountains with Granada, Chiclana, and Seville; and to impede these, General Campbell sent British officers into the Ronda, who successfully directed the wild mountaineers of that district, until their operations were marred by Lascy's misconduct.

The various movements and insurrections in Granada during the summer of 1810 have been already noted; and, in October, General Campbell and Admiral Penrose, conjointly with the governor of Ceuta, renewed the design of surprising Malaga, where were many privateers and a flotilla of gun-boats, supposed to be destined against

* Appendix 18, § 4, Vol. II.

the islands near Ceuta. The French dépôt for the siege of Marbella was at Fuengirola, which is only thirty miles from Malaga, and it was judged that an attack there would draw the troops from the latter place; and the more surely, as General Valdemoro, commanding the Spanish force at San Roque, engaged to co-operate, on the side of Ronda.

EXPEDITION OF FUENGIROLA.

On the 13th of October, Captain Hope, in the *Topaze*, sailed from Ceuta, with a division of gun-boats and a convoy, containing a brigade of twelve-pounders, sixty-five gunners, a battalion of the eighty-ninth regiment, a detachment of foreign deserters, and the Spanish imperial regiment of Toledo; in all fifteen hundred men, including sergeants.* Lord Blayney, commanding this force, was directed to make a false attack on Fuengirola, and should the enemy come out from Malaga, he was to sail against that place. A landing was effected the same day, and Sebastiani instantly marched, leaving only three hundred men in Malaga. Lord Blayney was as instantly apprised of the success of the demonstration, yet he remained two days cannonading the castle with twelve-pounders, although the heavier metal of the gun-boats and of the frigate had before failed to make any impression on the walls; and during this time his dispositions betrayed the utmost contempt of military rules. On the second day, while he was on board a gun-boat himself, the garrison, which did not exceed two hundred men, having first descried Sebastiani's column, made a sally, took the battery, and drove the British part of the investing force headlong towards the boats. Lord Blayney landed, rallied his men, and re-took the artillery; but at this moment two squadrons of French cavalry came up, and his lordship, mistaking them for Spaniards, ordered the firing to cease. He was immediately made prisoner; his troops again fled to the beach, and would have been sabred but for the opportune arrival of the *Rodney* with the eighty-second regiment, the flank companies of which were immediately disembarked and first checked the enemy. The Spanish regiment, untouched by the panic, regained the ships regularly and without loss; of the British two officers and thirty men were killed or wounded, and one general, seven inferior officers, and nearly two hundred sergeants and privates taken. Thus an expedition, well contrived and adequate to its object, was ruined by misconduct, and terminated in disaster and disgrace.

Scarcely was this affair finished, when Valdemoro and the Marquis of Portasgo appeared in the Ronda; an insurrection com-

* General C. Campbell's Correspondence, MS

menced at Velez Malaga and in the neighboring villages; and Blake, who had returned from Cadiz to the army in Murcia, advanced with eight thousand men towards Cullar on the side of Baza. General Campbell immediately furnished money to Portasgo, and embarked a thousand stand of arms for the people of Velez Malaga.* An English frigate was also sent to cruise along the coast. Sebastiani, however, being relieved from the fear of a descent, soon quelled this insurrection; and then sending Milhaud on before with some cavalry, followed himself with reinforcements for General Rey, who was opposed to Blake. The latter, retiring behind the Almanzora river, was overtaken by Milhaud, and defeated on the 4th of November, when his army dispersed: at the same time, a contagious fever, breaking out at Carthagena, spread along the coast to Gibraltar and Cadiz, and the Spanish operations on the side of Murcia ceased.

In the kingdom of Seville, the war turned chiefly upon the blockade of the Isla, and the movements of the Spanish armies in Estremadura. Provisions for Cadiz were principally drawn from the Condado de Neibla, and it has been seen that Copons, aided by descents from the ocean, endeavored to secure this important resource; but neither his efforts, nor the descents, would have availed, if Ballesteros had not co-operated by constantly menacing Seville from Araceña and the Aroche mountains. Neither could Ballesteros have maintained the war there, were it not for the support of Badajos and Olivenza; under cover of which, Romana's army protected his line of operation, and sent military supplies and reinforcements. On the possession of Badajos, therefore, the supply of Cadiz chiefly depended.

Seville was the French point of defence; Cadiz, Estremadura, and the Condado de Neibla, their points of offence. The want of provisions, the desire to cut off the Spanish convoys, or the sudden irruption of troops from Cadiz, threatening their posts at Moguer and Huelva, always drew them towards the coast; the enterprises of Ballesteros brought them towards Araceña, and, in like manner, the advance of Romana towards the Morena brought them to Estremadura. But Romana had wasted the greater part of the latter province, and as the fifth corps alone was disposable, either for offensive movements, or for the defence of the country around Seville, Soult contented himself with such advantages as could be gained by sudden strokes; frequently, however, crossing the mountains to prevent the Spaniards from permanently establishing themselves on the frontier of Andalusia.

In October, Romana, as we have seen, entered the lines of Tor-

* General Campbell's Correspondence, MS.

res Vedras, and Mendizabel, who remained with two divisions, finding that Mortier, unconscious of Romana's absence, had retired across the mountains, occupied Merida. He wished to establish himself in the yet unwasted country about Llerena, but the appearance of a movable column on the frontier of La Mancha sent him back to Badajos, and, on the 20th of November, he united with Ballesteros. The French then fortified Gibrleon and other posts in the Condado de Nebla, while Girard's division reappeared at Guadalcanal, and being joined by the column from La Mancha, foraged the country towards Llerena. Mendizabel then took post at Zafra with nine thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, including Madden's Portuguese brigade, but meanwhile Copons, who had four thousand men, was totally defeated at Castillejos by D'Areberg, and retired to Puebla de Gúsan.

At Cadiz, no change or military event had occurred after the affair of Matagorda, save the expeditions against Moguer, already noticed, and a slight attempt of the Spaniards against the Chiclana works in September; but all men's hopes and expectations had been wonderfully raised by political events which it was fondly hoped would secure both independence and a good constitution to Spain. After two years of intrigues and delay, the National Cortes assembled, and the long suppressed voice of the people was at last to be heard. Nevertheless, as the members of the Cortes could not be duly and legally chosen in the provinces possessed by the enemy; and as some members were captured by the French on their journey to Cadiz, many persons unknown, even by name, to their supposed constituents, were chosen; and a new principle of election was also adopted; for all persons twenty-five years old, not holding office or pension under the government, nor incapacitated by crime, nor by debts to the state, nor by bodily infirmity, were eligible to sit if chosen, which had never before been the rule. A supplement of sixty-eight members was likewise provided to supply accidental vacancies; and it was agreed that twenty-six persons then in Spain, natives of the colonies, should represent those dependencies.

Towards the latter end of September this great assembly met, and immediately took the title of Majesty; it afterwards declared the press free in respect of political, but not of religious matters, abolished some of the provincial juntas, re-appointed captains-general, and proceeded to form a constitution worded in the very spirit of democracy. These things, aided by a vehement eloquence, drew much attention to the proceedings of the Cortes, and a fresh impulse seemed given to the war: but men brought up under despotism do not readily attain the fashions of liberty.

The Provincial Junta, the Central Junta, the Junta of Cadiz, the Regency, had all been, in succession, violent and tyrannical in act, while claiming only to be popular leaders, and this spirit did not desert the Cortes. Abstract principles of liberty were freely promulgated, yet tyrannical and partial proceedings were of common occurrence; and the reformations, by outstripping the feelings and understandings of the nation, weakened the main springs of its resistance to the French. It was not for freedom, but from national pride and from religious influence, that the people struck. Liberty had no attraction for the nobles, nor for the monastics, nor even for the merchants; and the Cortes, in suppressing old establishments and violating old forms and customs, wounded powerful interests, created active enemies, and shocked those very prejudices which had produced resistance to Napoleon.

In the administration of the armies, in the conduct of the war, in the execution of the laws, and the treatment of the colonies, there was as much of vanity, of intrigue, procrastination, negligence, folly, and violence as before. Hence the people were soon discontented; and when the power of the religious orders was openly attacked by a proposition to abolish the Inquisition, the clergy became active enemies of the Cortes. The great cause of feudal privileges being once given up, the natural tendency of the Cortes was towards the enemy. A broad line of distinction was thus drawn between the objects of the Spanish and English governments in the prosecution of the war; and, ere the contest was finished, there was a schism between the British cabinet and the Spanish government, which would inevitably have thrown the latter into Napoleon's hands, if fortune had not, at the moment, betrayed him into Russia.

The Regency, jealous of the Cortes, and little pleased with the inferior title of Highness accorded them, were far from partaking of the republican spirit; and so anxious to check any tendency towards innovation, that early in the year they had invited the Duke of Orleans to command the provinces bordering on France, permitted him to issue proclamations, and received him at Cadiz with the honors of a royal Prince; intending to oppose his authority to that of the local Juntas, at the moment, and finally, to that of the Cortes. He had touched at Tarragona and had been well received, but at Cadiz the people regarded him with indifference. Mr. Wellesley opposed his stay because Lord Wellington judged that his reception in Spain would tend to render the Spanish war popular in the south of France, and the English ministers, wishing to prevent any future embarrassments from his intrigues in Spain, sent him a verbal invitation to reside in England. This he did not

accept, but the Cortes, aware of the cause of his arrival, obliged him to quit Spain, and soon after displacing the Regency of Five, appointed Joachim Blake, Gabriel Cisgar, and Pedro Agar in their stead. During the absence of the two first, substitutes were provided, but one of them (Palacios) making some difficulty about taking the oath, was immediately declared to have forfeited the confidence of the nation; so peremptorily did the Cortes proceed.

Nevertheless, the new regents, not more pleased with the democratic spirit than their predecessors, and yet wishing to retain the power in their own hands, refused to listen to the Princess of Brazil's claim, and thus factions sprang up on every side; for the republicans were not paramount in the Cortes at first, and the majority of that assembly were so subtly dealt with by Pedro Souza, that they privately admitted Carlotta's claims both to the succession and the immediate control of the whole Peninsula.

Don Manuel Lapeña being declared Captain-General of Andalusia, and commander of the forces in the Isla, was subservient to the views of the Cortes; but the new Regency, anxious to have a counterbalancing force, and being instigated also by persons from Badajos, enemies to Romana, removed that officer in December, and ordered his divisions to separate from the British army and come to Cadiz. The conduct of those divisions had, indeed, given little satisfaction either to the British or Portuguese, but numbers were so absolutely necessary to Lord Wellington, that Colonel O'Neal was sent to remonstrate with the Regency; and, by showing that the fall of Estremadura and the total loss of communication with the interior of Spain would ensue, obtained a momentary respite.*

In matters relating to the war against the French, or to the administration of the country, the Spanish leaders were incapable of acting cordially on any mature plan; but with respect to the colonies, all parties agreed to push violence, injustice, cruelty, and impolicy to their utmost bounds. To please the British government, the first Regency had published, in May, a decree permitting the South Americans to export their own products, under certain conditions. This legalizing of a trade which could not be suppressed, and which was but a decent return to England for her assistance, gave offence to the Municipal Junta of Cadiz; and its resentment was so much dreaded that the Regency, in June, disowned their own decree of the previous month and even punished the printers, as having given birth to a forged instrument. Exasperated at this treatment, the colonies, who had resisted all the intrigues of the French, with a firmness and singleness of purpose very

* Mr. Stuart's Papers, MS.

displeasing to the government in Old Spain, openly discovered their discontent, and then the authorities in the mother country, throwing off the mask of liberality and patriotism, exposed their own secret views. "It is not enough that Americans should be Spanish subjects now, but that in all cases they should belong to Spain," was the proclamation of the Regency, in answer to a declaration from the Caraccas, avowing attachment to the cause of Ferdinand: meaning that, if Spain should pass under the power of the usurper, America must follow, as having no right to decide in any case for herself.

When the Cortes met, America expected more justice; she had contributed ninety millions of dollars for the support of the war, and many of her sons had served zealously in person; she had also been declared an integral part of the empire by the Central Junta, and her deputies were now permitted to sit in the great National Assembly. She was however soon made to understand, that the first of these privileges meant eternal slavery, and that the second was a mere form. "The Americans complain of having been tyrannized over for three hundred years! they shall now suffer for three thousand years," and "I know not to what class of beasts the Americans belong;" such were the expressions heard and applauded in the Cortes, when the rights of the colonists were agitated in that assembly. Better to lose Spain to Joseph, if America be retained, than to save Spain if America be separated from her, was a feeling deeply rooted in every Spanish heart, a sentiment covertly expressed in many public documents, and openly acted upon; for, when repeated insults, treachery, and continued violence had driven the colonists to defend their rights in arms, the money and stores, supplied by England for the support of the war against the French, were applied to the fitting out of expeditions against America. Thus the convocation of the National Cortes, far from improving the posture of affairs, dried up the chief sources of revenue, weakened the army in the field, offended many powerful bodies in the state, involved the nation in a colonial war, and struck at the root of the alliance with England.

CHAPTER II.

Soult assumes the direction of the blockade of Cadiz—His flotilla—Enters the Trocadero canal—Villanroys, or cannon-mortars, employed by the French—Inactivity of the Spaniards—Napoleon directs Soult to aid Massena—Has some notion of evacuating Andalusia—Soult's first expedition to Estremadura—Carries the bridge of Merida—Besieges Olivenza—Ballesteros defeated at Castellajos—Flies into Portugal—Romana's divisions march from Cartaxo to the succor of Olivenza—That place surrenders—Romana dies—His character—Lord Wellington's counsels neglected by the Spanish Generals—First siege of Badajos—Mendizabel arrives—Files the Spanish army into Badajos—Makes a grand sally—Is driven back with loss—Pitches his camp round San Christoval—Battle of the Gebora—Continuation of the blockade of Cadiz—Expedition of the allies under General La Peña—Battle of Barosa—Factions in Cadiz.

WHILE the Spaniards in the Isla were occupied with the debates of the Cortes, the French works were labored with care. The chain of forts was perfected, each being complete in itself with ditch and palisades and a week's provisions; the batteries at the Trocadero were powerful, and the flotillas at San Lucar de Barameda, Santa Maria, Puerto Real, and Chiclana were ready for action. Soult repaired in person to San Lucar, and in the last night of October, thirty pinnaces and gun-boats slipping out of the Guadalquivir eluded the allied fleet, passed along the coast to Rota, and from thence, aided by shore batteries, fought their way to Santa Maria and the San Pedro. But, to avoid the fire of the fleet and forts in doubling Matagorda, the Duke of Dalmatia, remembering what he had formerly effected at Campo Saucos on the Minho, transported his flotilla on rollers, overland; in November, one hundred and thirty armed vessels and transports were assembled in the Trocadero canal. This success was, however, alloyed by the death of General Senarmont, an artillery officer of the highest reputation.

At the Trocadero point there were immense batteries, and some notable pieces of ordnance called cannon-mortars, or Villanroys, after the inventor. These huge engines were cast in Seville, and, being placed in slings, threw shells with such prodigious force as to range over Cadiz, a distance of more than five thousand yards. But to obtain this flight the shells were partly filled with lead, and their charge of powder was too small for an effective explosion. Nevertheless, they produced some alarm in the city, and were troublesome to the shipping. But Soult's real design was first to ruin, by a superior fire, the opposite fort of the Puntales, then pass the straits with his flotilla, and establish his army between the Isla and the city; nor was this plan chimerical, for on the side of the besieged there was neither concert nor industry.

Two drafts, made in August and September, by Lord Wellington, had reduced Graham's force to five thousand men, and in October the fever broke out in Cadiz; but as Soult's preparations became formidable, reinforcements were drawn from Gibraltar and Sicily, and, at the end of the year, seven thousand British, Germans, and Portuguese, were still behind the Santi Petri. Hence Graham felt confident, 1. That, with due preparation, he could maintain the Puntales even though its fire should be silenced. 2. That Soult must establish a stronger flotilla than the allies, or his communication with Matagorda could not be maintained. 3. That the intercourse between the army in Isla and the garrison of Cadiz could not be interrupted, unless the great redoubt of the Cortadura was lost.

To insure the superiority of naval means, Admiral Keats drew all the armed craft from Gibraltar. To secure the land defence, General Graham perseveringly urged the Regency to adopt certain plans, and he was warmly seconded by Sir Henry Wellesley, but neither their entreaties, nor the imminence of the danger, could overcome the apathy of the Spaniards.* Their army, reinforced by a small body from Ceuta, was wanting in discipline, clothing and equipments, and only sixteen thousand men of all arms were effective on a muster-roll of twenty-three thousand. The labor of the British troops, far from being assisted, was vexatiously impeded; it was the end of December, and after many sharp altercations, ere Graham could even obtain leave to put the interior line of the Cortadura in a state of defence; although, by a sudden disembarkation, the enemy might enter it from the rear, and cut off the army of the Isla from the city.† But while the Duke of Dalmatia was collecting means of attack, the events in Portugal prevented the execution of his design.

When Massena had passed the frontier, his communications with France became so uncertain, that the Emperor's principal source of information was through the English newspapers. Foy brought the first exact intelligence of the posture of affairs. It was then that the army of the north was directed to support the army of Portugal; that the ninth corps was made a component part of the latter; that the Prince of Esling was enjoined to hold fast between Santarem and the Zezere; to besiege Abrantes; and to expect the Duke of Dalmatia, who had been already several times commanded to move through the Alemtejo to his assistance.‡ The Emperor seems even to have contemplated the evacuation of Andalusia and the concentration of the whole army of the south on the Tagus, a

* Graham's despatches, MS.

† Appendix 17, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, Vol. II.

‡ The King's Correspondence, captured at Vittoria.

project that would have strengthened rather than weakened the French in the Peninsula, because it was more important to crush the regular warfare in Portugal, than to hold any particular province.

Massena's instructions reached him in due time; Soult's were intercepted by the guerillas, and the duplicates did not arrive before the end of December; a delay affording proof that thirty thousand men would scarcely have compensated for the uncertainty of the French communications. Postponing his design against Cadiz, the Duke of Dalmatia then repaired to Seville, carrying with him Latour Maubourg's cavalry and five thousand infantry from the first corps. His instructions neither prescribed a line of movement nor enjoined any specific operation; the Prince of Esling was to communicate his plan, to which Soult's was to be subordinate. But no certain intelligence, even of Massena's early proceedings, had reached Seville, and such were the precautions of Lord Wellington, such the activity of the partidas, that from the time Soult quitted Cadiz until his operation terminated, no communication could be effected between the two Marshals, and each acted in perfect ignorance of the plans and situation of the other.

The Duke of Dalmatia, considering that Sebastiani had his hands full, and that the blockade of Cadiz and the protection of Seville on the side of Neibla and of Araceña would not permit the drawing off more than twenty thousand men from Andalusia, represented to the Emperor that with such a force he durst not penetrate the Alemtejo, leaving Olivenza and Badajos, and Ballesteros, (who would certainly join Mendizabel,) on his rear; and that Romana alone, without reckoning British troops, could bring ten thousand men against his front; hence he demanded leave to besiege those places, and Napoleon consented.* Meanwhile, order was taken to secure Andalusia during the operations. Dessolles' division had been recalled to form the army of the centre, and General Godinot took his place at Cordoba; a column of observation was posted under General Digeon at Ecija; Seville, intrenched on the side of Neibla, was given over to General Daricau; and a detachment under Remond was posted at Gibrleon. The expeditionary army, consisting of sixteen thousand infantry, artillery, sappers, and miners, and about four thousand cavalry and fifty-four guns, was assembled on the 2d January. An equipage of siege, a light pontoon train, and seventeen hundred carts for stores and provisions, were also prepared; and Soult's administration was now so efficient, that he ordered a levy of five thousand young Spaniards, called "*escopeteros*," (fusileers,) to maintain the police of the province.†

* Marshal Soult's Correspondence, MS.

† King Joseph's Correspondence, MS.

SOULT'S FIRST EXPEDITION TO ESTREMADURA.

Mortier, moving from Guadalcanal, entered Zafra on the 5th January, Mendizabel retired to Merida, and Ballesteros, in consequence of orders from the Regency, passed over the mountains to Frejenal. But winter tempests raged; the French convoy which moved on Araceña, overwhelmed by storms, was detained at the foot of the mountains, and to protect it, Gazan, marching from Zafra, drove Ballesteros out of Frejenal. Meanwhile, the Spanish leaders, as well those in Estremadura as in Cadiz, were quite ignorant of Soult's intentions, some asserting that he was going to pass the Tagus at Almaraz, others, that his object was only to crush Ballesteros. Lord Wellington alone divined the truth, and it was he who first gave Mendizabel notice that the French were assembling at Seville at all, so destitute of intelligence and of military knowledge were the Spaniards. Now when the French were breaking into Estremadura, terror and confusion spread far and wide; Badajos was ill provisioned, Albuquerque in ruins, Olivenza nearly dismantled; and, in the midst of this disorder, Ballesteros was drawn off towards the Condado de Neibla by the Regency, who thus deprived Estremadura of half its defenders at the moment of invasion.*

Lord Wellington had advised that the troops should be concentrated, the bridges over the Guadiana mined for destruction, and the passage of that river disputed to gain time; but these things being neglected, an advanced guard of cavalry alone carried the bridge of Merida on the 6th. Soult then turned upon Olivenza with the infantry, and while Latour Maubourg's dragoons held Mendizabel in check on the side of Badajos, Briche's light horsemen collected cattle on the side of Estremadura. Gazan's division, still posted near Frejenal, protected the march of the artillery and convoy, and La Houssaye's brigade, belonging to the army of the centre, quitting Truxillo, marched against the partidas and scoured the banks of the Tagus from Arzobispo to Alcantara.

FIRST SIEGE OF OLIVENZA.

This place, although regularly fortified with nine bastions, a covered way, and some unfinished ravelins, was incapable of a good defence. With an old breach slightly repaired, very few guns mounted, and commanding no passage of the Guadiana, it was of little importance to the French; yet, as containing four thousand troops, it was of some consequence to reduce it. Lord Wellington had pressed Romana to destroy the defences entirely, or to supply it with the means of resistance, and the Marquis de-

* Appendix, No. 16, §§ 5, 6, Vol. II.

cided on the former; but Mendizabel, slighting his orders, had thrown his best division into the place.

It was invested the 11th; an abandoned outwork, three hundred and forty yards south of the town, was taken possession of the first night, and breaching batteries of eight guns, and counter batteries of six guns, were then marked out. The trenches were opened on the west, and approaches carried on by the flying sap against the old breach; but the rains were heavy and continual, the scarcity of intrenching tools great, and it was not until the 18th, when the head of the convoy had passed the mountains, that the works could be properly advanced.

On the 19th the covered way was crowned, and the 20th the breaching batteries opened their fire; two mortars also threw shells into the town, and a globe of compression was prepared to blow in the counterscarp. In the evening, Mendizabel skirmished unsuccessfully with Latour Maubourg's horsemen, and, on the 21st, the mine was completed and preparations made for the passage of the ditch. The Spanish General, unable from the absence of Ballesteros' division to relieve Olivenza, now demanded succor from Romana, who sent Carlos D'España's brigade from Abrantes the 18th, and General Virues, with his own Spanish division, from Cartaxo on the 20th. The 21st, the governor of Olivenza was informed of this, and replied that he would maintain the place to the last moment; but the next day he capitulated, having still provisions, ammunition, eighteen guns, and four thousand one hundred effective soldiers. The 26th, Soult marched against Badajos.*

Meanwhile Ballesteros advanced upon Neibla, but being followed by Gazan, was overtaken at Castellejos on the 28th, and, after a sharp battle, driven with the loss of fifteen hundred prisoners besides killed and wounded over the Guadiana; the Spanish artillery was saved in the castle of Paymigo, and the infantry took refuge at Alcontin and Mertola. Ballesteros' force was thus in a few days reduced by three thousand men, and, that nothing might be left to alarm the French in that quarter, the Regency re-called Copons' force to Cadiz. In this manner a fortress was taken, and twelve thousand men, who, well employed, might have frustrated the French designs against Badajos, were all dispersed, withdrawn, or made prisoners in twenty days after the commencement of Soult's expedition.

For many months previous to these events Lord Wellington had striven to teach the Spanish commander that there was but one safe mode of proceeding in Estremadura, and Romana had just yielded to his counsels when the sudden arrival of the French threw everything into confusion. The defence of the Guadiana, the dismantling

* French Journal of Operations, MS.

of Olivenza, the concentration of the forces were all neglected. Romana, however, had sent his divisions towards the frontier; they reached Montemor the 22d; the 23d, they received Mendizabel's orders to halt as Olivenza had surrendered; the 24th, Romana died of an aneurism in the heart. He was a worthy man and of quick parts, although deficient in military talent. His death was a great loss, yet his influence was on the wane; he had many enemies, and his authority was chiefly sustained by the attachment of his troops, and by his riches, for his estates being in the Balearic Isles, his revenues did not suffer by the war.

Mendizabel now commanded in Estremadura. He had received Romana's orders to adopt Lord Wellington's plan; which was to concentrate all the Spanish troops, amounting to at least ten thousand men, on the frontier, and, before the enemy appeared on the right bank of the Guadiana, to occupy a certain position of great natural strength close to Badajos; the right touching the fort of St. Christoval, the front covered by the Gebora river and by the Guadiana, the fortress of Campo Mayor immediately in the rear of the left, and Elvas behind the centre. When Mendizabel should be intrenched on this position, and a strong garrison in Badajos, the English General thought Soult could not invest or even straiten the communications of the town; knowing well the people he dealt with, he prophetically observed, "*With soldiers of any other nation success is certain, but no calculation can be made of any operation in which Spanish troops are engaged.*"*

When Olivenza fell, a small garrison was in Albuquerque, another in Valencia d'Alcantara; Carlos d'España was in Campo Mayor, and Virues, with Romana's divisions, was at Montemor. When Soult drove back the outposts of Badajos on the 26th, Mendizabel shut himself up with six thousand men in that fortress; but, although a siege had been expected for a year, the place was unprovisioned. It was, however, still possible to execute the English General's plan, yet no Spaniard moved, and, on the 27th, Latour Maubourg, crossing the Guadiana at Merida, forded the Gebora, and cut off the communications with Campo Mayor and Elvas.

FRENCH SIEGE OF BADAJOS.

This city stands on a tongue of land at the confluence of the Guadiana with the Rivillas. The first is a noble river five hundred yards broad, the second a trifling stream. A rock, one hundred feet high, and crowned by an old castle, overhangs the meeting of the waters; and the town, spreading out like a fan as the land opens between the rivers, is protected by eight regular curtains and bastions, from twenty-three to thirty feet in height, with good counter-

* Appendix 16, § 6, Vol. 11.

scarp, covered way, and glacis. On the left bank of the Guadiana the out-works were, 1. The Lunette of San Roque, covering a dam and sluice on the Rivillas, by which an inundation could be commanded; 2. An isolated redoubt, called the Picurina, situated beyond the Rivillas, and four hundred yards from the town; 3. The Pardaleras, a defective crown-work, central between the lower Guadiana and the Rivillas, and two hundred yards from the ramparts.

On the right bank of the Guadiana a hill, crowned by a regular fort three hundred feet square, called San Christoval, overlooked the interior of the castle; and a quarter of a mile farther down the stream, the bridge, six hundred yards in length, was protected by a bridge-head, slightly connected with San Christoval, but commanded on every side.

Soult constructed a ferry on the Guadiana, above the confluence of the Gebora, and three attacks were opened against the town the 28th, two on the side of Picurina and one on that of the Pardaleras. The 29th and 30th slight sallies were repulsed, but tempestuous weather spoiled the works. Gazan's division was distant, the infantry before the place were few, and, on the 30th, the garrison, making a vigorous sally from the Pardaleras, killed or wounded sixty men and cleared the trenches.* Meanwhile some Spanish cavalry, gliding round the left of the French, sabred several engineers and sappers, and then retired.

In the night of the 2d of February, a violent tempest flooded the Rivillas, carried away the French bridges, drowned men and horses, damaged the dépôts, and reduced the besiegers to the greatest distress.† The cavalry employed in the investment could no longer forage; scarcity was felt in the camp; the convoys could only arrive by detachments; the rigor of winter bivouacs caused sickness; and, on the 3d, the Spaniards, making a second sally from Pardaleras, killed or wounded eighty men and ruined a part of the parallel. The same day Gazan arrived in camp, but the French cavalry being withdrawn from the right bank of the Guadiana, in consequence of rigorous weather, the communication was re-established with Elvas, and Mendizabel called the divisions in Portugal to his assistance.‡ Virues immediately marched upon Elvas, Carlos d'España and Madden united at Campo Mayor, and Julian Sanchez brought down his partida from Upper Estremadura.§

In the night of the 5th, Mendizabel repaired to Elvas in person, passed the Caya the next day, and being joined on the road by the

* *Conquête de l'Andalousie*, par Edouard Lapéne.

† *Siège de Badajos*, par le Col. Lamare.

‡ Lord Wellington's Correspondence, MS.

§ Mr. Stuart's Papers, MS.

troops from Campo Mayor, pushed the few French horsemen still on the right of the Guadiana over the Gebora. The Portuguese brigade crossed that river in pursuit, and captured some baggage; but the infantry entered Badajos, for Mendizabel again neglecting Lord Wellington's counsel, designed not to take up a position behind the Gebora, but to raise the siege by a sally; yet he delayed this until the next day, thus risking to have his whole army shut up in an ill-provided fortress; for Latour Maubourg, seeing that Madden was unsupported, turned and drove him back over the Gebora with loss.

Badajos now contained sixteen thousand men, and, early on the 7th, Carrera and Carlos d'España, at the head of five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, breaking out at the Picurina side, with one burst carried the trenches and the batteries; the soldiers fought with surprising ardor, but the entire want of arrangement on the part of the generals (unworthy to command the brave men under them) ruined all. They had not even provided the means to spike the guns; and when Mortier brought his reserves against the front and flank of the attack, the whole, driven back in disorder, re-entered the city, having eighty-five officers and near six hundred soldiers killed and wounded; the enemy also lost several engineers and four hundred men.

While this action took place on the left bank, Latour Maubourg occupied the ground between the Gebora and the Caya, and again cut off the communication with Elvas and Campo Mayor; but his forces were too weak to maintain themselves there, and Mendizabel, leaving the defence of the town entirely to the governor, Rafael Menacho, pitched his own camp round San Christoval. Some days previous to this, the French had bombarded Badajos, a proceeding only mischievous to themselves; for the inhabitants, terrified by the shells, fled in great numbers while the communication was open, but left their provisions, which enabled Menacho to feed his garrison without difficulty.

Soult, observing the numbers and awake to all the real resources of the Spanish succoring army, feared lest delay should produce a change of commanders, or of system, and resolved to bring matters to a crisis. On the 11th, he stormed the Pardaleras; on the 12th, he sent fifteen hundred cavalry across the Guadiana to Montijo; and, on the 14th, he threw shells into the camp about Christoval, which obliged Mendizabel to remove from the heights in front of that fort. Meanwhile, intelligence that Castaños was appointed Captain-General of Estremadura created the greatest anger amongst Romana's soldiers: they had long considered themselves independent of the central government, and in this mood, although

the position behind the Gebora, recommended by Lord Wellington, was at last occupied, little attention was paid to military discipline. The English General had expressly advised Mendizabel to increase the great natural strength of this position with intrenchments; for his design was that the Spaniards, whom he thought quite unequal to open field operations, should have an impregnable post, whence they could safely aid in the defence of the town, and yet preserve a free communication with the Alemtejo, until the arrival of his own reinforcements (which he expected in the latter end of January) should enable him to raise the siege.* Mendizabel, with that arrogance which is peculiar to his nation, rejected this counsel, and hung twelve days on the heights of Christoval in a torpid state; and when driven thence by the French shells, he merely destroyed a small bridge over the Gebora, neither casting up intrenchments, nor keeping a guard in his front, nor disposing his men with care. Soult, observing these things, suddenly leaped upon him.*

BATTLE OF THE GEBORA.

The Guadiana and the Gebora rivers covered the Spanish position, but this did not deter the Duke of Dalmatia from attempting to pass both and surprise the camp. And first to deprive Mendizabel of the aid of San Christoval, and to create a diversion, the French mortar-batteries again threw shells on the 17th; yet the swell of the rivers would not permit the main operation to be commenced before the evening of the 18th: but on that day the cavalry drew down the right bank of the Guadiana from Montijo, and the artillery and infantry crossed at the French ferry, four miles above the confluence of the Gebora. These combinations were so exactly executed, that, at daybreak on the 19th, six thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry were in order of battle on the right bank of the Guadiana.

The Gebora was still to be forded, and, behind it, the Spaniards had ten thousand infantry, a considerable artillery, and fifteen hundred cavalry, besides many armed followers of the camp; the whole number not being less than fifteen thousand. But a thick mist covered the country, no Spanish posts were in advance, and Soult, riding through the French ranks, and exhorting the soldiers to fight manfully, commenced the passage of the Gebora. His cavalry forded five miles up the stream, and his infantry passed in two columns, on the right and left of the ruined bridge; a few shots, near the latter, first alarmed the Spaniards, and, as the instant clamor amongst the multitude indicated that the surprise was

* Lord Wellington to Lord Liverpool, MS.

† Appendix 2, § 2.

complete, Mortier, who directed the movements, rapidly formed the line of battle.

At eight o'clock the fog cleared away, and the first beams of the sun and the certainty of victory flashed together on the French soldiers. Their horsemen were already around the Spanish left, infantry, cavalry, and guns, heaped together in the centre, were waving to and fro in disorder, and the right having fallen away from San Christoval was unsupported. In a few moments, General Girard placed three battalions between the Spanish army and that fort, the artillery roared, and the French bore forward, as one man, to the attack. Six battalions pressed the centre, Girard moved against the right, Latour Maubourg's cavalry charged the left. Thus surrounded, Mendizabel's troops instinctively crowded on the centre, and for some time resisted by their inert weight. But the French infantry soon closed on the mass with a destroying musketry, the horsemen rode in with loose bridles, and the Spaniards were shaken, divided, and slaughtered. Their cavalry fled outright, and even Madden's Portuguese, disregarding alike his exhortations and example, shamefully turned their backs.* At ten o'clock the fight was over; Virues was taken, Mendizabel and Carrera escaped with difficulty; España alone made good his retreat to Campo Mayor with two thousand men. A few reached Elvas, three thousand got into Badajos by the bridge, and nine hundred bodies strewed the field. Eight thousand, including armed followers, were made prisoners, and guns, colors, muskets, ammunition, baggage, all fell into the enemy's hands. It was a disastrous and a shameful defeat. In the depth of winter, Soult, with a small force, had passed two difficult rivers, carried a strong position, and annihilated an army which had been two years in constant service. Mendizabel, instead of destroying the bridge over the Gebora, should have cast others, that he might freely issue to attack the French while crossing the Guadiana; he should have opposed them again in passing the Gebora; or he might have passed through Badajos, and fallen on the troops in the trenches, with his whole army, while Soult was still entangled between the rivers.

In the evening after the action the French cast up intrenchments, posting three battalions and the heavy cavalry on the important position they had gained, and the next day the works of the siege were renewed with greater activity; yet the difficulty of Soult's undertaking was rendered apparent by his victories. The continual rain, interrupting the arrival of his convoys, obliged him to employ a number of men at a great distance to gather provisions; nearly two thousand French had been killed or wounded in the two sieges and in this battle, many also were sick, and Badajos was still

* Appendix 16, § 8, Vol. II.

powerful. The body of the place was entire; the garrison, nine thousand strong, was, by the flight of the inhabitants, well provided with food, and there was no want of other stores; the governor was resolute and confident; the season rigorous for the besiegers; no communication had been yet opened with Massena; and Lord Wellington, in momentary expectation that his reinforcements would arrive, was impatient to bring on a crisis. Meanwhile, the Duke of Dalmatia's power in Andalusia was menaced in the most serious manner.

CONTINUATION OF THE BLOCKADE OF CADIZ.

When General Graham was aware of Soult's departure, and knew, also, that the fifth corps had quitted Seville, he undertook, in concert with the Spaniards, to drive Victor out of his lines.* A force, sailing from Cadiz the 29th of January, was to have been joined, in rear of the enemy, by the troops from Tarifa under Major Brown, and by three thousand Spaniards from Algesiras and San Roque under General Beguines; contrary winds detained both the troops and the vessels carrying counter orders to Beguines and Brown, who advanced, the first to Medina, the other to Casa Vieja. Victor, having notice of this project, at first kept close, but afterwards sent troops to retake Medina and Casa Vieja; and, in the course of February, twelve thousand men, drawn from the northern governments, were directed upon Andalusia, to reinforce the different corps. The first corps was thus increased to twenty thousand men, of which fifteen thousand were before Cadiz, and the remainder at San Lucar, Medina Sidonia, and other quarters. Nevertheless, on the 21st of February, ten thousand infantry and near six hundred cavalry, of the allies, were again embarked at Cadiz, being to land at Tarifa, and march upon the rear of the enemy's camp at Chiclana.† General Zayas commanding the Spanish forces left in the Isla was directed to cast a bridge over the San Petri near the sea mouth; Ballesteros, with the remains of his army, was to menace Seville; the partisans were to act against the fourth corps; insurrections were expected in all quarters, and many took place in Sebastian's district.

The British troops passed their port in a gale, the 22d, but landing at Algesiras, marched to Tarifa the next day, when they were joined by the twenty-eighth, and the flank companies of the ninth and eighty-second regiments. Thus somewhat more than four thousand effective troops (including two companies of the twentieth Portuguese and one hundred and eighty German hussars) were assembled under General Graham; all good and hardy

* Official Abstract of Military Reports, MS.

† Appendix 15, § 5, Vol. II.

troops, and himself a daring old man and of a ready temper for battle.*

General La Peña arrived on the 27th, with seven thousand Spaniards, and Graham, for the sake of unanimity, ceded the chief command, although it was contrary to his instructions. The next day, the whole moved forward about twelve miles, and passed the mountain ridges that, descending from Ronda to the sea, separate the plains of San Roque from those of Medina and Chiclana. Being now within four leagues of the enemy's posts, the troops were re-organized. The vanguard was given to Lardizabel; the centre to the Prince of Anglona; the reserve, composed of two Spanish regiments and the British, were confided to Graham; and the cavalry of both nations, formed in one body, was commanded by Colonel Whittingham, then in the Spanish service.

The French covering division, under General Cassagne, consisted of three battalions and a regiment of horse placed at Medina, with outposts at Vejer de la Frontera and Casa Viejas. Before La Peña's arrival, the irregulars had attacked Casa Viejas, and General Beguines had even taken Medina; but Cassagne, reinforced by a battalion of infantry from Arcos, retook and intrenched it the 29th; and the signal of action being thus given, the French generals in the higher provinces, perceiving that the people were ready for commotion, gathered in their respective forces at Seville, Ecija, and Cordoba, following the orders left by Soult. In Granada the insurgents were especially active, and Sebastiani, doubtful if the storm would not break on his head, concentrated a column at Estipona, which was a good covering point to the coast line, and one whence he could easily gain Ronda.† Victor manned his works at Rota, Santa Maria, Puerto Real, and the Trocadero with a mixed force of refugee French, juramentados, and regular troops; but he assembled eleven thousand good soldiers near Chiclana, between the roads of Conil and Medina, to await the unfolding of the allies' project.‡

At first, La Peña's march pointed to Medina Sidonia; his vanguard stormed Casa Viejas on the 2d of March, and the troops from Algeiras, amounting to sixteen hundred infantry besides several hundreds of irregular cavalry, coming in, increased his force to twelve thousand infantry, eight hundred horsemen, and twenty-four guns. The 3d he resumed his march, but hearing that Medina Sidonia was intrenched, turned towards the coast, and drove the French from Vejer de la Frontera. The following evening he continued his movement, and at nine o'clock on the morning of the 5th, after a skirmish, in which his advanced guard of cavalry was routed

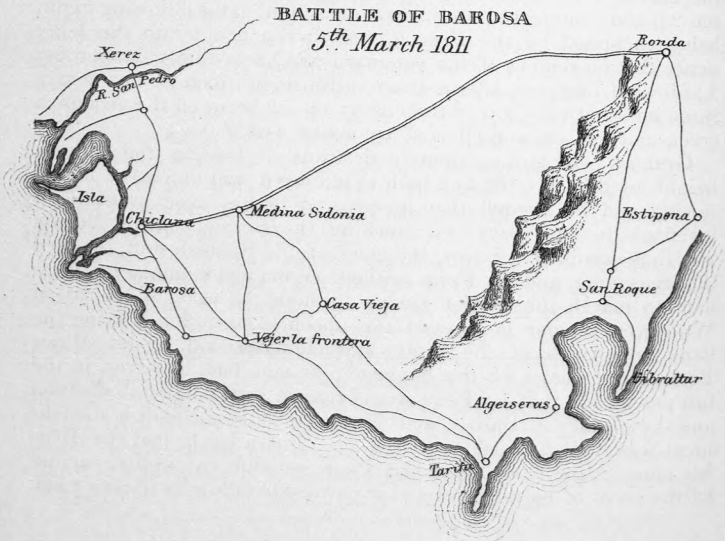
* Appendix 1, § 2.

† Intercepted Letter of General Werlé to Sebastiani, Alhama, March 12.

‡ Appendix 17, § 7, Vol. II.



BATTLE OF BAROSA
5th March 1811



by a French squadron, he reached the Cerro de Puerco, called by the English the heights of Barosa; being then only four miles from the sea mouth of the Santi Petri.

The hill of Barosa is a low ridge creeping in from the coast about one mile and a half, and overlooking a high broken plain of small extent. This plain was bounded on one side by the coast cliffs, on the other by the forest of Chiclana, and in front by a pine-wood, beyond which rose a long narrow height called the Bermeja, which filled the space between the Almanza creek and the sea, and which could be reached by moving either through the pine-wood in front or by the beach under the cliffs.

At Tarifa, Graham judging that Victor would surely come out of his lines to fight, had obtained from La Peña a promise to make short marches; to keep the troops fresh for battle; and not to approach the enemy except in a concentrated mass. Nevertheless, the day's march from Casa Vieja, being made through bad roads, with ignorant guides, had occupied fifteen hours, and the night march to Barosa had been still more fatiguing. The troops came up in a straggling manner, and ere they had all arrived, La Peña, as if in contempt of his colleague, without either disclosing his own plans, or communicating by signal or otherwise with Zayas, sent the vanguard, reinforced by a squadron and three guns, straight against the mouth of the Santi Petri. Zayas had cast his bridge there on the 2d, and commenced an intrenchment, but, in the following night, being surprised by the French, was driven again into the Isla; hence this movement of the vanguard was exceedingly dangerous: Lardizabel, however, after a sharp skirmish, in which he lost nearly three hundred men, forced the enemy's posts between the Almanza creek and the sea, and effected a junction with Zayas.

Graham was now extremely desirous of holding the Barosa height in force, as the key both to offensive and defensive movements; and he argued that no general in his senses would lend his flank to an enemy, by attacking the Bermeja while Barosa was thus occupied. Lascy, the chief of the Spanish staff, opposed this reasoning, and La Peña, without ceremony, commanded Graham to march the British troops through the wood to Bermeja. With great temper he obeyed this uncourteous order, leaving the flank companies of the ninth and eighty-second, under Major Brown, as a guard for the baggage; he marched, however, in the full persuasion that La Peña would remain with Anglona's division and the cavalry at Barosa, and the more so, as a Spanish detachment was still on the side of Medina. But scarcely had the British entered the wood, when La Peña, without any notice, carried off the corps of battle, directed the cavalry to follow by the sea-road.

and repaired himself to Santi Petri, leaving Barosa crowded with baggage, and protected only by a rear-guard of four guns and five battalions.

During these movements, Victor had remained close in the forest of Chiclana, and as the patrols of the allied cavalry reported that they could see no enemy, Graham's march being only of two miles, seemed secure. The French Marshal was, however, keenly watching the allies' progress. Having recalled his infantry from Medina Sidonia as soon as La Peña had reached Barosa, he momentarily expected their arrival; and he felt so sure of success, that his cavalry, then at Medina and Arcos, were directed upon Vejer and other places, to cut off the fugitives after the battle. The Duke of Belluno had in hand fourteen pieces of artillery and nine thousand excellent troops, of the divisions of Laval, Ruffin, and Villatte.* From these he drew three grenadier battalions as reserves, and attached two of them and three squadrons of cavalry to the division of Ruffin, which formed his left wing; the other he joined to the division of Laval, which formed his centre. Villatte's troops, about two thousand five hundred in number, after retiring from Bermeja, were posted close to a bridge on the Almanza creek, to cover the works of the camp, and to watch the Spanish forces at Santi Petri and Bermeja.

BATTLE OF BAROSA.

When Victor observed that Graham's corps was in the wood, that a strong body of Spaniards was on the Bermeja, a third body, with all the baggage, at Barosa, and a fourth still in march from Vejer, he took Villatte's division as his pivot, and came with a rapid pace into the plain, and began the battle. Laval was directed against the English, but Victor himself, with Ruffin's brigade, ascending the reverse side of Barosa, cut off the Spanish detachment on the road to Medina, drove the whole of the rear-guard off the height towards the sea, dispersed the baggage and followers of the army in all directions, and took three Spanish guns.

Major Brown seeing the general confusion, and being unable to stem the torrent, slowly retired into the plain, and sending notice of this attack to Graham, demanded orders. That General, being then near Bermeja, answered that he was to fight; and instantly facing about himself, regained the plain with the greatest celerity, expecting to find La Peña, with the corps of battle and the cavalry, on the height. But when the view opened, he beheld Ruffin's brigade, flanked by the chosen battalions, near the top of Barosa at the one side, the Spanish rear-guard and baggage flying in confusion on the other, the French cavalry between the summit and the sea,

* Appendix 15, § 7, Vol. II.