

nected the promontory with the mainland, and this line of defence was strengthened by some fortified convents; then came the town, and behind the town at the extremity of the promontory stood the castle.

On the 4th of May, Foy, Sarrut and Palombini took post at different points to cover the siege; the Italian general St. Paul invested the place; the engineer Vacani conducted the works, having twelve guns at his disposal. The defence was lively and vigorous, and Captain Tayler with great labor landed a heavy ship-gun on a rocky island to the right of the town, looking from the sea, which he worked with effect against the French counter-batteries. On the 11th a second gun was mounted on this island; but that day the breaching-batteries were opened and in a few hours broke the wall, while the counter-batteries set fire to some houses with shells. The English guns were then removed from the island and the assault was ordered, but was delayed because a foraging party sent into the hills came flying back, pursued by a column of Spaniards which had passed unperceived through the positions of the French. This threw the besiegers into confusion as thinking the covering army had been beaten, yet they soon recovered and the assault and escalade took place in the night.

The attack was rapid and fierce, the walls were carried and the garrison driven through the town to the castle, which was maintained by two companies while the flying troops got on board the English vessels; finally the Italians stormed the castle, but every gun had been destroyed and the two companies safely rejoined their countrymen on board the ships. The English had ten seamen wounded, the Spaniards lost a hundred and eighty, and the remainder were immediately conveyed to Bermeo from whence they marched inland to join Longa. The besiegers lost only fifty killed and wounded, and the Italian soldiers committed great excesses, setting fire to the town in many places. Foy and Sarrut marched after the siege, the former through the district of Incartaciones to Bilbao defeating a battalion of Biscay volunteers on his route; the latter to Orduño with the design of destroying Longa; but that chief crossed the Ebro at Puente Lara, and finding the troops sent by Joseph were beginning to arrive at Burgos, recrossed the river and after a long chase escaped in the mountains of Espinosa. Sarrut, having captured a few gun-carriages and one of Longa's forest dépôts of ammunition, returned towards Bilbao, and Foy immediately marched from that place against the two remaining battalions of Biscay volunteers, which under their chiefs Mugartegui and Artola were at Villaro and Guernica.

These battalions, each a thousand strong, raised by conscription

and officered from the best families, were the champions of Biscay; but though brave and well-equipped the difficulty of crushing them and the volunteers of Guipuscoa was not great, because neither would leave their own peculiar provinces. The third battalion had been already dispersed in the district of Incartaciones, and Foy, having in the night of the 29th combined the march of several columns to surround Villaro, fell at daybreak upon Mugartegui's battalion and dispersed it with the loss of all its baggage. Two hundred returned to their homes, and the French general then moved rapidly against Artola, who was at Guernica. The Italians being still at Bilbao were directed to flank that chief on the west by Mungia, while a French column flanked him on the east by Marquinez. Artola fled to Lequitio, but the column from Marquinez, coming over the mountain, fell upon his right just as he was defiling on a narrow way along the sea coast; he escaped himself, yet two hundred Biscayans were killed or drowned, three hundred with twenty-seven officers taken. A rear-guard of two companies got off in the mountains, some few gained an English vessel, and this success which did not cost the French a man was attributed to Guingret, the daring officer who won the passage of the Duero at Tordesillas during Wellington's retreat.

The volunteer battalions of Biscay being thus disposed of, all their magazines, hospitals and dépôts fell into Foy's hands, the junta dispersed, the privateers quitted the coast for Santander, Pastor abandoned Guipuscoa, and the Italians recovered Bermeo from which the garrison fled to the English ships. They also destroyed the works of the little island of Isaro, which, situated three thousand yards from the shore and having no access to the summit save by a staircase cut in the rock, was deemed impregnable and used as a dépôt for the English stores. This was the last memorable exploit of Palombini's division in the north. That general himself had already gone to Italy to join Napoleon's reserves, and his troops being ordered to march by Aragon to join Suchet, were actually in movement when new events caused them to remain in Guipuscoa. They were reputed brave and active soldiers, but in devastating ferocity differed little from their Roman ancestors.

During these double operations of the French on the coast and in Navarre the partidas had fallen upon the line of communication with France; thus working out the third branch of the insurrectional warfare; and their success went nigh to balance all their losses on each flank. Mendizabel was with Longa's partida upon the line between Burgos and Miranda de Ebro; the volunteers of Alava and Biscay and part of Pastor's band were concentrated on

the mountains of Arlaban above the defiles of Salinas and Descarga; Merino and Salazar came up from the country between the Ebro and the Duero; and the three battalions left by Mina in the Amescoas, after escaping from Taupin, re-assembled close to Vittoria. Every convoy, every courier's escort was attacked at one or other of these points, and Mendizabel also made sudden descents towards the coast. On the 25th of April, Longa, who had four thousand men and several guns, was repulsed at Armini6n between Miranda and Trevino, by some of the drafted men going to France; but on the 3d of May he compelled a large convoy coming from Castile with an escort of eight hundred men to return to Miranda, and even cannonaded that place on the 5th. Thouvenot, commandant of the government, immediately detached twelve hundred men and three guns from Vittoria to relieve the convoy; but then Mina's battalions endeavored to escalate Salvatierra, and they were repulsed with difficulty. The volunteers of Alava gathered above the pass of Salinas to intercept the rescued convoy, but finding the latter would not stir from Vittoria, went on the 10th to aid in a fresh attack on Salvatierra; being again repulsed, they returned to Arlaban and captured a courier with a strong escort in the pass of Descarga near Villa Real. A French regiment sent to succor Salvatierra finally drove these volunteers towards Bilbao, where, as already shown, Foy routed them; but Longa continued to infest the post of Armini6n until Sarrut arriving from the siege of Castro chased him also.

Notwithstanding these successes Clausel, whose troops were worn out with fatigue, declared it would require fifty thousand men and three months' time to quell the insurrection entirely. And Napoleon more discontented than ever with the King, complained that the successes of Clausel, Foy, Sarrut, and Palombini had brought no safety to his couriers and convoys; that his orders about posts and infantry escorts had been neglected; that the reinforcements sent to the north from Castile had gone slowly and in succession instead of at once; finally that the cautious movement of concentration by the other armies was inexcusable; since the inaction of the allies, their distance, their want of transport, their ordinary and even timid circumspection, in any operation out of the ordinary course, enabled the French to act in the most convenient manner. The growing dissensions between the English and the Spaniards, the journey of Wellington to Cadiz, the changes in his army were, he said, all favorable circumstances for the French, but the King had taken no advantage of them: the insurrection continued and the object of interest was now changed. Joseph defended himself with more vehemence than reason against these charges, but Wel-

lington soon vindicated Napoleon's judgment and the voice of controversy was smothered by the din of battle; for the English general was again abroad in his strength and the clang of his arms resounded through the Peninsula.

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## CHAPTER VI.

Wellington restores the discipline of the allied army—Relative strength of the belligerent forces—Wellington's plans described—Lord W. Bentinck again proposes to invade Italy—Wellington opposes it—The opening of the campaign delayed by the weather—State of the French army—Its movements previous to the opening of the campaign.

WHILE the French power was being disorganized in the manner just related, Wellington re-organized the allied army with greater strength than before. Large reinforcements, especially of cavalry, had come out from England, the efficiency of the Portuguese was restored in a surprising manner, and discipline had been vindicated in both services with a rough but salutary hand. Rank had not screened offenders; some had been arrested, some tried, some dismissed for breach of duty; the negligent were terrified, the zealous encouraged; every department was reformed, and it was full time. Confidential officers commissioned to detect abuses in the general hospitals and dépôts, those asylums for malingerers, discovered and drove so many skulkers to their duty, that the second division alone recovered six hundred bayonets in one month; and this scouring was rendered more efficient by the establishment of permanent and ambulatory regimental hospitals; a wise measure founded on a principle which cannot be too widely extended; for as the character of a battalion depends on its fitness for service, a moral force will always bear upon the execution of orders under regimental control which it is in vain to look for elsewhere.

The Douro had been rendered navigable as high as Castillo de Alva above the confluence of the Aguada; a pontoon-train of thirty-five pieces had been formed; carts of a peculiar construction had been built to repair the great loss of mules during the retreat from Burgos; and a recruit of these animals was also obtained by emissaries, who purchased them with English merchandise even at Madrid under the beard of the enemy, and when Clausel was unable for want of transport to fill the magazines of Burgos! The ponderous iron camp-kettles of the soldiers had been laid aside for lighter vessels carried by men, the mules being destined to carry tents instead; it is however doubtful if these tents were really use-

ful in wet weather, because when soaked they became too heavy for the animal and seldom arrived in time at the end of a march: their greatest advantage was when the soldiers halted for a few days. Many other changes and improvements had taken place, and the Anglo-Portuguese troops, conscious of a superior organization, were more proudly confident than ever, while the French were again depressed by intelligence of the defection of the Prussians, following on the disasters in Russia. Nor had the English general failed to amend the condition of those Spanish troops which the Cortes had placed at his disposal. By a strict and jealous watch over the application of the subsidy he kept them clothed and fed during the winter, and now had several powerful bodies fit to act in conjunction with his own forces.

Thus prepared he was anxious to strike, anxious to forestall the effects of his Portuguese political difficulties as well as to keep pace with Napoleon's efforts in Germany, and his army was ready to take the field in April; but he could not concentrate before the green forage was fit for use and deferred the execution of his plan until May. It was a wide plan. The relative strength for battle was no longer in favor of the French; their force had been reduced by losses in the secondary warfare, and by drafts since Wellington's retreat,\* from two hundred and sixty to two hundred and thirty thousand. Of the last number thirty thousand were in hospital, and only one hundred and ninety-seven thousand men, including the reserve at Bayonne, were present with the eagles. Sixty-eight thousand, including sick, were in Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia; the remainder, with the exception of the ten thousand left at Madrid, were distributed on the northern line of communication from the Tormes to Bayonne: it has been shown how scattered and how occupied.

Wellington was somewhat thwarted by the Duke of York, with whom he was not on very cordial terms; instead of receiving remounts for the cavalry, four of his regiments were withdrawn because of their loss of horses, leaving him weaker by twelve hundred than he ought to have been. But he had prepared two hundred thousand allied troops for the campaign; and on each flank there was a British fleet, now a very effective aid, because the French lines of retreat run parallel to and near the sea-coast on each side of Spain, and every port opened by the advance of the allies would form a *dépôt* for subsistence.

This mass of troops was organized in the following manner south of the Tagus. The first army under Copons, nominally ten thousand, was in Catalonia. The second army under Elio in Murcia

\* Appendix 13.

twenty thousand, including the divisions of Villa Campa, Bassecour, Duran, and Empecinado. The Anglo-Sicilian army under Murray near Alicant, sixteen thousand. The third army under Del Parque in the Morena, twelve thousand. The first army of reserve under Abispal in Andalusia, fifteen thousand.

In the north, the fourth army under Castaños included the Spanish divisions in Estremadura, Julian Sanchez' partida, the Gallicians under Giron, the Asturians under Porlier and Barceña, the partidas of Longa and Mina. It was computed at forty thousand, to which may be added minor bands and volunteers in various parts. Then came the noble Anglo-Portuguese army, seventy thousand fighting men with ninety pieces of artillery. And the real difference between the French and the allies was greater than it appeared. The French returns included officers, serjeants, drummers, artillerymen, engineers, and wagoners, whereas the Anglo-Portuguese were all sabres and bayonets. Moreover this return of the French number was dated the 15th of March; and as there were drafts made after that period, and Clausel and Foy's losses and the reserve at Bayonne are to be deducted, the number of sabres and bayonets in June was probably not more than one hundred and sixty thousand, one hundred and ten thousand being on the northern line.

The campaign of 1812 had shown how strong the French lines of defence were, especially on the Duero, which they had since entrenched in different parts, and most of the bridges over it had been destroyed in the retreat. But it was not advisable to operate in the central provinces of Spain. The country there was exhausted, the lines of supply would be longer and more exposed, the army further removed from the sea, the Gallicians could not be easily brought down to co-operate, the services of the northern partidas would not be so advantageous, and the ultimate result would be less decisive than operations against the great line of communication with France. Wherefore on the northern line the operations were to run, and those defences which could scarcely be forced were to be evaded.\* On the lower Duero, the French army could be turned by a wide movement across the upper Tormes, and from thence, skirting the mountains, towards the upper Duero; but that line although most consonant to the rules of art because the army would thus be kept in one mass, led through a difficult and wasted country, the direct aid of the Gallicians would be lost, and it was there the French looked for the attack. Wellington therefore resolved to operate by his left, and so disposed his troops and spread such reports, and made such false movements as to

\* Plan 6, p. 283.

mask his real design. For the gathering of partidas at Arzobispo, the demonstrations in Estremadura and La Mancha, the positions of Hill at Coria, and the pass of Bejar, and the magazines formed there, were all of his ordering and indicated a move by the Tagus or by Avila. The greater magazines at Celerico, Viseu, Penamacor, Almeida and Rodrigo in no manner belied this; but half the army widely cantoned in Portugal, apparently for health, was really on the true line of operations which was to run through the *Tras os Montes*.

It was also designed to pass the Duero on the Portuguese frontier, and Wellington would have done so with the whole army in mass, if the necessity of keeping his right so far advanced in Spain during the winter had not barred that measure; for a concentration on the left would have exposed the country on his right to incursions, and disclosed his real design. Wherefore with a modified project he proposed to operate with his left, ascending the right of the Duero to the Esla, crossing that river to unite with the Gallicians, while the rest of the army advancing from the Agueda should force the passage of the Tormes. By this combination, which he hoped to effect so suddenly that the King should not have time to concentrate in opposition, the front of the allies would be changed to their right, the Duero and Carrion turned and the enemy thrown in confusion over the Pisuerga. Then moving forward in mass, the English general could fight or turn any position taken by the King; gaining at each step more force by the junction of the Spanish irregulars until he reached the insurgents of Biscay; gaining also new communications with the fleet, and consequently new depôts at every port opened.

In the first movement the army would be divided into three parts, each too weak to meet the whole French force; and the *Tras os Montes* operation, upon the nice execution of which the whole depended, would be in a difficult mountainous country. Hence exact and extensive combinations were essential to success, but failure would not be dangerous because each corps had a strong country to retire upon; the worst effect would be loss of time and the opening of other operations, when the harvest would allow the French to act in masses. The problem was to be solved by hiding the project and gaining time for the *Tras os Montes* march; and to do this, minor combinations and resources for keeping the French armies scattered and employed were to be freely used. In that view, the bridge equipage was secretly prepared in Abrantes, and the bullock carts to draw it came from Spain by Lamego. The improved navigation of the Douro seemed more conducive to subsist a movement by the right, and yet furnished large boats by

which to pass the left over that river; the wide-spread cantonments permitted changes of quarters under pretence of sickness, and thus the troops were gradually closed upon the Douro without suspicion. Hill and the Spaniards in Estremadura and Andalusia always menaced the valley of the Tagus, and contributed to draw attention from the true point; but more than any other thing the vigorous excitement of and sustenance of the northern insurrection occupied the enemy, scattered his forces, and rendered the success of the project nearly certain.

Neither did Wellington fail to give ample employment to Suchet's forces; for his wings were spread for a long flight, even to the Pyrenees, and he had no desire to find that marshal's army joined with the other French forces on the Ebro. The lynx eyes of Napoleon had scanned this point of war also, and both the King and Clausel had received orders to establish the shortest and most certain line of correspondence possible with Suchet, because the Emperor's plan contemplated the arrival of that marshal's troops in the north; but Wellington found another task for it. For after the fight of Castalla, Freyre's cavalry joined the Andalusian reserve under Abispal, and Elio who remained near Alicant was to be joined by Del Parque. These and the Anglo-Sicilian troops furnished more than fifty thousand men, including the divisions of Duran, Villa Campa, the Empecinado and other partisans, who were always lying on Suchet's right flank and rear. With such a force, or even half, if of good troops, the simplest plan would have been to turn Suchet's right flank and bring him to action with his back to the sea; but the Spanish armies were not efficient for such work and their instructions were adapted to circumstances. To win the open part of the kingdom, to obtain a permanent footing on the coast beyond the Ebro, to force the enemy from the lower line of that river by acting in conjunction with the Catalans,—these were the three objects in view, and to attain them Wellington desired Murray to sail against Taragona. Suchet must, he said, decrease his Valencian force to save it; Elio and Del Parque might then seize that kingdom; if Taragona fell it would be good, if it was too strong Murray could return by sea and secure the country gained by the Spanish generals.

Elio and Del Parque were however enjoined to keep strictly on the defensive until Murray's operations drew Suchet away; they were not able to fight alone and their defeat would enable the French marshal to aid the King in the north. Ten thousand men were judged sufficient to reduce Taragona, but if Murray could not embark that number there was another mode of operating. Some Spanish battalions sent by sea would enable Copons to hold



the country between Taragona, Lerida and Tortosa; meanwhile Murray and Elio were to menace Suchet in front, and Del Parque in conjunction with the partidas was to turn his right by Requeña; this operation was to be repeated until Del Parque gained a connection with Copons by the left, and the partidas had cut off Suchet's intercourse with the northern provinces: either of these plans would entirely occupy that Marshal and keep him in the south.

Wellington was not aware that Reille's divisions were beyond the Ebro; the spies, deceived by the multitude of detachments passing in and out of the Peninsula, supposed the troops which reinforced Clausel to be fresh conscripts from France; the arrangements for the opening of the campaign were therefore made in the expectation of meeting a very powerful force in Leon. Hence Freyre's cavalry and the Andalusian reserve received orders to march upon Almaraz, to pass the Tagus there by a pontoon-bridge established for them, and then crossing the Gredos by Bejar or Mombeltran, to march upon Valladolid while the partidas of that quarter should harass the march of Leval from Madrid. The Spanish troops in Estremadura were to join those forces on the Agueda which were destined to make the passage of the Tormes; and the Gallicians were to come down on the Esla to unite with the *Tras os Montes* corps. Thus seventy thousand Anglo-Portuguese, eight thousand Spaniards from Estremadura, and twelve thousand Gallicians, in all ninety thousand fighting men, would be suddenly placed on a new front and marching abreast would drive the surprised and separated masses of the enemy reflux to the Pyrenees. A grand design and grandly it was executed! For high in heart and strong of hand, Wellington's veterans marched to the encounter, the glories of twelve victories played about their bayonets, and he their leader was so proud and confident, that in passing the stream which marks the frontier of Spain, he rose in his stirrups and waving his hand, cried out "Farewell Portugal!"

But while straining every nerve and eager to strike, eager also to escape Portuguese politics and keep pace with Napoleon, he was called upon to discuss again the policy of a descent on Italy, and a new ministerial project for withdrawing his German troops to act in Germany!! Lord William Bentinck had before relinquished his views with reluctance, but now, thinking affairs favorable, again proposed to land at Naples and put forward the Duke of Orleans or the Archduke Francis. He urged the weak state of Murat's kingdom, the favorable disposition of the inhabitants, the offer of fifteen thousand auxiliary Russians made by Admiral Greig, the

shock of Napoleon's power and the effectual diversion in favor of Spain. He supported his opinion by an intercepted letter of the Queen of Naples to Napoleon, and by other authentic documents; and thus at the moment of execution Wellington's vast plans were to be disarranged to meet new schemes of war, one of which he had already discussed and disapproved of; and however promising in itself, it would inevitably have divided the power of England and weakened the operations in both countries.

His reply was decisive. To withdraw the Germans would only lead to mischief, and his opinion as to Sicily was not changed by Murat's letters, as that monarch evidently thought himself strong enough to invade the island. Lord William should not land in Italy with less than forty thousand men well equipped, since it must overcome all opposition before the people would join or even cease to oppose. It was stated that the people looked to be protected from the French and preferred England to Austria. No doubt of that. The Austrians would demand provisions and money and insist upon governing them in return; the English would as elsewhere, defray their own expenses and probably give a subsidy in addition. The south of Italy was possibly the best place next to the Spanish Peninsula for the operations of a British army, and it remained for the government to choose whether they would adopt an attack on the former upon such a scale as he had alluded to. But of one thing they might be certain; if it were commenced on a smaller scale, or with any other intention than to persevere to the last and by raising, feeding and clothing armies of the natives, the plan would fail and the troops would re-embark with loss and disgrace. This remonstrance fixed the vacillating ministers, and Wellington was allowed to proceed with his own plans.

Designing to open the campaign the beginning of May, and the green forage being well advanced the 21st of April, he directed Murray, Del Parque, Elio, and Copons to commence their operations on the eastern coast; Abispal and Freyre were expected at Almaraz the 24th; the Estremaduran divisions had reached the Coa, and the Anglo-Portuguese force was gradually closing to the front. But heavy rains broke up the roads, and the cumbersome pontoon-train being damaged on its way did not reach Sabugal before the 13th, and was not repaired before the 15th. Thus the opening of the campaign was delayed, yet the check proved of little consequence, for on the French side nothing was prepared to meet the danger. Napoleon had urged the King to send his heavy baggage and stores to the rear, to fix his hospitals and dépôts at Burgos, Vittoria, Pampeluna, Tolosa, and San Sebastian; Joseph allowed the impediments to remain with the armies, and the sick,

poured along the communications, were thrown upon Clausel at the moment when that general was scarcely able to make head against the northern insurrection.

Napoleon had early and clearly fixed the king's authority as generalissimo, and forbid him to exercise his monarchical authority towards the French armies, yet Joseph was at this moment in high dispute with all his generals upon those very points.

Napoleon had directed the king to enlarge and strengthen the works of Burgos, and form magazines there and at Santona for the armies in the field. At this time no magazines had been formed at either place, and although a commencement had been made to strengthen Burgos, it was not capable of sustaining four hours' bombardment and offered no support for the armies.

Napoleon had desired a more secure and shorter line of correspondence than that by Zaragoza should be established with Suchet; for his plan embraced, though it did not prescribe, the march of that general upon Zaragoza, and he had repeatedly warned the king how dangerous it would be to have Suchet isolated and unconnected with the northern operations. Nevertheless the line of correspondence remained the same, and the allies could excise Suchet's army from the north.

Napoleon had long and earnestly urged the king to put down the northern insurrection in time to make head against the allies on the Tormes. Now, when the English general was ready to act that insurrection was in full activity; and all the army of the north and great part of the army of Portugal were employed to suppress it, instead of being on the lower Duero.

Napoleon had clearly explained to the king the necessity of keeping his troops concentrated towards the Tormes in an offensive position, and desired him to hold Madrid so as that it could be abandoned in a moment. The campaign was now being opened, the French armies were scattered, Leval was encumbered at Madrid with a part of the civil administration, with large stores, parks of artillery, and the care of families attached to Joseph's court; while the other generals were stretching their imaginations to devise which of the several projects open to him Wellington would adopt. Would he force the passage of the Tormes and the Duero with his whole army and thus turn the French right? Would he march straight upon Madrid either by the district of Avila or by the valley of the Tagus, or by both; and would he then operate against the north or upon Zaragoza, or towards the south in co-operation with the Anglo-Sicilians? Everything was vague, uncertain, confused.

All the generals complained that the king's conduct was not

military, and Napoleon told him if he would command an army he must give himself up entirely to it, thinking of nothing else; but Joseph was always demanding gold when he should have trusted to iron. His skill was unequal to the arrangements and combinations for taking an initiatory and offensive position, and he could neither discover nor force his adversary to show his real design. The French being thrown upon a timid defensive system, every movement of the allies produced alarm and the dislocation of troops without an object. Del Parque's march towards Alcaraz, and that of the Spanish divisions from Estremadura in the latter end of April, were viewed as the commencement of a general movement against Madrid; because the first was covered by the advance of some cavalry into La Mancha, and the second by the concentration of the partidas in the valley of the Tagus; the whole French army was thus shaken by the demonstration of a few horsemen; for when Leval took the alarm, Gazan marched towards the Guadarama with three divisions, and Drouet gathered the army of the centre around Segovia.

Early in May a fifth division of Reille's troops was employed on the line of communication at Pampliega, Burgos, and Briviesca, and he remained at Valladolid with only one division of infantry and his guns, his cavalry being on the Esla. Drouet was then at Segovia, Gazan at Arevalo; Conroux was at Avila, Leval at Madrid with outposts at Toledo. The King who was at Valladolid could not therefore concentrate more than thirty-five thousand infantry on the Duero. He had indeed nine thousand excellent cavalry, and more than one hundred pieces of artillery; but with such dispositions, to concentrate for a battle in advance was not to be thought of, and the first decided movement of the allies was sure to roll his scattered forces back in confusion. Thus the lines of the Tormes and the Duero were effaced from the system of operations!

About the middle of May, D'Armagnac's division came to Valladolid, Villatte's division, reinforced by some cavalry, took the line of the Tormes from Alba to Ledesma; three divisions were at Zamora, Toro and other places on both sides of the Duero, and Reille's cavalry was still on the Esla. The front of the French was therefore defined by those rivers, for the left was covered by the Tormes, the centre by the Duero, the right by the Esla. Gazan's head-quarters were at Arevalo, Drouet's at Segovia, and the point of concentration was at Valladolid; but Conroux at Avila, and Leval at Madrid, were thrown entirely out of the circle of operations. It was at this moment that Wellington entered upon what has been in England called, not very appropriately, the

En el presente trabajo se ha estudiado el efecto de la temperatura sobre la actividad enzimática de la amilasa de *Aspergillus niger*. Los resultados indican que la actividad enzimática aumenta con la temperatura hasta un punto óptimo de 45°C, después de lo cual disminuye drásticamente. Este comportamiento es típico de las enzimas de origen microbiano.

Los datos obtenidos en este estudio se resumen en el siguiente cuadro:

Temperatura (°C)	Actividad Enzimática (U/mg)
25	0.15
35	0.35
45	0.85
55	0.25
65	0.05

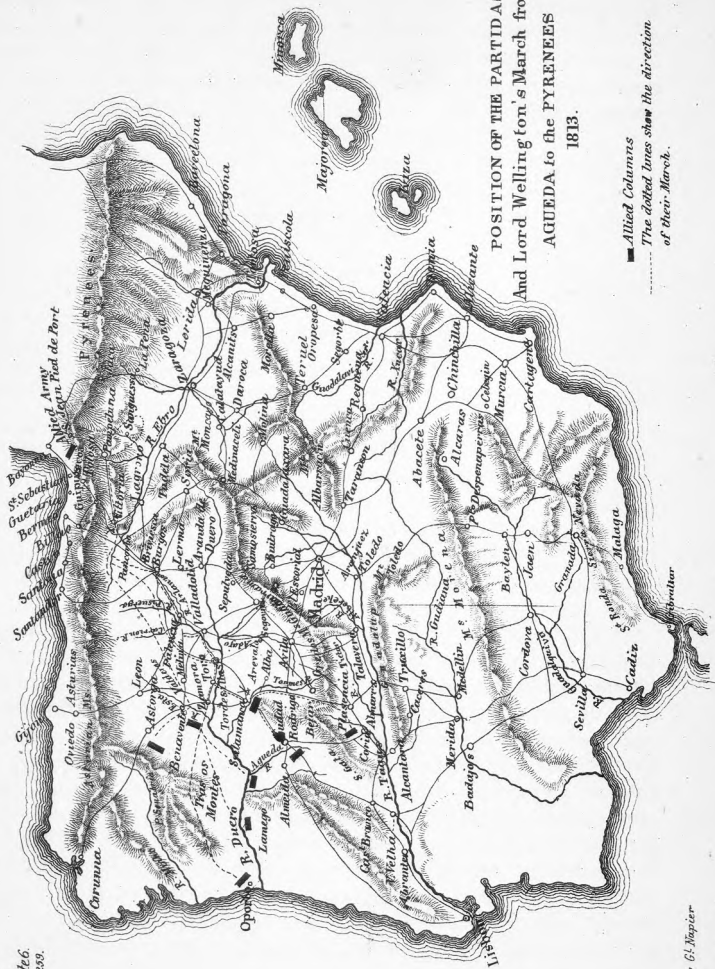
Se puede concluir que la amilasa de *Aspergillus niger* es una enzima termolábil que funciona mejor a temperaturas moderadas. Estos resultados son importantes para la optimización de procesos industriales que involucren esta enzima.

En conclusión, el estudio de la actividad enzimática de la amilasa de *Aspergillus niger* a diferentes temperaturas ha permitido determinar su punto óptimo de actividad. Este conocimiento es fundamental para aplicaciones biotecnológicas y industriales.

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Este trabajo forma parte de un estudio más amplio sobre la actividad enzimática de diferentes microorganismos. Los resultados de este estudio se publicarán en un próximo número de la revista.





POSITION OF THE PARTIDAS  
And Lord Wellington's March from the  
AGUEDA to the PYRENEES  
1813.

— Allied Columns  
..... The dotted lines show the direction  
of their March.

march to Vittoria, that march being but one portion of the action. The concentration of the army on the banks of the Duero was the commencement, the movement towards the Ebro and the passage of that river was the middle, the battle of Vittoria was the catastrophe, and the crowning of the Pyrenees the end of the splendid drama.

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## CHAPTER VII.

Dangerous discontent of the Portuguese army—Allayed by Wellington—Noble conduct of the soldiers—The left wing of the allies under General Graham marches through the Trás-os-Montes to the Esla—The right wing under Wellington advances against Salamanca—Combat there—The allies pass the Tormes—Wellington goes in person to the Esla—Passage of that river—Cavalry combat at Morales—The two wings of the allied army unite at Toro on the Duero—Remarks on that event—Wellington marches in advance—Previous movements of the French described—They pass the Carrion and Pisuerga in retreat—The allies pass the Carrion in pursuit—Joseph takes post in front of Burgos—Wellington turns the Pisuerga with his left wing and attacks the enemy with his right wing—Combat on the Hormaza—The French retreat behind Pancorbo and blow up the castle of Burgos—Wellington crosses the upper Ebro and turns the French line of defence—Santander is adopted as a *dépôt* station and the military establishments in Portugal are broken up—Joseph changes his dispositions of defence—The allies advance—Combat of Osma—Combat of St. Millan—Combat of Subijana Morillas—The French armies concentrate in the basin of Vittoria behind the Zadora.

In the latter end of April the Estremaduran troops were assembled on the Tormes, Carlos d'España had moved on Miranda del Castañar, and the campaign was going to open when a formidable obstacle menacing utter ruin arose. Some specie sent from England discharged the British soldier's arrears to November, 1812; but the men whose period of service had expired and who had re-enlisted, were entitled to bounty amounting to eight hundred thousand dollars, and as death was so rife they desired to have it. But far from being able to meet this demand Wellington could not pay his muleteers, on whom his operations depended, their arrears, many had deserted in consequence and it was feared others would follow. The Portuguese troops also, being still neglected by their government, and seeing the English soldiers partially paid, thought a systematic difference was going to be established between them, and thousands whose term of service was expired murmured for their discharge, which could not be legally refused. Wellington instantly threatened to apply the subsidy to paying the troops, which brought the regency to rights, and then he appealed to the honor and patriotism of the Portuguese soldiers whose term had

expired. Such an appeal is never made in vain to the poorer classes of any nation, and, one and all, those brave men remained with their colors notwithstanding the shameful treatment they had endured from their government. This noble emotion would prove that Beresford, whose system of military reform was chiefly founded upon severity, might have better attained his object in another manner; but harshness is the essence of the aristocratic principle of government, and the marshal only moved in the straight path marked out for him by the policy of the day.

When this dangerous affair was terminated Castaños returned to Galicia, and the British cavalry of the left wing, which had wintered about Mondego, crossed the Duero, some at Oporto, some near Lamego, and entered the *Tras os Montes*.\* The Portuguese cavalry had been quartered all the winter in that province, and the enemy supposed that Silveira would as formerly advance from Braganza to connect Galicia with the allies. But Silveira was then commanding an infantry division on the Agueda, and a very different power was menacing the French on the side of Braganza. For about the middle of May the cavalry were followed by many divisions of infantry and by the pontoon equipage, thus forming with the horsemen and artillery a mass of more than forty thousand men under Graham. The infantry and guns, rapidly placed on the right of the Duero by means of large boats assembled between Lamego and Castello de Alva, marched in several columns towards the lower Esla, one column however having with it two brigades of cavalry, went by Braganza. On the 20th Hill came to Bejar, and the 22nd Graham being well advanced, Wellington quitted Freneda and put his right wing in motion towards the Tormes. It consisted of five divisions of Anglo-Portuguese and Spanish infantry, five brigades of cavalry, including Julian Sanchez' horsemen, presenting with the artillery a mass of thirty thousand men. Being divided, one part under Hill moved from Bejar upon Alba de Tormes, the other under Wellington upon Salamanca.

On the 24th Villatte withdrew his detachment from Ledesma, and the 26th, at ten o'clock in the morning, the heads of the allied columns appeared with admirable concert on all the different routes leading to the Tormes. Morillo's division and Long's cavalry menaced Alba, Hill coming from Tamames, bent towards the fords above Salamanca, and Wellington coming from Matilla, marched straight against that city.

Villatte, a good officer, barricaded the bridge and the streets, sent his baggage to the rear, called in his detachment from Alba, and being resolved to discover the real force of his enemy waited for

\* French Reports, MSS. Plan 6, p. 234.



their approaching masses on the heights above the ford of Santa Marta. Too long he waited, for the ground on the left bank enabled Wellington to conceal the movements, and already Fane's horsemen with six guns were passing the ford at Santa Marta in the French rear, while Victor Alten's cavalry removed the barricades on the bridge and pushed through the town to attack in front. Villatte thus suddenly assailed marched towards Babila Fuente and gained the heights of Cabrerizos before Fane got over the river; but ere the defiles of Aldea Lengua could be reached he was overtaken by both columns of cavalry. The guns opened upon his squares and killed about forty men, the horsemen charged but were repulsed; then the French infantry again fell fast before the round shot, and nearly a hundred died from the intolerable heat; yet with unequalled courage the dauntless survivors won their way in the face of thirty thousand enemies! At Babila Fuente they were joined by the troops from Alba and the pursuit was abandoned by their admiring and applauding adversaries; but two hundred had fallen dead in the ranks, as many more unable to keep up were made prisoners, and one gun being overturned in the Aldea Lengua defile, retarded six others, which were captured with their tumbrils.

On the 27th and 28th the left of the allies approached Zamora, the right approached Taro; the latter thus covered the line of Rodrigo, the former neared the point of the Duero where a bridge of communication was to be thrown. Wellington then left Hill in command and went off suddenly, being disquieted for his combination on the Esla. The 29th he passed the Duero at Miranda in a basket slung on a rope stretched from rock to rock, the river foaming hundreds of feet below—the 30th he reached Carvajales, and joined Graham who had overcome many obstacles in his passage through the *Tras os Montes*. His troops, extended from Carvajales to Tabara, were on the left in communication with the Gallicians, but the operations were disarranged by the difficulty of crossing the Esla. That river should have been passed the 29th, at which time the right wing should have been close to Zamora and the passage of the Duero insured; the French would thus have been surprised, separated, and beaten in detail. They were indeed still ignorant that an army was on the Esla; but that river was guarded by their piquets, the stream was full and rapid, the banks steep, the fords hard to find, deep and with stony footing, and the alarm had spread from the *Tormes* through all the cantonments.

At daybreak on the 31st, English hussars, having infantry holding by their stirrups, entered the stream at the ford of Almendra and Graham approached the right bank with all his forces. A

French piquet of thirty men was surprised in the village of Villa Perdrices by the hussars, the pontoons were immediately laid down, and the columns commenced passing, but several men even of the cavalry had been drowned at the fords. Next day the head of the allies entered Zamora, which the French evacuated after destroying the bridge. They retired upon Toro, destroyed the bridge there also and again fell back, but their rear-guard was overtaken near the village of Morales by the hussar brigade under Colonel Grant. Their horsemen immediately passed a bridge and swamp under a cannonade, and then facing about in two lines gave battle; whereupon Major Robarts with the tenth hussars flanked by a squadron of the eighteenth under Major Hughes, the rest of that regiment being in reserve, broke both the lines at one charge, pursued for two miles and made two hundred prisoners, yet the French finally rallied on their infantry.

This secured the junction of the wings, for the Duero was fordable, and Wellington, anticipating failure at one point, had prepared to throw a boat-bridge at Espadacinta below the confluence of the Esla; he could also lay his pontoons just above Toro, because Julian Sanchez had surprised a cavalry piquet and driven the outposts from the fords of Pollos. The French columns were now concentrating, it might be for battle, and the left wing of the allies halted the 3d, to let the Gallicians come into line and to close up their own rear. The right wing passed the Duero, the artillery and baggage by a ford, the infantry at the bridge of Toro, ingeniously repaired by the Lieutenant of engineers Pringle, who dropped ladders at each side of the broken arch and laid planks across just above the water level. Thus the line of the Duero was mastered, and those who understand war may say if it was an effort worthy of the man and his army. Trace the combinations, follow Graham's columns, some of which marched a hundred and fifty, some two hundred and fifty miles through the wild *Tras os Montes*. Through those regions held to be nearly impracticable even for small corps, forty thousand men, infantry, cavalry, artillery, and pontoons, had been carried and placed as if by a supernatural power upon the Esla before the enemy knew even that they were in movement! Was it fortune or skill that presided? Not fortune, for the difficulties were such that Graham crossed the Esla later than Wellington intended, and yet so soon that the enemy could make no advantage of the delay. Had the French even been concentrated the 31st behind the Esla, the Gallicians were then at Benevente reinforced by Penne Villemur's cavalry which had marched with Graham; and the Asturians were at Leon where the Esla was fordable, and the passage of that river could have been effected by

similar combinations on a smaller scale; for the French had not numbers simultaneously to defend the Duero against Hill, the lower Esla against Graham, and the upper Esla against the Spaniards. Wellington had also, as we have seen, prepared means to bring Hill over the Duero below the confluence of the Esla: and all these surprising exertions had been made merely to gain a fair field of battle!

But if Napoleon's instructions had been worked out by the King during the winter, this great movement could not have succeeded; for the insurrection in the north would have been crushed, or so far quelled, that sixty thousand French infantry and ten thousand cavalry with one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery would have been disposable. Such a force held in an offensive position on the Tormes would have compelled Wellington to adopt a different plan of campaign. If concentrated between the Duero and the Esla it would have baffled him on those rivers, because operations effectual against thirty-five thousand infantry would have been powerless against sixty thousand. Joseph said he could not put down the insurrection, he could not feed such large armies; a thousand obstacles arose on every side which he could not overcome; in fine he could not execute his brother's instructions. They could have been executed notwithstanding. Activity, the taking time by the forelock, would have quelled the insurrection; and for the feeding of the troops, the boundless Tierras de Campos where the armies were now operating were covered with the ripening harvest; the only difficulty was to subsist the French who were not engaged in the northern provinces during the winter. Joseph could not find the means though Soult told him they were at hand, because difficulties overpowered him; they would not have overpowered Napoleon; but the difference between a common general and a great captain is immense, the one is victorious when the other is defeated.

Now was the field clear for the shock of battle. Wellington had ninety thousand men, with more than a hundred pieces of artillery. Twelve thousand were cavalry, and the British and Portuguese present with the colors were, including serjeants and drummers, above seventy thousand sabres and bayonets: the rest of the army was Spanish. But on the wings hovered the irregulars. Sanchez' horsemen, a thousand strong, were on the right beyond the Duero; Porlier, Barcena, Salazar and Manzo on the left, between the upper Esla and the Carrion. Saornil moved upon Avila, the Empecinado menaced Leval. Finally the reserve of Andalusia had crossed the Tagus at Almaraz on the 30th, and numerous minor bands swarmed around as it advanced. The French could collect

nine or ten thousand horsemen and one hundred guns, but their infantry was only thirty-five thousand strong exclusive of Leval: hence the way to victory was open, and on the 4th Wellington marched forward with a conquering violence.

Joseph could not stem or evade a torrent of war the depth and violence of which he was even now ignorant of; and a slight sketch of his previous operations will show that all his dispositions were made in the dark and only calculated to bring him into trouble.\* Early in May he would have marched the army of the centre to the upper Duero, when Leval's reports checked the movement. On the 15th of that month, a spy sent to Bejar by Drouet, now Count D'Erlon, brought intelligence, that a great number of country carts had been collected there and at Placentia to follow the troops in a march upon Talavera, but after two days were sent back to their villages,—that fifty mules had been purchased at Bejar and sent to Ciudad Rodrigo, and the first and fourth divisions and German cavalry had moved from the interior towards the frontier, saying they were going, the first to Zamora, the last to Fuente Guinaldo,—that many troops were gathered at Ciudad Rodrigo under Wellington and Castaños,—the divisions at Coria and Placentia were expected there, the reserves of Andalusia were in movement, the pass of Baños, before retrenched and broken up, was repaired,—that the English soldiers were paid their arrears, and everybody said a grand movement would commence on the 12th. All this was accurate, but, with exception of the march to Zamora which seemed only a blind, indicated a movement against the Tormes and threw no light upon the real design.

On the other flank, Reille's cavalry under Boyer, having made an exploring sweep round by Astorga, La Baneza and Benevente, brought intelligence that a Gallician expedition was embarking for America, another was to follow, and English divisions were also embarking in Portugal. The 23d of May a report from the same quarter gave notice that Salazar and Manzo were with seven hundred horsemen on the upper Esla, that Porlier was coming from the Asturias to join them with two thousand five hundred men, and Giron with six thousand Gallicians had reached Astorga,—but it was uncertain if Silveira's cavalry would come from Braganza to connect the left of the English with the Gallicians as it had done the year before.

Thus on the 24th of May the French were still ignorant of Graham's movement, and although it was known the 26th at Valladolid, that Wellington had troops in the country beyond the Esla, it was not considered a decisive movement because the head-quar-

\* French correspondence, MSS.

ters were still at Freneda. On the 29th Reille united his cavalry at Valderas, passed the Esla, entered Benevente and sent patrols towards Tobara and Carvajales; from their reports and other sources he understood the whole allied army was on the Esla; and as his detachments were closely followed by British scouting parties he recrossed the Esla and broke the bridge of Castro Gonzalo, leaving his light horsemen to watch it. But the delay in the passage of the Esla, after Graham had reached Carvajales, made Reille doubt both the strength of the allies and their inclination to cross that river. He expected the main attack on the Tormes, and proposed to unite with Daricau's infantry and Digeon's dragoons, then at Toro and Zamora, to defend the Duero and lower Esla, leaving the Gallicians, whose force he despised, to pass the upper Esla at their peril.

D'Armagnac's division was at Rio Seco, and Maucune's division, which had been spread along the road to Burgos, was ordered to concentrate at Palencia on the Carrion; but Gazan on the other flank was equally deceived by the allies' movements. The 7th of May he heard from the Tormes that the preparations indicated a movement towards that river. Leval wrote from Madrid that he had abandoned Toledo because fifteen thousand English and ten thousand Spaniards were to advance by the valley of the Tagus; that rations had been ordered at Escalona for Long's cavalry, and magazines were formed at Bejar: and from a third quarter came news, that three divisions would pass the Duero to join the Gallicians and march upon Valladolid.

Gazan rightly thinking the magazines at Bejar were to supply Hill and the Spaniards in their movement to join Wellington, expected at first the whole would operate by the Esla, but on the 14th fresh reports changed this opinion; he then judged Hill would advance by the Puente Congosto upon Avila, to cut Leval off while Wellington attacked Salamanca. On the 24th his doubts vanished. Villatte told him Wellington was over the Agueda, Graham over the lower Douro; and at the same time Daricau, writing from Zamora, told him Graham's cavalry was only one march from the Esla. Conroux was instantly directed to march from Avila to Arevalo, Tilly to move with the cavalry of the army of the south from Madrigal towards the Trabancos, Daricau to send a brigade to Toro, Leval to come over the Guadarama pass and join D'Erlon at Segovia.

On the 26th, Gazan thinking Wellington slow and crediting a report that he was sick and travelling in a carriage, relapsed into doubt. He now judged the passage of the Agueda a feint, thought the allies' operations would be in mass towards the Esla, and was positively assured by his emissaries that Hill would move by the

Puente Congosto against Segovia. The 27th he heard of the passage of the Tormes and Villatte's retreat, whereupon evacuating Arevalo he fixed his head-quarters at Rueda, and directed Conroux, who was marching upon Arevalo and so hastily that he left a movable column behind him on the upper Tormes, to come to the Trabancos.

Gazan at first designed to take post behind that river, but there was no good position, and the 28th he rallied Conroux's, Rey's and Villatte's infantry and Tilly's cavalry behind the Zapardiel. Darricau meanwhile concentrated at Toro, Digeon at Zamora; a bridge-head was commenced at Tordesillas as the point of retreat, and guards were placed at Pollos, where the fords of the Duero were very low though as yet impracticable. These movements were unmolested; Hill had no desire to drive the French over the Duero and increase the number of their troops on the Esla. The 30th Gazan, hearing that Hill was advancing and the troops on the Esla likely to attempt the passage of that river, crossed the Duero in the night and took post at Tordesillas, intending to concentrate the whole army of the south on the right of that river; but Leval, though he had quitted Madrid on the 27th, was not yet arrived; and a large artillery convoy, the ministers and Spanish families, and the pictures from the palace of Madrid were likewise moving by the Segovia passes.

At this time the army of Portugal and D'Armagnac's division were extended from the Esla to the Carrion, the king's guards were at Valladolid, D'Erlon was in march to the Puente Duero from Segovia and Sepulveda, yet slowly and apparently not aware of the crisis. Meanwhile the passage of the Esla had been effected, and if that river had been crossed as fore-calculated by Wellington, and a push made upon Placentia and Valladolid while Hill marched upon Rueda, the whole French army might have been caught in what Napoleon calls '*flagrante delicto*' and destroyed. And even now it would seem Wellington could have profited more by marching than halting at Toro the 3d; for though Leval and part of D'Erlon's army were then between the Puente Duero and Valladolid, a large division was at Tudela de Duero to protect the convoy from Madrid; another great convoy was still on the left bank of the lower Pisuerga, and Reille and Gazan's parcs were waiting on the right bank of that river until the first convoy had passed over the Carrion. Nevertheless it was prudent to gather well to a head first, and the general combinations had been so profoundly made, that the evil day for the French was only deferred.

On the 30th, Joseph designed to oppose Wellington's main body with the army of the south, while the army of the centre held the

rest in check; the army of Portugal being to aid either as the case might be. And such was his infatuation, that besides pressing on Napoleon the immediate establishment of a civil Spanish administration for the provinces behind the Ebro, he demanded an order to draw Clause's troops away from the Ebro, that he might drive the allies back to the Coa, and take the long-urged offensive position towards Portugal: Napoleon being then at Dresden, and Wellington on the Duero!

On the 2d, the king, who expected the allies at Toro the 1st, disquieted that his front was unmolested, concluded, as he had received no letter from Reille, that Wellington had turned his right and was marching towards the Carrion. On the evening of the 2d, he heard from Reille, who had retired to Rio Seco and there rallied D'Armagnac's troops; but Maucune's division was still in march from different parts to concentrate at Palencia. The halt of the 3d was therefore to the profit of the French, for during that time they received the Madrid convoy, insured the concentration of all their troops, and recovered Conroux's movable column which joined Leval near Olmedo. They also destroyed the bridges of Tudela and Puente Duero on the Duero, those of Simancas and Cabeçon on the Pisuerga, and passed their convoys over the Carrion, directing them under escort of Casa Palacios' Spanish division upon Burgos.

Gazan now moved upon Torrelobaton and Penafior, D'Erlon upon Duenas, Reille upon Palencia; and the spirits of all were raised by intelligence of the emperor's victory at Lutzen, and by a report that the Toulon fleet had made a successful descent on Sicily. It would appear that Napoleon certainly contemplated an attack upon that island, and Lord William Bentinck thought it would be successful; it was prevented by Murat's discontent; instead of attacking he fell off from Napoleon and opened a negotiation with the British.

Wellington advanced on the 4th, his bridge of communication was established at Pollos, stores of ammunition were formed at Valladolid, some had also been taken at Zamora, and the cavalry flankers captured large magazines of grain at Arevalo. Towards the Carrion the march was rapid, by parallel roads and in compact order, the Gallicians on the extreme left, Morillo and Julian Sanchez on the extreme right, and the enemy was expected to defend the river; but the report of prisoners and the hasty movements of the French soon showed that they were in full retreat for Burgos. On the 6th, their forces were over the Carrion; Reille had even reached Palencia the 4th, and there rallied Maucune's division and a brigade of light cavalry employed on the communica-

tions. The king had now fifty-five thousand fighting men, exclusive of his Spanish division which was escorting the convoys and baggage; but he did not judge the Carrion a good position and retired behind the upper Pisuerga, desiring if possible to give battle there. He sent Jourdan to examine the state of Burgos, and expedited fresh letters, for he had already written from Valladolid on the 27th and 30th of May, to Foy, Sarrut, and Clausel, calling them towards the plains of Burgos. Suchet also he directed to march upon Zaragoza, hoping he was already on his way; but Suchet was then engaged in Catalonia, Clausel's troops were on the borders of Aragon, Foy and Palombini's Italians were on the coast of Guipuscoa, and Sarrut's division was pursuing Longa in the Montaña.

Higher than seventy or eighty thousand Joseph did not estimate the allied forces, and he was desirous of fighting them on the elevated plains of Burgos. But more than one hundred thousand men were before and around him. For all the partidas of the Asturias and the Montaña were drawing together on his right, Julian Sanchez and the partidas of Castile were closing on his left, Abispal with the reserve and Freyre's cavalry had passed the Gredos mountains and was making for Valladolid. Nevertheless Joseph was sanguine of success if he could rally Clausel's and Foy's divisions, and his despatches to the former were frequent and urgent. Come with the infantry of the army of Portugal! Come with the army of the north and we shall drive the allies over the Duero! Such was his cry to Clausel, and again he urged his political schemes upon his brother; but he was not a statesman to advise Napoleon, nor a general to contend with Wellington; his was not the military genius, nor were his the arrangements that could recover the initiatory movement at such a crisis and against such an adversary. While still on the Pisuerga he received Jourdan's report. Burgos was untenable, there were no provisions, the new works were unfinished, they commanded the old which were unable to hold out a day: of Clausel's and Foy's divisions nothing had been heard. It was then resolved to retire beyond the Ebro. All the French outposts in the Bureba and Montaña were immediately withdrawn, and the great dépôt of Burgos was evacuated upon Vittoria, which was thus encumbered with the artillery dépôts of Madrid, of Valladolid, and of Burgos, and with the baggage and stores of so many armies and so many fugitive families; and at this moment also arrived from France a convoy of treasure which had long waited for escort at Bayonne.

Meanwhile the tide of war flowed onwards with terrible power. The allies crossed the Carrion the 7th, Joseph retired by the high



road to Burgos with Gazan's and D'Erlon's troops, Reille moved by Castro Xerez. Wellington followed hard, and conducting his operations continually on the same principle, and pushing his left wing and the Gallicians along bye-roads passed the upper Pisuegra on the 8th, 9th, and 10th. Having thus turned the line of that river entirely, and outflanked Reille, he made a short journey the 11th and halted the 12th with his left wing; for he had outmarched his supplies, and had to arrange the feeding of his troops in a country wide of his line of communication. Nevertheless he pushed his right wing under Hill along the main road to Burgos, resolved to make the French yield the castle or fight for the possession; and meanwhile Julian Sanchez acting beyond the Arlanzan cut off small posts and straggling detachments.

Reille regained the great road to Burgos the 9th, and took ground behind the Hormaza, his right near Hormillas, his left on the Arlanzan, barring the way to Burgos; the other armies were in reserve behind Estepar, and in this situation remained for three days, and were again cheered by intelligence of Napoleon's victory at Bautzen and the consequent armistice. But on the 12th Wellington's columns came up. The light division, Grant's hussars and Ponsonby's dragoons, immediately turned the French right, while the rest of the troops attacked the whole range of heights from Hormillas to Estepar. Reille, who only desired to ascertain their numbers, seeing the horsemen in rear of his right and his front so strongly menaced, then made for the bridge of Baniel on the Arlanzan. During this movement Gardiner's horse-artillery raked his columns, and Captain Milles of the fourteenth dragoons took several prisoners and a gun which had been disabled; and it was said the 18th hussars having outflanked a body of French cavalry might have charged with great effect but were withheld by Colonel Grant. The allies now pressed forward towards the bridge of Baniel, endeavoring to cut off the retreat; yet the French repelled the minor attacks with the utmost firmness, bore the fire of the artillery without shrinking, and evading the more serious attacks by their rapid yet orderly movement, finally passed the river with a loss of only thirty men killed and a few taken.

Being now covered by the Urbel and Arlanzan rivers, both flooded, they could not be easily attacked, and the stores of Burgos were removed; yet in the night Joseph again retreated along the high road by Briviesca to Pancorbo, into which place he threw a garrison of six hundred men. The castle of Burgos was mined, but from hurry, or negligence, or want of skill, the explosion was outwards at the moment a column of infantry was defiling beneath. Several streets were laid in ruins, thousands of shells and other

combustibles left in the place, were ignited and driven upwards with a horrible crash, the hills rocked above the devoted column, and a shower of iron timber and stony fragments falling on it in an instant destroyed more than three hundred men! Fewer deaths might have sufficed to determine the crisis of a great battle!

But such an art is war! So fearful is the consequence of error, so terrible the responsibility of a general. Strongly and wisely did Napoleon speak when he told Joseph he must give himself up entirely to the business, laboring day and night, thinking of nothing else. Here was a noble army driven like sheep before prowling wolves, yet in every action the inferior generals had been prompt and skilful, the soldiers brave, ready and daring, firm and obedient in the most trying circumstances of battle. Infantry, artillery and cavalry, all were excellent and numerous, and the country strong and favorable for defence; but that soul of armies, the mind of a great commander was wanting, and the Esla, the Tormes, the Duero, the Carrion, the Pisuerga, the Arlanzan, seemed to be dried up, the rocks, the mountains, the deep ravines, to be levelled; Clausel's strong positions, Dubreton's thundering castle had disappeared like a dream, and sixty thousand veteran soldiers though willing to fight at every step, were hurried with all the tumult and confusion of defeat across the Ebro. Nor was that barrier found of more avail to mitigate the rushing violence of their formidable enemy.

Joseph having possession of the impregnable rocks, the defile and forts of Pancorbo, now thought he could safely await for his reinforcements, and extended his wings for the sake of subsistence. On the 16th D'Erlon marched to Aro on the left, leaving small posts of communication between that place and Miranda, and sending detachments towards Domingo Calçada to watch the road leading from Burgos to Logroño. Gazan remained in the centre with a strong advanced guard beyond Pancorbo; for as the King's hope was to retake the offensive he retained the power of issuing beyond the defiles, and his scouting parties were pushed forward towards Briviesca in front, to Zerezo on the left, to Poya do Sal on the right. The rest of Gazan's remaining troops were cantoned by divisions as far as Armiñion behind the Ebro, and Reille marched to Espejo, also behind the Ebro and on the great road to Bilbao. Being there joined by Sarrut from Orduña he took a position, placing Maucune at Frias, Sarrut at Osma, and La Martiniere at Espejo; guarding also the Puente Lara, and sending strong scouting parties towards Medina de Pomar and Villarcayo on one side, and towards Orduña on the other.

All the encumbrances of the armies were now assembled in the

basin of Vittoria, and the small garrisons of the army of the north came in; for Clausel having received the King's first letter on the 15th of June, had stopped the pursuit of Mina, and proceeded to gather up his scattered columns, intending to move by Logroño to the Ebro. He had with him Taupin's and Barbout's divisions of Reille's army; but after providing garrisons, only five thousand of his own army were disposable, and he could not bring more than fourteen thousand men to aid the King; nevertheless the latter confident in the strength of his front was still buoyant with the hope of assembling a force powerful enough to retake the offensive. His dream was short-lived.

While the echoes of the explosion at Burgos were still ringing in the hills, Wellington was in motion by his left towards the sources of the Ebro. The Gallians moved from Aguilar de Campo high up on the Pisuerga, Graham moved from Villa Diego and in one march passed the Ebro at the bridges of Rocamunde and San Martin. The centre of the army followed on the 15th, and the same day the right wing under Hill marched through the Bureba and crossed at the Puente Arenas. This general movement was masked by the cavalry and the Spanish irregulars, who infested the French rear on the roads to Briviesca and Domingo Calçada; the allies were thus suddenly placed between the sources of the Ebro and the great mountains of Reynosa, and cut the French entirely off from the sea-coast. All the ports except Santona and Bilbao were immediately evacuated by the enemy; Santona was invested by Mendizabel, Porlier, Barcena, and Campillo; and English vessels entered Santander, where a dépôt and hospital station were established, because the royal road from thence through Reynosa to Burgos furnished a free communication with the forces. This single blow severed the long connexion of the English troops with Portugal, which was thus cast off by the army as a heavy tender is cast from its towing rope: all the British military establishments were broken up and transferred by sea to the coast of Biscay.

Now the English general could march bodily down the left bank of the Ebro, and fall upon the enemy wherever he met with them; or, still turning the King's right, place the army in Guipuscoa on the great communication with France, while the fleet keeping pace with this movement furnished fresh dépôts at Bilbao and other ports. The first plan was a delicate and uncertain operation, because narrow and dangerous defiles were to be passed; the second, scarcely to be contravened, was secure even if the first should fail; both were compatible to a certain point, inasmuch as to gain the great road leading from Burgos by Orduña to Bilbao was a good

step for either; and failing in that the road leading by Valmaceda to Bilbao was still in reserve. Wherefore with an eagle's sweep Wellington brought his left wing round, and pouring his numerous columns through all the deep valleys and defiles descended towards the great road of Bilbao between Frias and Orduña. At Modina de Pómar, a central point, he left the sixth division to guard his stores and supplies, but the march of the other divisions was unmitigated; neither the winter gullies nor the ravines, nor the precipitate passes amongst the rocks, retarded even the march of the artillery; where horses could not draw men hauled, when the wheels would not roll the guns were let down or lifted up with ropes; and strongly did the rough veteran infantry work their way through those wild but beautiful regions; six days they toiled unceasingly; on the seventh, swelled by the junction of Longa's division and all the smaller bands which came trickling from the mountains, they burst like raging streams from every defile and went foaming into the basin of Vittoria.

Many reports reached the French, some absurdly exaggerated, as that Wellington had one hundred and ninety thousand men; but all indicating more or less distinctly the true line and direction of his march.\* As early as the 15th Jourdan warned Joseph that the allies would probably turn his right;† and as Maucune's scouts told of the presence of the English troops that day on the side of Puente Arenas, he pressed the King to send Reille to Valmaceda and close the other armies towards the same quarter. Joseph yielded so far that Reille was ordered to concentrate his troops at Osma on the morning of the 18th, with the view of gaining Valmaceda by Orduña if it was still possible; if not he was to descend rapidly from Lodio upon Bilbao and rally Foy's division and the garrisons of Biscay. Gazan was directed to send a division of infantry and a regiment of dragoons to relieve Reille at Puente Lara and Espejo, but no decided dispositions were made.

Reille ordered Maucune to quit Frias and join him at Osma, but having some fears for his safety gave him the choice of coming by the direct road across the hills, or the circuitous route of Puente Lara. Maucune started late in the night of the 17th by the direct road, and when Reille reached Osma with La Martiniere's and Sarrut's divisions on the morning of the 18th, he found a strong English column issuing from the defiles in his front, and the head of it was already at Barbacena on the high road to Orduña. This was Graham with the first, third and fifth divisions, and a considerable body of cavalry. Reille, who had eight thousand infantry and fourteen guns, made a demonstration in the view of forcing

\* General Trouvenot, MSS.

† Marshal Jourdan, MSS.

the British to show their whole force, and a sharp skirmish and heavy cannonade ensued, wherein fifty men fell on the side of the allies, a hundred on that of the enemy.\* But at half-past two o'clock Maucune had not arrived, and beyond the mountains, on the left of the French, the sound of a battle arose which seemed to advance along the valley of Boveda into the rear of Osma. Reille, suspecting what had happened, instantly retired fighting towards Espejo where the mouths of the valleys opened on each other, and there suddenly from Boveda and the hills on the left Maucune's troops rushed forth, begrimed with dust and powder, breathless and broken into confused masses.

Proverbially daring, he had marched over the Araçena ridge instead of going by the Puente Lara, and his leading brigade, after clearing the defiles, halted on the bank of a rivulet near the village of San Millan in the valley of Boveda. There, without planting piquets, they waited for their other brigade and the baggage, when suddenly the light division, moving on a line parallel with Graham's march, appeared on some rising ground in their front; the surprise was equal on both sides, but the British riflemen dashed down the hill with loud cries and a bickering fire, the fifty-second followed in support and the French retreated fighting as they best could. The rest of the English were in reserve and watching this combat, thinking all their enemies were before them, when the second French brigade, followed by its baggage, came hastily out from a narrow cleft in some perpendicular rocks on the right hand. A confused action ensued, for the reserve scrambled over some rough intervening ground to attack this new enemy, and the French to avoid them made for a hill a little way in their front; whereupon the fifty-second, whose rear was thus menaced, wheeled round and running at full speed up the hill met them on the summit. However, the French soldiers, without losing their presence of mind, threw off their packs and half-flying half-fighting, escaped along the side of the mountains towards Miranda, while the first brigade, still retreating on the road towards Espejo, were pursued by the riflemen. Meanwhile the sumpter animals run wildly about the rocks with a wonderful clamor; and though the escort huddled together and fought desperately, all the baggage became the spoil of the victors, and four hundred of the French fell or were taken; the rest, thanks to their unyielding resolution and activity, escaped, though pursued through the mountains by some Spanish irregulars. Reille being still pressed by Graham then retreated behind Salinas de Añara.

A knowledge of these events reached the King that night, yet

\* Official Journal of General Boyer, Chief of the Staff, MSS.

neither Reille nor the few prisoners he had made could account for more than six Anglo-Portuguese divisions at the defiles. No troops had been felt on the great road from Burgos, and Hill was judged to be marching with the others by Valmaceda into Guipuscoa. It was however clear that six divisions were concentrated on the right and rear of the French, and no time was to be lost; wherefore Gazan and D'Erlon marched in the night to unite at Armiñon, a central point behind the Zadora river, up the left bank of which it was necessary to file in order to gain the basin of Vittoria. But it could only be entered at that side through the pass of Puebla de Arganzan, which was two miles long and so narrow as scarcely to furnish room for the road. To cover this dangerous movement Reille fell back in the night to the Bayas river, where he was to dispute the ground vigorously; for by that line Wellington could enter the basin before Gazan and D'Erlon could thread the pass of Puebla; he could also send a corps from Frias to attack their rear on the Miranda side while they were engaged in the defile. And one of these things he should have endeavored to accomplish, but the troops had made very long marches on the 18th, and it was dark before the fourth division reached Espejo. D'Erlon and Gazan therefore united at Armiñon without difficulty about ten o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and immediately commenced the passage of the defile of Puebla; the head of their column appeared on the other side at the moment when Wellington was driving Reille back upon the Zadora.

Reaching Bayas before mid-day the 19th, the allies, if they could have forced the passage at once would have cut off D'Erlon and Gazan from Vittoria; but Reille was strongly posted, his front covered by the river, his right by Subijana de Morillas which was occupied as a bridge-head, the left secured by very rugged heights opposite the village of Pobes. This position was however turned by the light division while the fourth division attacked it in front, and after a skirmish in which eighty of the French fell, Reille was forced over the Zadora; but D'Erlon had then passed the defile of Puebla and was in position, Gazan was coming rapidly into second line, the crisis had passed, the combat ceased, and the allies pitched their tents on the Bayas. The French armies now formed three lines behind the Zadora, and the King hearing that Clausel was at Logroño, eleven leagues distant, expedited orders to him to march upon Vittoria; Foy also, who was in march for Bilbao, was directed to halt at Durango, to rally the garrisons of Biscay and Guipuscoa and come down on Vittoria. All these orders were received too late.