

his communications. If he passed the Garonne above its confluence with the Arriege, he would have to cross that river also, which could not be effected nearer than Cintegabelle, one march higher up; then he must come down by the right of the Arriege, an operation not to be feared in a country which the recent rains had rendered impracticable for guns. If he passed the Garonne below the confluence of the Arriege, Soult could from the Pech David and its continuation, overlook the movement, and would be in position to fall upon the head of the column while passing the river. If he failed in that, he had still Toulouse and the heights of Mont Rave to retire upon, where he could fight again, his retreat being secure upon Montauban. For these reasons, the passage of the Garonne above Toulouse would lead to no decisive result, and he did not fear it; but a passage below the city was a different matter. Wellington could then cut him off from Montauban, and attack Toulouse from the northern and eastern quarters; and if the French lost the battle, they must retreat by Carcassonne to form a junction with Suchet in Roussillon; where, having their backs to the mountains and the allies between them and France, they could not exist. Soult therefore lined the left of the Garonne with his cavalry as far as the confluence of the Tarn, and called up his troops from Agen in the view of confining the allies to the space between the Tarn and the Garonne; for his first design was to attack them there rather than lose his communication with Montauban.

Wellington having suffered the French army to gain three days' march in the retreat from Tarbes, had now little choice of operations. He could not halt until the Spaniards should join him from the Bastan, without giving Soult time to strengthen himself and organize his plan of defence; nor without appearing fearful and weak in the eyes of the French people, which would have been most dangerous. Still less could he wait for the fall of Bayonne. He had taken the offensive, and could not resume the defensive with safety: the invasion of France once begun, it was imperative to push it to a conclusion. Leading an army victorious and superior in numbers, his business was to bring his adversary to battle as soon as possible; and as he could not force his way through St Cyprien, nothing remained but to pass the Garonne above or below Toulouse.

In a strategic view, the passage should be below the town, but, seeing the south side was the most open to attack, the English general resolved to cast his bridge at Portet, six miles above Toulouse;* designing to throw his right wing suddenly into the open

* Note by the Duke of Wellington, MSS.

country, between the Garonne and the canal de Languedoc, while with his centre and left he assailed the suburb of St. Cyprien. With this object, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 27th, one of Hill's brigades marched up from Muret, some men were ferried over, and the bridge was commenced, the remainder of that general's troops being to pass at midnight. But when the river was measured, the width was found too great for the pontoons, and there were no means of substituting trestles, wherefore this plan was abandoned. Had it been executed, some considerable advantage would probably have been gained; for Soult did not know of the attempt until two days later, and then only by his emissaries, not by his scouts.

Wellington, changing his project, drove the enemy from the Touch river the 28th, collected the infantry of his left and centre about Portet, and masked the movement with his cavalry. In this operation, a squadron of the eighteenth hussars, under Major Hughes, being inconsiderately pushed by Vivian across the bridge of St. Martyn de la Touch, suddenly came upon a whole regiment of French cavalry, and the rashness of the act, as often happens in war, proved the safety of the British;* for the enemy, thinking a strong support must be at hand, discharged their carbines and retreated at a canter. Hughes followed, the speed of both sides increased, and as the nature of the road did not admit of any egress to the sides, this great body of French horsemen was pushed headlong by a few men under the batteries of St. Cyprien. During these movements, Hill's troops were withdrawn to St. Roques, and in the night of the 30th, a new bridge being laid near Pensaguel, two miles above the confluence of the Arriege, he passed the Garonne with two divisions of infantry, Morillo's Spaniards, Gardiner's and Maxwell's artillery, and Fane's cavalry, in all thirteen thousand sabres and bayonets, eighteen guns, and a rocket brigade. The advanced guard moved with all expedition by the great road, having orders to seize the stone bridge of Cintegabelle, fifteen miles up the Arriege, and secure a ferry-boat known to be at Vinergue. The remainder of the troops followed, the intent being to pass the Arriege river hastily at Cintegabelle, and so come down the right bank to attack Toulouse on the south while Wellington assailed St. Cyprien.

This march was to have been made privily in the night, but the bridge, though ordered for the evening of the 30th, was not finished until five o'clock in the morning of the 31st. Soult thus got notice of the enterprise in time to observe from the heights the strength of the column, and ascertain that the bulk of the army

* Colonel Hughes, MSS.

remained in front of St. Cyprien. The marshy nature of the country on the right of the Arriege was known to him; and the suburbs of St. Michel and St. Etienne being now in a state to resist a partial attack, he thought this a feint to draw off a part of his army from Toulouse while St. Cyprien was assaulted, or the Garonne passed below the city.* In this persuasion he kept his infantry in hand, and sent his cavalry up the right bank of the Arriege, to observe the march of the allies; but he directed Lafitte, who had collected some regular horsemen and the national guards of the department, to hang upon their skirts, and pretend to be the van of Suchet's army. He was however disquieted, because the allies' baggage, which, to avoid encumbering the march, had been sent up the Garonne to cross at Carbonne, being seen by his scouts, was reported to be a second column increasing Hill's force to eighteen thousand men.

In this uncertainty he heard of the measurement of the river made at Portet on the night of the 27th, and that many guns were still collected there; wherefore, being ignorant of the cause why the bridge was not thrown, he concluded there was a design to cross there also when Hill should descend the Arriege. To meet this danger, he put four divisions under Clausel, with orders to fall upon the head of the allies if they attempted the passage before Hill came down; resolving, in the contrary case, to fight in the suburbs of Toulouse and on the Mont Rave, because the positions on the right of the Arriege were all favorable to the assailants. He was soon relieved from anxiety. Hill effected the passage of the Arriege at Cintegabelle, and sent his cavalry towards Villefranche and Nailloux; but his artillery were quite unable to move in the deep country there; and as success and safety alike depended on rapidity, he returned during the night to Pinsaguel, recrossed the Garonne, and, taking up his pontoons, left only a flying-bridge with a small guard of infantry and cavalry on the right bank. He was followed by Lafitte's horsemen, who picked up a few stragglers and mules, but no other event occurred, and Soult remained well pleased that his adversary had thus lost three or four important days.

He was now sure the next attempt would be below Toulouse, yet he relinquished the design of marching down the Garonne to fight between that river and the Tarn; because he would then lose his communications with Montauban, and having now fortified the bridges over the canal and completed his works of defence for Toulouse and its suburbs, concluded not to abandon that city under any circumstances. In this resolution he set his whole army and

* Official Correspondence, MSS.

all the working population to entrench the Mont Rave also, between the canal and the Ers river, thinking he might thus securely meet the shock of battle let it come on which side it would. Meanwhile as the Garonne continued full, Wellington was forced to remain inactive before St. Cyprien until the evening of the 3d, when the waters fell. Then the pontoons being carried in the night to Grenade fifteen miles below Toulouse, the bridge was thrown there and thirty guns were placed in battery on the left bank to protect it. The third, fourth, and sixth divisions and three brigades of cavalry, the whole under Beresford, immediately passed, and the cavalry being pushed out two leagues on the front and flanks captured a large herd of bullocks destined for the French army. But now the river again swelled so fast, that the light division and the Spaniards were unable to follow, the bridge got damaged and the pontoons were taken up. This passage was made known to Soult immediately by his cavalry scouts, yet he knew not the exact force which had crossed; and as Morillo's Spaniards, whom he mistook for Freyre's, had relieved the outposts in front of St. Cyprien, he imagined Hill also had moved to Grenade, and that the greatest part of the allied army was over the Garonne. In this error, merely observing Beresford with his cavalry, he continued to strengthen his field of battle about Toulouse; his resolution to keep that city being confirmed by hearing on the 7th that the allied sovereigns had entered Paris.

On the 8th the waters subsided, the bridge was again laid down, Freyre's Spaniards and the Portuguese artillery crossed, and Wellington in person advanced to the heights of Fenoulhet within five miles of Toulouse. Marching up both banks of the Ers his columns were separated by that river, which was impassable without pontoons, and it was essential to secure as soon as possible one of the stone bridges; hence when his left approached the heights of Kirie Eleison, on the great road of Alby, Vivian's horsemen drove Berton's cavalry up the right of the Ers towards the bridge of Bordes, and the eighteenth hussars descended towards that of Croix d'Orade. The latter was defended by Vial's dragoons, and after some skirmishing the eighteenth was suddenly menaced by a regiment in front of the bridge, the opposite bank of the river being lined with dismounted carbineers; the two parties stood facing each other hesitatingly until the approach of some British infantry, when both sides sounded a charge at the same moment; but the English horses were so quick the French were in an instant jammed up on the bridge, their front ranks were sabred, and the rear went off in disorder, leaving many killed and wounded and a hundred prisoners behind. They were pur-

sued through the village of Croix d'Orade, yet rallied beyond it on the rest of their brigade and advanced again; the hussars then re-crossed the bridge, which was now defended by the British infantry, whose fire stopped the French cavalry. The credit of this brilliant action which secured the communication of the separated columns was incorrectly given to Vivian in the despatch; that officer was wounded by a carbine shot previous to the charge at the bridge, which was conceived and executed by Major Hughes of the eighteenth.

Wellington from the heights of Kirie Eleison carefully examined the French position and resolved to attack on the 9th. He shortened his communications with Hill, he directed the pontoons to be removed from Grenade and relaid higher up at Seilh, where the light division was to cross at daylight; but the bridge was not formed until late in the day, to his great discontent, as it forced him to defer his battle until the 10th. Soult's combinations were now crowned with success. He had by means of his fortresses, his battles, the sudden change of his line of operations after Orthes, his rapid retreat from Tarbes, and his clear judgment in fixing upon Toulouse as his next point of resistance, reduced the strength of his adversary to an equality with his own. He had gained seventeen days for preparation, had brought the allies to deliver battle on ground naturally adapted for defence, well fortified, and where one-third of their force was separated by a great river from the rest—they could derive no advantage from their numerous cavalry, and were overmatched in artillery notwithstanding their previous superiority in that arm.

His position covered three sides of Toulouse. Defending St. Cyprien on the west with his left, he guarded the canal on the north with his centre, and with his right held the Mont Rave on the east; his conscript reserve under Trarot manned the ramparts of Toulouse, and the urban guards, while maintaining tranquillity, aided to transport the artillery and ammunition to different posts. His left, well fortified at St. Cyprien, had short and direct communication with the centre by the great bridge of Toulouse; but Hill who remained in front of the former could only communicate with Wellington by the pontoon-bridge at Seilh, a circuit of ten or twelve miles.

The allies advanced from the north, yet with intent to assail on the south as weakest of defence; and the country left of the Ers had been carefully examined, in the view of making, under cover of that river, a flank march round the eastern front to gain the open ground which had formerly been aimed at by passing at Portet and Pinsaguel. But again the deep country impeded the

march, and the Ers could not be passed in force because all the bridges with the exception of that at Croix d'Orade were mined or destroyed by Soult, and the pontoons were on the Garonne. There was then no choice save to attack from the north and east. The first, open and flat, and easily approached by the great roads of Montauban and Alby, was yet impregnable in defence, because the canal, the bridges being protected by works, was under the fire of the ramparts of Toulouse and for the most part within musket-shot; here then, as at St. Cyprien, a fortress, not a position, was opposed, and the field of battle was necessarily confined to the Mont Rave or eastern front.

This ridge, naturally strong and rugged and covered by the Ers river, which was not fordable, presented two distinct platforms, called the Calvinet and St. Sypiere. On the latter the extreme right of the French was posted, and between them, where the ground dipped a little, two roads led from Lavour and Caraman to Toulouse, passing the canal behind the ridge at the suburbs of Guillemerie and St. Etienne.

The Calvinet platform was fortified on its extreme left with a species of horn-work, consisting of several open retrenchments and small works supported by two large redoubts, one of which flanked the approaches to the canal on the north: a range of abattis was also formed there by felling the trees on the Alby road. Continuing this line to the right, two other large forts, called the Calvinet and the Colombette redoubts, terminated the works on this platform. On that of St. Sypiere there were also two redoubts, one on the extreme right called St. Sypiere the other without a name nearer to the road of Caraman.

The whole occupation was about two miles long, and an army attacking in front would have to cross the Ers under fire, to advance through ground steep, marshy and rendered almost impassable by means of artificial inundations, to the assault of the ridge and the works on the summit; and if the assailants should force between the two platforms, they would, while their flanks were battered by the redoubts above, come upon the works of Cambon and Saccarin. If these fell, the suburbs of Guillemerie and St. Steven, the canal, and finally the ramparts of the town would still have to be carried in succession. But it was not practicable to pass the Ers except by the bridge of Croix d'Orade, which had been seized so happily on the 8th;* Wellington was therefore reduced to make a flank march under fire, between the Ers and Mont Rave, and then to force the latter, with a view of crossing the canal above the suburb of Guillemerie and establishing his army on the

* Notes by the Duke of Wellington, MSS.

south side of Toulouse, where only the city could be assailed with any hope of success.

To impose this march upon him, all Soult's dispositions had been directed. For this he had mined all the bridges on the Ers, save only that of Croix d'Orade, thus facilitating a movement between the Ers and the Mont Rave, while he impeded one beyond that river by sending half his cavalry over to dispute the numerous streams on the right bank. His army was disposed in the following order. Reille defended the suburb of St. Cyprien, with Taupin's and Maransin's divisions. Daricau lined the canal on the north from its junction with the Garonne to the road of Alby; defending with his left the bridge-head of Jumeaux, the convent of the Minimes with his centre, and the Matabiau bridge with his right. Harispe was posted in the works on the Mont Rave; his right was at St. Sypiere, looking towards the bridge of Bordes; his centre was at the Colombette redoubt, about which Vial's horsemen were also collected; his left looked down the road of Alby towards the bridge of Croix d'Orade. On that side, a detached eminence within cannon-shot, called the Hill of Pugade, was occupied by St. Pol's brigade, drawn from Villatte's division; the two remaining divisions of infantry were formed in columns at certain points behind the Mont Rave, and Travot's reserve manned the walls of Toulouse. This line of battle presented an angle towards the Croix d'Orade, each side about two miles in length, and the apex covered by the brigade on the Pugade.

Wellington, having examined the ground on the 8th and 9th, made the following disposition of attack for the 10th. Hill to menace St. Cyprien, augmenting or abating his efforts to draw the enemy's attention according to the progress of the battle on the right of the Garonne, which he could easily discern. The third and light divisions and Freyre's Spaniards, already on the left of the Ers, were to advance against the northern front of Toulouse; the two first, supported by Bock's German cavalry, to make demonstrations against the canal defended by Daricau. That is to say, Pieton was to menace the bridge of Jumeaux and the convent of the Minimes, while Alten maintained the communication between him and Freyre, who, reinforced with the Portuguese artillery, was to carry the hill of Pugade, and then halt to cover Beresford's column of march. This last, composed of the fourth and sixth divisions with three batteries, was, after passing the bridge of Croix d'Orade, to move round the left of the Pugade and along the low ground between the French heights and the Ers, until the rear should pass the road of Lavaur, when the two divisions were to wheel into line and attack the platform of St. Sypiere. Freyre

was then to assail Calvinet, and Ponsonby's dragoons were to connect his left with Beresford. Lord Edward Somerset's hussars were to move up the left of the Ers, while Vivian's cavalry moved up the right of that river; both destined to observe Berton's cavalry, which, having possession of the bridges of Bordes and Montaudran, higher up, could pass from the right bank to the left, destroy the bridge, and fall upon Beresford while in march.

BATTLE OF TOULOUSE.

[Plan 5, page 181.]

On the 10th of April, at two o'clock in the morning, the light division passed the Garonne by the bridge at Seilh, and at six o'clock the whole army moved forwards in the order assigned for the different columns. Picton and Alten, on the right, drove the French advanced posts behind the works of the bridges on the canal. Freyre, marching along the Alby road, was cannonaded by St. Pol with two guns until he passed a small stream by the help of some temporary bridges, when the French general, following his instructions, retired to the horn-work on Calvinet. Freyre was thus established on the Pugade, from whence Major Arentschild's Portuguese guns opened a heavy cannonade. Beresford, preceded by the hussars, marched from Croix d'Orade in three columns abreast; passing behind the Pugade, through the village of Montblanc, he entered the marshy ground between the Ers river and Mont Rave, but left his artillery at Montblanc, fearing to engage it in that deep and difficult country under the fire of the enemy. Beyond the Ers on his left, Vivian's cavalry, now under Colonel Arentschild, drove Berton's horsemen with loss over the bridge of Bordes, which the French destroyed with difficulty at the last moment.* However, the hussars gained the bridge of Montaudran higher up, though it was barricaded and defended by a detachment of cavalry sent there by Berton, who remained himself in position near the bridge of Bordes, looking down the left of the Ers.†

While these operations were in progress, Freyre, who had asked as a favor to lead the battle at Calvinet, either from error or impatience, assailed the horn-work on that platform while Beresford was still in march. His Spaniards, nine thousand strong, advanced with great resolution at first, throwing forwards their flanks so as to embrace the end of the Calvinet hill, and though the French musketry and great guns thinned the ranks at every step, they still ascended the hill; but the formidable fire they were exposed to increased in violence; and their right wing, which was raked from

* General Berton, MSS.

† Colonel Hughes, MSS.

the bridge of Matabiau, unable to endure the torment, wavered, and the leading ranks rushing madly onwards jumped for shelter into a hollow road, twenty-five feet deep in parts, which covered this front of the French entrenchments. The left wing and the second line run back in disorder, the Cantabrian fusiliers, under Colonel Leon de Sicilia, alone maintaining their ground under cover of a bank which sheltered them. Then the French came leaping out of their works with loud cries, and lining the edge of the hollow road poured an incessant stream of shot upon the helpless crowds entangled in the gulph below; while the battery from Matabiau, constructed to rake this hollow, sent its bullets from flank to flank hissing through the quivering mass of flesh and bones.

Rallying their fugitive troops, the Spanish generals led them back again to the brink of the fatal hollow, but the frightful carnage below, and the unmitigated fire in front filled them with horror. Again they fled, and again the French bounding from their trenches pursued, while several battalions, sallying from the bridge of Matabiau and from behind the Calvinet, followed hard along the road of Alby. The country was now covered with fugitives whose headlong flight could not be restrained, and with pursuers whose numbers and vehemence increased, until Wellington covered the panic-stricken troops with Ponsonby's cavalry and the reserve artillery, which opened with great vigor. Meanwhile, the Portuguese guns on the Pugade never ceased firing, and a brigade of the light division, wheeling to its left, also menaced the flank of the victorious French, who retired to their entrenchments on Calvinet: but more than fifteen hundred Spaniards had been killed or wounded, and their defeat was not the only misfortune.

Picton, regardless of his orders, which, his temper on such occasions being known, were given to him verbally and in writing, had turned his false attack into a real one against the bridge of Jumeaux; but the enemy, fighting from a work too high to be forced without ladders, and approachable only along an open flat, repulsed him with a loss of nearly four hundred men and officers: amongst the latter, Colonel Forbes of the forty-fifth was killed, and General Brisbane, who commanded the brigade, was wounded. Thus from the hill of the Pugade to the Garonne, the French had completely vindicated their position; the allies had suffered enormously; and beyond the Garonne, although Hill had now forced the first line of entrenchments covering St. Cyprien, and was menacing the second line, the latter, more contracted and very strongly fortified, could not be stormed. The musketry battle therefore subsided for a time, yet a prodigious cannonade was kept

up along the whole of the French line, and on the allies' side from St. Cyprien to Montblanc, where the artillery left by Beresford, acting in conjunction with the Portuguese guns on the Pugade, poured its shot incessantly against the Calvinet—injudiciously, however, because the ammunition thus used for a secondary object was afterwards wanted when a vital advantage might have been gained.

It was now evident that the victory must be won or lost by Beresford, and yet from Picton's error, Wellington had no reserves to enforce the decision; for the light division and the heavy cavalry only remained in hand, and these troops were necessarily retained to cover the rallying of the Spaniards and protect the artillery. The crisis therefore approached with all happy promise to the French general. For the repulse of Picton, the dispersion of the Spaniards, the strength of the second line at St. Cyprien, enabled him to draw, first Taupin's whole division, and then one of Maransin's brigades from that quarter to reinforce his battle on the Mont Rave. Thus three divisions and his cavalry, nearly fifteen thousand combatants, were disposable for an offensive movement, without in any manner weakening the defence of his works on Mont Rave or on the canal.* With this mass he might have fallen upon Beresford, whose force, originally less than thirteen thousand bayonets, was cruelly reduced as it made slow and difficult way for two miles through a deep marshy country crossed and tangled with water-courses. Sometimes moving in mass, sometimes filing under the French musketry, always under the fire of their artillery from the Mont Rave without a gun to reply, the length of the column had augmented so much at every step, from the difficulty of the way, that frequent halts were necessary to close up the ranks.

Between the river and the heights the miry ground became narrower and deeper as the troops advanced, Berton's cavalry was ahead, an impassable river was on the left, three French divisions supported by artillery and horsemen overshadowed the right flank! But Fortune rules in war! Soult, always eyeing their march, had, when the Spaniards were defeated, carried Taupin's division to St. Sypiere, and supporting it with a brigade of D'Armagnac's division disposed the whole about the redoubts; from thence, after a short hortative to act vigorously, he ordered Taupin to fall on with the utmost fury, at the same time directing a regiment of Vial's cavalry to descend the heights by the Lavour road and intercept the line of retreat, while Berton's horsemen assailed the other flank from the side of the bridge of Bordes. This was not half of the force

* Morning States, MSS.

which he might have employed, and Taupin's artillery, retarded in its march, was still in the streets of Toulouse: that general also, instead of attacking at once, took ground to his right, giving Beresford full time to complete his flank march and wheel into lines at the foot of the heights.

Taupin's infantry, unskilfully arranged for action it is said, at last poured down the hill; but some rockets discharged in good time ravaged the ranks, and with their noise and terrible appearance, unknown before, dismayed the French soldiers; then the British skirmishers running forwards plied them with a biting fire; and Lambert's brigade of the sixth division, aided by Anson's and some provisional battalions of the fourth division, for it is an error to say the sixth division alone repulsed this attack, Lambert's brigade rushed forwards with a terrible shout, and the French fled back to the upper ground. Vial's horsemen, trotting down the Lavour road, now charged on the right flank, but the seventy-ninth regiment being thrown into square repulsed them; and on the other flank, Cole had been so sudden in his advance up the heights, that Berton's cavalry had no opportunity to charge. Lambert, following hard upon the beaten infantry in his front, killed Taupin, wounded a general of brigade, and without a check won the summit of the platform, his skirmishers even descended in pursuit on the reverse slope. And at the St. Sypiere redoubt a French regiment, seeing its commanding officer killed by a soldier of the sixty-first regiment, fled in a panic. Cole then established himself on the summit, and so great was the rout that the two forts were abandoned, and the French sought shelter at Sacarin and Cambon.

Soult, astonished at this weakness in troops from whom he had expected so much, and who had but just before given him assurances of their resolution and confidence, was in fear that Beresford, pushing his success, would seize the bridge of the Demoiselles on the canal. Wherefore, covering the flight as he could with the remainder of Vial's cavalry, he hastily led D'Armagnac's reserve brigade to the works of Sacarin, and thus checking the foremost British skirmishers, rallied the fugitives; Taupin's guns arrived from the town at the same moment, and the mischief being stayed, a part of Travot's reserve moved to defend the bridge of the Demoiselles. A fresh order of battle was thus organized; yet the indomitable courage of the British soldiers had decided the first great crisis of the fight.

Lambert's brigade now wheeled to its right across the platform on the line of the Lavour road, menacing the flank of the French on the Calvignet, while Pack's Scotch brigade and Douglas's Portuguese, composing the second and third lines of the sixth division,

were disposed on the right with a view to march against the Colombette redoubts on the original front of the enemy. And now also the eighteenth and German hussars, having forced the bridge of Montaudran on the Ers river, came round the south end of the Mont Rave, where, in conjunction with the skirmishers of the fourth division, they menaced the bridge of the Demoiselles, from whence and from the works of Cambon and Sacarin the enemy's guns played incessantly. The aspect and form of the battle were thus changed, and the French were thrown entirely on the defensive, occupying three sides of a square; their right, extending from the works of Sacarin to the redoubts of Calvinet and Colombette, was closely menaced by Lambert, who was solidly posted on the platform of St. Sypiere, while the redoubts themselves were menaced by Pack and Douglas. The French left, thrown back to the bridge-head of Matabiau awaited a renewed attack by the Spaniards and the position was strong, not exceeding a thousand yards on each side; the angles were defended by formidable works, the canal and city walls and entrenched suburbs offered a sure refuge in case of disaster, and Matabiau on one side, Sacarin and Cambon on the other, insured retreat.

In this contracted space were concentrated Vial's cavalry, the whole of Villatte's division, one brigade of Maransin's, another of D'Armagnac's; and, with exception of the regiment driven from the St. Sypiere redoubt, the whole of Harispe's division. On the allies' side therefore defeat had been staved off, but victory was still to be contended for; and with apparently inadequate means; for Picton, successfully opposed by Daricau, was paralyzed; the Spaniards rallying slowly were not to be depended upon for another attack; there remained only the heavy cavalry and the light division, which Wellington dared not thrust into action under pain of being left without any reserve in the event of a repulse. The final stroke therefore was still to be made on the left, and with a very small force, seeing that Lambert and Cole had to keep in check the French at the bridge of the Demoiselles, at Cambon and Sacarin. This heavy mass, comprising one brigade of Travot's reserve, half of D'Armagnac's division, and all Taupin's, together with Harispe's regiment which had abandoned the fort of St. Sypiere—was under Clausel, and he disposed the greater part in advance of the entrenchments as if to retake the offensive.

Such was the state of affairs about half-past two o'clock, when Beresford renewed the action with Pack's Scotch brigade, and the Portuguese of the sixth division under Douglas. These troops, ensconced in the hollow Lavour road on Lambert's right, had been hitherto well protected from the fire of the French works; and

now scrambling up the steep banks of that road, they wheeled to their left by wings of regiments as they could get out. Ascending the heights by the slope facing the Ers, under a wasting fire of cannon and musketry they carried all the French breast-works, and the forty-second and seventy-ninth took the Colombette and Calvinet redoubts; it was a surprising action when the loose disorderly nature of the attack imposed by the difficulty of the ground is considered; but the French, although they yielded at first to the thronging rush of the British troops, soon rallied and came back with a reflux; their cannonade was incessant, their reserves strong, and the struggle became terrible. Harispe, who commanded in person at this part, and under him the French seemed always to fight with redoubled vigor, brought up fresh men, and surrounding the two redoubts with a surging multitude, recovered the Calvinet by storm, with great slaughter of the forty-second, which fell back in disorder on the seventy-ninth, forcing that regiment to abandon the Colombette also. Still the whole clung to the brow of the hill with wonderful obstinacy, though they were reduced to a thin line of skirmishers. Some British horsemen now rode up from the low ground to their aid, but were stopped by a hollow road, and some of the foremost tumbling in, perished. The French had then the best of the fight; but when two fresh British regiments, the eleventh and ninety-first, came up, when two generals, Harispe and Baurot, had been carried off dangerously wounded, the battle turned, and the French abandoned the platform, falling back on their right to Sacarin, and on their left towards Matabiau and the houses on the canal.

It was now four o'clock, the Spaniards had once more partially attacked, and were again put to flight, and the French remained masters of their entrenchments in that quarter; for the sixth division had been hardly handled, and Beresford halted to reform his order of battle and receive his artillery: it came to him indeed about this time; yet with great difficulty and with little ammunition, in consequence of the heavy cannonade it had previously furnished from Montblanc. However Soult, seeing the Spaniards, supported by the light division, had rallied a fourth time, that Picton still menaced the bridge of Jumeaux and the Minime convent, while Beresford, master of three-fourths of Mont Rave, was now advancing along the summit, deemed farther resistance useless; he relinquished the northern end of the Calvinet platform also, and about five o'clock withdrew his whole army behind the canal, still holding Sacarin and Cambon: Wellington then established the Spaniards in the abandoned works, and so became master of the Mont Rave in all its extent. The French had five generals and perhaps

three thousand men killed or wounded, and they lost one piece of artillery. The allies lost four generals and four thousand six hundred and fifty-nine men and officers, of which two thousand were Spaniards. A lamentable spilling of blood, and a useless, for before this period Napoleon had abdicated the throne of France and a provisional government was constituted at Paris.

During the night Soult, defeated but undismayed, replaced the ammunition expended in the action, re-organized and augmented his field artillery from the arsenal of Toulouse, and made dispositions for fighting the next morning behind the canal. Yet looking to the final necessity of a retreat he wrote to Suchet to inform him of the result of the contest, and proposed a combined plan of operations illustrative of the firmness and pertinacity of his temper. "March," said he, "with the whole of your forces by Quillan upon Carcassonne, I will meet you there with my army; we can then retake the initiatory movement, transfer the seat of war to the upper Garonne, and, holding on by the mountains, compel the enemy to recall his troops from Bordeaux, which will enable Decaen to recover that city and make a diversion in our favor."

On the morning of the 11th he was again ready to fight, but the English general was not. The French position, within musket shot of the walls was still inexpugnable on the northern and eastern fronts. The possession of Mont Rave was only a preliminary step to the passage of the canal at the bridge of the Demoiselles, and other points above the works of Sacarin and Cambon; for Wellington still meant to throw his army as originally designed to the south of the town: but that was a great affair requiring fresh dispositions, and a fresh supply of ammunition, only to be obtained from the parc on the other side of the Garonne. Wherefore to accelerate the preparations, ascertain Hill's state, and give that general farther instructions, Wellington repaired on the 11th to St. Cyprien; but though he had shortened his communications by removing the pontoon-bridge from Grenade to Seilh, the day was spent before the ammunition arrived and the final arrangements for the passage of the canal could be completed. The attack was therefore deferred until daylight on the 12th.

Meanwhile all the light cavalry were sent up the canal to interrupt the communications with Suchet and menace Soult's retreat by the road leading to Carcassonne. The appearance of these horsemen on the heights of St. Martyn, above Baziege, together with the preparations in his front, taught Soult that he could no longer delay if he would not be shut up in Toulouse; wherefore, having terminated all his arrangements, he left eight pieces of heavy artillery, two generals, the gallant Harispe being one, and

sixteen hundred men whose wounds were severe, to the humanity of the conquerors; then filing out of the city with surprising order and ability, he made a forced march of twenty-two miles, cut the bridges over the canal and the upper Ers, and the 12th established his army at Villefranche. On the same day Hill's troops were pushed close to Baziege in pursuit, and the light cavalry, acting on the side of Montlaur, beat the French with the loss of twenty-five men, and cut off a like number of gens-d'armes on the side of Revel.

Wellington entered Toulouse in triumph, the white flag was displayed, and, as at Bordeaux, a great crowd of persons adopted the Bourbon colors; but the mayor, faithful to his sovereign, had retired with the French army. The British general, true to his honest line of policy, did not fail to warn the Bourbonists that their revolutionary movement must be at their own risk. But in the afternoon, two officers, the English Colonel Cooke, and the French Colonel St. Simon, arrived from Paris, charged to make known to the armies the abdication of Napoleon. They had been detained near Blois by the officiousness of the police attending the court of the Empress Louisa, and the blood of eight thousand brave men had overflowed the Mont Rave in consequence; nor did their arrival immediately put an end to the war. When St. Simon, in pursuance of his mission, reached Soult's quarters on the 13th, that marshal, not without just cause, demurred to his authority, and proposed to suspend hostilities until authentic information could be obtained from the ministers of the emperor; then, sending all his encumbrances by the canal to Carcassonne, he took a position of observation at Castelnaudary, and awaited the progress of events. Wellington refused to accede to his proposal, and, as General Loverdo, commanding at Montauban, had acknowledged the authority of the provisional government, and readily concluded an armistice, he judged Soult designed to make a civil war, and therefore marched against him. The 17th, the outposts were on the point of engaging, when the Duke of Dalmatia, who had now received official information from the chief of the emperor's staff, notified his adhesion to the new state of affairs in France,—and with this honorable distinction that he had faithfully sustained the cause of his great monarch until the very last moment.

A convention, which included Suchet's army, was immediately agreed upon; but that marshal had previously adopted the white colors of his own motion, and Wellington instantly transmitted the intelligence to Clinton in Catalonia and to the troops at Bayonne. Too late it came for both, and useless battles were fought; that at Barcelona has been already described, but at Bayonne misfortune

and suffering had fallen upon one of the brightest soldiers of the British army.

SALLY FROM BAYONNE.

During the progress of the main army in the interior, Hope conducted the investment of Bayonne with the unremitting vigilance and activity which the operation required. He had gathered stores of gabions and fascines and platforms, and was ready to attack the citadel when rumors of the events at Paris reached him; yet indirectly, and without any official character to warrant a formal communication to the garrison without Wellington's authority. These rumors were however made known at the outposts, and perhaps lulled the vigilance of the besiegers; but to such irregular communications, which might be intended to deceive, the governor naturally paid little attention.

The piquets and fortified posts at St. Etienne were at this time furnished by a brigade of the fifth division; from thence to the extreme right, the guards had charge of the line, and they had also one company in St. Etienne itself. Hinuber's German brigade was encamped as a support to the left, the remainder of the first division was encamped in the rear, towards Boucaut. In this state, about one o'clock in the morning of the 14th, a deserter coming over to General Hay, who commanded the outposts that night, gave an exact account of the projected sally; the general, unable to speak French, sent him to Hinuber, who immediately interpreted the man's story to Hay, assembled his own troops under arms, and transmitted the intelligence to Hope. It would appear that Hay, perhaps disbelieving the man's story, took no additional precautions, and it is probable that neither the German brigade nor the reserves of the guards would have been put under arms but for the activity of Hinuber. However, at three o'clock, the French, commencing with a false attack on the left of the Adour as a blind, poured suddenly out of the citadel, to the number of three thousand combatants; they surprised the piquets, and, with loud shouts breaking through the chain of posts at various points, carried with one rush the church, and the whole of the village of St. Etienne, with exception of a fortified house, which was defended by Captain Forster, of the thirty-eighth regiment. Masters of every other part, and overthrowing all who stood before them, they drove the piquets and supports in heaps along the Peyrehorade road, killed General Hay, took Colonel Townsend of the guards prisoner, divided the wings of the investing troops, and, passing in rear of the right, threw the whole line into confusion. Then Hinuber, having his Germans well in hand, moved up on the side of St. Etienne,

rallied some of the fifth division, and, being joined by a battalion of Bradford's Portuguese from the side of St. Esprit, bravely gave the counter-stroke to the enemy, and regained the village and church.

On the right, the combat was at first even more disastrous than in the centre: neither the piquets nor the reserves were able to sustain the fury of the assault, and the battle was most confused and terrible; for on both sides the troops, broken into small bodies by the enclosures, and unable to recover their order, came dashing together in the darkness, fighting often with the bayonet, and sometimes friends encountered, sometimes foes; all was tumult and horror. The guns of the citadel, vaguely guided by the flashes of the musketry, sent their shot and shells booming at random through the lines of fight; and the gun-boats, dropping down the river, opened their fire upon the flank of the supporting columns, which, being put in motion by Hope on the first alarm, were now coming up from the side of Boucaut. Thus nearly one hundred pieces of artillery were in full play at once, and the shells having set fire to the fascine dépôts and to several houses, the flames cast a horrid glare over the striving masses.

Amidst this confusion, Hope suddenly disappeared, none knew how or wherefore at the time; but it afterwards appeared, that having brought up the reserves on the right to stem the torrent in that quarter, he pushed for St. Etienne by a hollow road which led close behind the line of piquets, one of which had been improperly withdrawn by an officer of the guards, and the French thus lined both banks. A shot struck him in the arm, and his horse, a large one, as was necessary to sustain the gigantic warrior, received eight bullets, and fell upon his leg; his followers had, by this time, escaped from the defile; yet, two of them, Captain Herries and Mr. Moore, a nephew of Sir John Moore, seeing his helpless state, turned back, and endeavored, amidst the heavy fire of the enemy, to draw him from beneath the horse. While thus engaged, they were both struck down with dangerous wounds; the French carried them all off, and Hope was again severely hurt in the foot by an English bullet before they gained the citadel.

Day now broke, and the allies were enabled to act with more unity and effect. The Germans were in possession of St. Etienne, and the reserve brigades of the guards, being properly disposed by Howard, who had succeeded to the command, suddenly raised a loud shout, and, running in upon the French, drove them back into the works with such slaughter that their own writers admit a loss of one general and more than nine hundred men; on the British side, General Stopford was wounded, and the whole loss was eight

hundred and thirty men and officers. More than two hundred were taken, besides the commander-in-chief; and it is generally acknowledged that Forster's firm defence of the fortified house first, and next the readiness and gallantry with which Hinuber retook St. Etienne, saved the allies from a very terrible disaster.

A few days after this piteous event, the convention made with Soult became known, and hostilities ceased.

All the French troops in the south were now re-organized in one body, under the command of Suchet; but they were so little inclined to acquiesce in the revolution, that Prince Polignac, acting for the Duke of Angoulême, applied to the British Commissary-General Kennedy for a sum of money to quiet them. The Portuguese returned to Portugal. The Spaniards to Spain; the generals being, it is said, inclined at first to declare for the Cortes against the king, but they were diverted from their purpose by the influence and authority of Lord Wellington. The British infantry embarked at Bordeaux, some for America, some for England, and the cavalry, marching through France, took shipping at Boulogne.

Thus the war terminated, and, with it, all remembrance of the veterans' services.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

SOULT and Thouvenot have been accused of fighting with a full knowledge of Napoleon's abdication. This charge, circulated originally by the Bourbon party, is utterly unfounded. The extent of the information conveyed to Thouvenot through the advanced posts has been already noticed: it was not sufficiently authentic to induce Hope to make a formal communication, and the governor could only treat it as an idle story to insult or to deceive him, and baffle his defence by retarding his counter-operations while the works for the siege were advancing. For how unlikely, nay impossible, must it not have appeared, that the Emperor Napoleon, whose victories at Mont-Mirail and Champaubert were known before the close investment of Bayonne, should have been deprived of his crown in the space of a few weeks, and the stupendous event be only hinted at the outposts, without any relaxation in the preparations for the siege?

As false and unsubstantial is the charge against Soult.

The acute remark of an English military writer,* that it is the

* Kincaid.

Duke of Dalmatia had known of the peace before he fought, he would certainly have announced it after the battle, were it only to maintain himself in that city and claim a victory, is unanswerable; but there are direct proofs of the falsehood of the accusation. How was the intelligence to reach him? It was not until the 7th that the provisional government wrote to him from Paris, and the bearer could not have reached Toulouse under three days, even by the most direct way, which was through Montauban. Now the allies were in possession of that road on the 4th, and on the 9th the French army was actually invested. The intelligence from Paris must therefore have reached the allies first, as in fact it did, and it was not Soult, it was Wellington who commenced the battle. The charge would therefore bear more against the English general, who would yet have been the most insane as well as the wickedest of men to have risked his army and his fame in a battle where so many obstacles seemed to deny success. He also was the person of all others called upon, by honor, gratitude, justice and patriotism, to avenge the useless slaughter of his soldiers, to proclaim the infamy and seek the punishment of his inhuman adversary.

Did he ever by word or deed countenance the calumny?

Lord Aberdeen, after the passing of the English reform bill, repeated the accusation in the House of Lords, and reviled the minister for being on amicable political terms with a man capable of such a crime. The Duke of Wellington rose on the instant and emphatically declared that Marshal Soult did not know, and that it was impossible he could know of the emperor's abdication when he fought the battle. The detestable distinction of sporting with men's lives by wholesale attaches to no general on the records of history, save the Orange William, the murderer of Glencoe. And though Soult had known of the emperor's abdication, he could not for that have been justly placed beside that cold-blooded prince, who fought at St. Denis with the peace of Nimeguen in his pocket, because *"he would not deny himself a safe lesson in his trade."* The French marshal was at the head of a brave army, and it was impossible to know whether Napoleon had abdicated voluntarily or been constrained. The authority of such men as Talleyrand, Fouché, and other intriguers, forming a provisional government self-instituted and under the protection of foreign bayonets, demanded no respect from Soult. He had even the right of denying the emperor's legal power to abdicate. He had the right, if he thought himself strong enough, to declare that he would not suffer the throne to become the plaything of foreign invaders, and that he would rescue France, even though Napoleon yielded the crown. In fine, it was a question of patriotism and of calculation, a national question which the

general of an army had a right to decide for himself, having reference always to the real will and desire of the people at large.

It was in this light that Soult viewed the matter, even after the battle, and when he had seen Colonel St. Simon. Writing to Talleyrand on the 22d, he says: "The circumstances which preceded my act of adhesion are so extraordinary as to create astonishment.* The 7th, the provisional government informed me of the events which had happened since the 1st of April. The 6th and 7th, Count Dupont wrote to me on the same subject. On the 8th, the Duke of Feltre, in his quality of war minister, gave me notice, that having left the military cipher at Paris, he would immediately forward to me another. The 9th, the Prince Berthier, vice-constable and major-general, wrote to me from Fountainbleau, transmitting the copy of a convention and armistice which had been arranged at Paris with the allied powers; he demanded at the same time a state of the force and condition of my army; but neither the prince nor the Duke of Feltre mentioned events; we had then only knowledge of a proclamation of the empress, dated the 3d, *which forbade us to recognize anything coming from Paris.*

"The 10th, I was attacked near Toulouse by the whole allied army, under the orders of Lord Wellington. This vigorous action, where the French army, the weakest by half, showed all its worth, cost the allies from eight to ten thousand men: Lord Wellington might perhaps have dispensed with it. The 12th, I received, through the English, the first hint of the events at Paris. I proposed an armistice; it was refused; I renewed the demand; it was again refused. At last, I sent Count Gazan to Toulouse, and my reiterated proposal for a suspension of arms was accepted and signed the 18th, the armies being then in presence of each other. The 19th, I ratified this convention, and gave my adhesion to the re-establishment of Louis XVIII. And upon this subject I ought to declare that I sought to obtain a suspension of arms before I manifested my sentiments, in order that my will and that of the army should be free. *That neither France nor posterity should have power to say it was torn from us by force of arms. To follow only the will of the nation was a homage I owed to my country.*"

In this letter, certain assertions, relative to the numbers of the contending armies and the loss of the allies, are at variance with the statements in this history; and this loose but common mode of assuming the state of an adverse force has been the ground-work for great exaggeration by some French writers, who strangely enough claim a victory for the French army, although the French

* Official Correspondence, MSS.

general himself made no such claim at the time, and so far as appears has not done so since.

Victories are determined by deeds and their consequences. By this test we shall know who won the battle of Toulouse. Now all persons, French and English, who have treated the subject, including the generals on both sides, are agreed, that Soult fortified Toulouse, the canal and the Mont Rave as positions of battle; that he was attacked, that Taupin's division was beaten, that the Mont Rave with all its redoubts and entrenchments fell into the allies' power. Finally, that the French abandoned Toulouse, leaving there three wounded generals, sixteen hundred men, several guns and a quantity of stores at the discretion of their adversaries: and this without any fresh forces having joined the allies, or any remarkable event affecting the operations happening elsewhere.

Was Toulouse worth preserving? Was the abandonment of it forced or voluntary? Let Soult speak! "I have entrenched the suburb of St. Cyprien, which forms a good bridge-head; the enemy will not, I think, attack me there unless he desires to lose a part of his army.* Two nights ago he made a demonstration of passing the Garonne, two leagues above the city; but he will probably try to pass it below; in which case, I will attack him, whatever his force may be, because it is of the utmost importance to me not to be cut off from Montauban, where I have made a bridge-head."—"I think the enemy will not move on your side, *unless I move that way first, and I am determined to avoid that as long as I can.*"—"If I could remain a month on the Garonne, I should be able to put six or eight thousand conscripts into the ranks who now embarrass me, and who want arms; which I expect with great impatience from Perpignan."—"I am resolved to deliver battle near Toulouse whatever may be the superiority of the enemy. In this view, I have fortified a *position, which, supported by the town and the canal, furnishes me with a retrenched camp susceptible of defence.*"†—"I have received the unhappy news of the enemy's entrance into Paris; this misfortune strengthens my determination to defend Toulouse, whatever may happen. The preservation of the place, which contains establishments of all kinds, is of the utmost importance to us; but if unhappily I am forced to quit it, my movements will naturally bring me nearer to you. In that case, you cannot sustain yourself at Perpignan, because the enemy will inevitably follow me."—"The enemy appears astonished at the determination I have taken to defend Toulouse; four days ago,

* Soult to Suchet, 29th March.

† Soult to Suchet, 7th April.

he passed the Garonne, and has done nothing since, perhaps the bad weather is the cause."

From these extracts, it is clear that Soult resolved, if possible, not to fall back upon Suchet, and was determined even to fight for the preservation of his communications with Montauban; yet he finally resigned this important object for the more important one of defending Toulouse. And so intent upon its preservation was he, that having on the 25th of March ordered all the stores and artillery not of immediate utility to be sent away, he on the 2d of April forbade further progress in that work, and even had those things already removed brought back:* moreover, he very clearly remarks that to abandon the city, and retreat towards Suchet, will be the signs and consequences of defeat.

These points being fixed, we find him on the evening of the 10th writing again to Suchet thus:

"The battle which I announced to you took place to-day; the enemy has been horribly maltreated, yet he succeeded in *establishing himself upon a position which I occupied to the right of Toulouse*. The general of division, Taupin, has been killed, Harispe has lost his foot by a cannon-ball, and three generals of brigade are wounded. I am prepared to recommence to-morrow, if the enemy attacks, but *I do not believe I can stay in Toulouse; it might even happen that I shall be forced to open a passage to get out.*"

On the 11th of April he writes again:

"As I told you in my letter of yesterday, I am in the necessity of retiring from Toulouse, and I fear being obliged to fight my way at Baziege, whither the enemy is directing a column to cut my communications. To-morrow I will take a position at Villefranche, because I have good hope that this obstacle will not prevent my passing."

To the minister of war he writes on the 10th:

"To-day I rest in position. If the enemy attacks me, I will defend myself. I have great need to replenish my means, before I put the army in march; yet I believe that in the coming night I shall be forced to abandon Toulouse, and it is probable I shall direct my movements so as to rally upon the troops of the Duke of Albufera."

Soult lays no claim here to victory. He admits that all the events previously indicated by him as the consequences of defeat were fulfilled to the letter: that is to say, the loss of the position of battle, the consequent evacuation of the city, and the march to join Suchet. On the other hand, Wellington clearly obtained all that he sought. He desired to pass the Garonne, and he did pass

* Choumara.

it; he desired to win the position and works of Mont Rave, and he did win them; he desired to enter Toulouse, and he did enter it, as a conqueror, at the head of his troops.

Amongst the French writers who, without denying these facts, lay claim to a victory, Choumara is most deserving of notice. This gentleman, known as an able engineer, with a praiseworthy desire to render justice to the great capacity of Soult, shows very clearly that his genius would have shone in this campaign with far greater lustre if Suchet had adopted his plans and supported him in a cordial manner. But Mr. Choumara, heated by his subject, completes the picture with a crowning victory at Toulouse, which the marshal himself appears not to recognize. The work is a very valuable historical document with respect to the disputes between Soult and Suchet; but with respect to the battle of Toulouse, it contains grave errors as to facts, and the inferences are untenable, though the premises were admitted.

The substance of the argument is, that the position of Toulouse was of the nature of a fortress; that the canal was the real position of battle, the Mont Rave an outwork, the loss of which weighed little in the balance; because the French army was victorious at Calvignet against the Spaniards, at the convent of the Minimes against the light division, at the bridge of Jumeaux against Picton, at St. Cyprien against Hill. Finally, that the French general certainly won the victory, because he offered battle the next day, and did not retreat from Toulouse until the following night.

Now admitting all these facts, the fortress was still taken.

But the facts are surprisingly incorrect. For first Soult himself tells Suchet the Mont Rave was his *position of battle*, and that the town and canal only *supported it*. Nothing could be more accurate than this description; for when he lost the Mont Rave, the town and the canal enabled him to rally his army and take measures for a retreat. But the loss of the Mont Rave rendered the canal untenable: why else was Toulouse abandoned? That the line of the canal was a more formidable one to attack in front than the Mont Rave is true, yet that did not constitute it a position; it was not necessary to attack it, except partially at Sacarin and Cambon and the bridge of the Demoiselles; those points forced, the canal would, with the aid of the Mont Rave, have helped to keep the French in Toulouse, as it had before helped to keep the allies out. Wellington, once established on the south side of the city, and holding the Pech David, could have removed the bridge from Seilh to Portet, above Toulouse, thus shortening and securing his communication with Hill; the French army must then have surrendered, or broken out, no easy matter in such a difficult and strangled

country. The Mont Rave was therefore the position of battle, and also the key of the position behind the canal, and Mr. de Choumara is placed in a dilemma. He must admit the allies won the fight, or confess the main position was so badly chosen that a slight reverse at an outwork was sufficient to make the French army abandon it at every other point.

But were the French victorious at every other point? Against the Spaniards they were, and Picton also was repulsed.* The order of movements for the battle proves indeed that this general's attack was intended to be a false one; he disobeyed his orders, however, and one of his brigades was repulsed; yet to check one brigade with a loss of three or four hundred men, is a small matter in a battle where more than eighty thousand combatants were engaged. The light division made a demonstration against the convent of the Minimes, and nothing more. Its loss on the whole day was only fifty-six men and officers;† and no French veteran of the Peninsula but would laugh at the notion that a real attack by that matchless division could be so stopped.

It is said the exterior line of entrenchments at St. Cyprien was only occupied with a view to offensive movements, and to prevent the allies from establishing batteries to rake the line of the canal from that side of the Garonne; whatever may have been the object Hill got possession of it and was so far victorious. He was ordered not to assail the second line seriously and he did not, for his whole loss scarcely exceeded eighty men and officers; his corps covered the parc and the communications, and it would have been folly to endanger them by a serious attack upon such strong works before the Mont Rave was carried.

From these undeniable facts, it is clear the French gained an advantage against Picton, and a marked success against the Spaniards; yet Beresford's attack was so decisive as to counter-balance these failures and even to put the defeated Spaniards in possession of the height they had originally contended for in vain.

Choumara attributes Beresford's success to Taupin's errors and to a vast superiority of numbers on the side of the allies. "Fifty-three thousand infantry, more than eight thousand cavalry, and a reserve of eighteen thousand men of all arms, opposed to twenty-five thousand French infantry, two thousand five hundred cavalry, and a reserve of seven thousand conscripts, three thousand of which were unarmed." Such is the enormous disproportion assumed on the authority of General Vaudoncourt. The errors of Taupin may have been great, and his countrymen are the best judges of

* Appendix 31, Vol. IV.

† Official Returns.

his demerit; but the numbers here assumed are most inaccurate. The imperial muster-rolls are not of a later date than December, 1813, yet an official table of the organization of Soult's army, published by a French military historian, Kock, gives thirty-six thousand six hundred and thirty-five combatants on the 10th of March.* Of these, in round numbers, twenty-eight thousand six hundred were infantry, two thousand seven hundred cavalry, and five thousand seven hundred were artillerymen, engineers, miners, sappers, gens-d'armes, and military workmen. Nothing is said of the reserve division of conscripts commanded by Travot; but Vaudoucourt's table of the same army on the 1st of April, adopted by Choamara, supplies the deficiency. The conscripts are there set down seven thousand two hundred and sixty-seven; and this cipher being added to Kock's gives a total of forty-three thousand nine hundred fighting men. The loss in combats and marches from the 10th of March to the 1st of April must be deducted; but on the other hand we find Soult informing the minister of war, on the 7th of March, that three thousand soldiers dispersed by the battle of Orthes were still wandering behind the army—the greatest part must have joined before the battle of Toulouse. There was also the regular garrison of that city, composed of the dépôts of several regiments and the urban guards, all under Travot.† Thus little less than fifty thousand men were at Soult's disposal.

Let twelve thousand be deducted for, 1, the urban guard which was only employed to maintain the police of the town; 2, the unarmed conscripts; 3, the military workmen not brought into action; 4, the detachments employed on the flanks to communicate with Lafitte in the Arriege, and to reinforce Loverdo at Montauban: there will remain thirty-eight thousand fighting men of all arms. And with a very powerful artillery; for we find Soult after the action directing seven field-batteries of eight pieces each to attend the army; and the French writers mention, besides this field-train, 1. Fifteen pieces which were transferred during the battle from the exterior line of St. Cyprien to the northern and eastern fronts. 2. Four twenty-four pounders and several sixteen-pounders mounted on the walls of the city. 3. The armaments of the bridge heads, the works on Calvinet, and those at Sacarin and Cambon. Wherefore not less than eighty, or perhaps ninety, pieces of French artillery were engaged.

An approximation to the strength of the French army being thus made, it remains to show the number of the allies, which for the Anglo-Portuguese troops can be done exactly from Wellington's morning states. On the 10th of April those states showed

* Kock's Campaign of 1814.

† Appendix 32, Vol. IV.

forty-three thousand seven hundred and forty-four British and Germans in line and twenty thousand seven hundred and ninety-three Portuguese; in all, sixty-four thousand five hundred and thirty-seven soldiers and officers present under arms, exclusive of artillerymen. Of this number nearly ten thousand were cavalry, eleven hundred and eighty-eight being Portuguese.

The Spanish auxiliaries, exclusive of Mina's bands investing St. Jean Pied de Port, were 1. Giron's Andalusians and the third army under O'Donnell, fifteen thousand. 2. The Gallicians under Freyre, fourteen thousand. 3. Three thousand Gallicians under Morillo and as many more under Longa; making with the Anglo-Portuguese a total of ninety thousand combatants with somewhat more than a hundred pieces of field-artillery. Of this force, O'Donnell's troops were in the valley of the Bastan, Longa's on the upper Ebro; one division of Freyre's Gallicians was under Carlos de España in front of Bayonne; one half of Morillo's division was blockading Navarrens, the other half, and the nine thousand Gallicians remaining under Freyre, were in front of Toulouse. Of the Anglo-Portuguese, the first and fifth divisions and three unattached brigades of infantry with one brigade of cavalry were with Hope at Bayonne; the seventh division was at Bordeaux; the household brigade of heavy cavalry was on the march from the Ebro, where it had passed the winter; the Portuguese horsemen were partly employed on the communications in the rear; partly near Agen, where Sir John Campbell with the fourth regiment had an engagement on the 11th with the celebrated partisan Florian.* The second, third, fourth, sixth, and light divisions of infantry, and Le Cor's Portuguese, called the unattached division, were with Wellington; who had also Bock's, Ponsonby's, Fane's, Vivian's, and Lord E. Somerset's brigades of cavalry.

These troops on the morning of the 10th mustered under arms, in round numbers, thirty-one thousand infantry, of which four thousand three hundred were officers, sergeants, and drummers, leaving twenty-six thousand and six hundred bayonets. Add twelve thousand Spaniards under Freyre and Morillo, and we have a total of forty-three thousand five hundred infantry: the cavalry amounted to seven thousand, and there were sixty-four pieces of artillery. Hence about fifty-two thousand of all ranks and arms were in line to fight thirty-eight thousand French with more than eighty pieces of artillery, some being of the largest calibre.

But of the allies only twenty-four thousand men with fifty-two guns can be said to have been seriously engaged. Thirteen thousand sabres and bayonets with eighteen guns were on the left of the Garonne under Hill: neither the light division nor Ponsonby's

* Appendix 29, § 6, 7. Vol. IV.

heavy cavalry, nor Bock's Germans were really engaged. Wherefore twelve thousand six hundred sabres and bayonets under Beresford, nine thousand bayonets under Freyre, and two thousand five hundred under Picton really fought the battle. Thus the enormous disproportion assumed by the French writers disappears entirely; for if the allies had the advantage of numbers it was chiefly in cavalry, and horsemen were of little avail against the entrenched position and preponderating artillery of the French.

Soult's claim to the admiration of his countrymen is well-founded and requires no vain assumption to prop it up. Vast combinations, inexhaustible personal resources, a clear judgment, unshaken firmness and patience under difficulties, unwavering fidelity to his sovereign and his country, are what no man can justly deny him. In this celebrated campaign of nine months, although counteracted by the treacherous hostility of many of his countrymen, he repaired and enlarged the works of five strong places and entrenched five great camps with such works as Marius himself would not have disdained; once he changed his line of operations and either attacking or defending delivered twenty-four battles and combats. Defeated in all, he fought the last as fiercely as the first; remaining unconquered in mind, and still intent upon renewing the struggle when peace came to put a stop to his prodigious efforts. Those efforts were fruitless because Suchet renounced him, because the people of the south were apathetic and fortune was adverse; because he was opposed to one of the greatest generals of the world at the head of unconquerable troops. For what Alexander's Macedonians were at Arbela, Hannibal's Africans at Cannæ, Cæsar's Romans at Pharsalia, Napoleon's guards at Austerlitz, such were Wellington's British soldiers at this period. The same men who had fought at Vimiero and Talavera contended at Orthes and Toulouse; and six years of uninterrupted success had engrafted on their natural strength and fierceness a confidence which rendered them invincible. It is by this, Soult's firmness and the constancy of his army are to be valued; and the equality to which he reduced his great adversary at Toulouse is a proof of ability which a judicious friend would put forward rather than suppress.

Was he not a great general, who being originally opposed on the Adour, by nearly double his own numbers,—such was the proportion after the detachments were withdrawn by the emperor in January—did yet by the aid of his fortresses, by his marches and combinations, compel his adversary to employ so many troops for blockades, sieges and detached posts, that at Toulouse the latter was scarcely more numerous than the French? Was it nothing to

have drawn Wellington from such a distance along the frontier, and force him at last, either to fight a battle under the most astonishing disadvantages or to retreat with dishonor: and this not because the English general had committed any fault, but by the force of combinations which, embracing all the advantages offered by the country, left him no option.

That Soult made some mistakes is true, and perhaps the most important was that which the emperor warned him against, though too late, the leaving so many men in Bayonne. He did so he says, because the place could not hold out fifteen days without the entrenched camp, and the latter required men; yet the result proved Napoleon's sagacity; for the allies made no attempt to try the strength of the camp, and on the 18th of March Wellington knew not the real force of the garrison. Up to that period Hope was inclined to blockade the place only; and from the difficulty of gathering the necessary stores and ammunition on the right bank of the Adour, the siege though resolved upon, was not even commenced on the 14th of April, when that bloody and most lamentable sally was made. Hence the citadel could not even with a weaker garrison have been taken before the end of April; and Soult might have had Abbé's division of six thousand good troops in the battles of Orthes and Toulouse: had Suchet joined him, his army would have been numerous enough to bar Wellington's progress altogether. Here let the sagacity of the English general be noticed; for from the first he was averse to entering France and only did so for a political object, under the promise of great reinforcements and in the expectation that he should be allowed to organize a Bourbon army; what could he have done if Soult had retained the twenty thousand men drafted in January, or if Suchet had joined, or the people had taken arms?

How well Soult chose his ground at Toulouse, how confidently he trusted that his adversary would eventually pass the Garonne below and not above the city, with what foresight he constructed the bridge-head at Montauban, and prepared the difficulties Wellington had to encounter, have been already touched upon. But Choumara has assumed that the English general's reason for relinquishing the passage of the Garonne at Portet on the night of the 27th, was not the want of pontoons but the fear of being attacked during the operation; adducing in proof Soult's orders to assail the heads of his columns. Those orders are however dated the 31st, three days after the attempt of which Soult appears to have known nothing at the time: they were given in the supposition that Wellington wished to effect a second passage at that point to aid Hill while descending the Arriège. And what reason has any man to

suppose that the same general and troops who passed the Nive and defeated a like counter-attack near Bayonne, would be deterred by the fear of a battle from attempting it on the Garonne? The passage of the Nive was clearly more dangerous, because the communication with the rest of the army was more difficult, Soult's disposable force larger, his counter-movements more easily hidden until the moment of execution. At Portet, the passage being designed for the night season would have been a surprise; and the whole army, which was drawn close to that side, could have been thrown over in three or four hours, with the exception of the divisions destined to keep the French in check at St. Cyprien. Soult's orders did not embrace such an operation; they directed Clausel to fall upon the head of the troops and crush them while in the disorder of a later passage, which was expected and watched for.

Clausel having four divisions in hand was no doubt a formidable enemy, and Soult's notion of defending the river by a counter-attack was excellent in principle; but to conceive is one thing, to execute is another. His orders were, as I have said, only issued the 31st, when Hill was across both the Garonne and the Arriege. Wellington's design was not then to force a passage at Portet, but to menace that point and really attack St. Cyprien when Hill should have descended the Arriege. Nor did Soult himself much expect Clausel would have any opportunity to attack; for in his letter to the minister of war he said, the position between the Arriege and the canal were all disadvantageous to the French, and his intention was to fight in Toulouse if the allies approached from the south; yet he still believed Hill's movement to be only a blind, and that Wellington would finally attempt the passage below Toulouse.

Soult's measures were profoundly reasoned but yet extremely simple. His first care on arriving at Toulouse was to secure the only bridge over the Garonne by completing the works of St. Cyprien, which he had begun while the army was still at Tarbes. He thus gained time, and as he felt sure the allies could not act in the Arriege district, he next directed his attention to the bridge-head of Montauban to secure a retreat behind the Tarn and the power of establishing a fresh line of operations. Meanwhile, contrary to his expectation Wellington did attempt to act on the Arriege, and the French general, turning of necessity in observation to that side, entrenched a position on the south; soon however he had proof that his first notion was well-founded, that his adversary after losing much time must at last pass below Toulouse; wherefore he proceeded with prodigious activity to fortify the Mont Rave as a field of battle on the northern and eastern

fronts of the city. These works advanced so rapidly, while the wet weather by keeping the rivers flooded reduced Wellington to inactivity, that Soult became confident in their strength, and being influenced also by the news from Paris, relinquished his first design of opposing the passage of the Garonne and preserving the line of operations by Montauban. To hold Toulouse then became his great object, nor was he diverted from this by the accident which befel Wellington's bridge at Grenade. Most writers, French and English, have blamed him for letting slip that opportunity of attacking Beresford.* It is said Reille first informed him of the rupture of the bridge, and strongly advised him to attack the troops on the right bank; but Choumara has well defended him on that point; the distance was fifteen miles, the event uncertain, the works on the Mont Rave would have stood still, and the allies might have stormed St. Cyprien.

Wellington was under no alarm for Beresford, or rather for himself, as each day he passed the river in a boat and remained on that side. His force was not less than twenty thousand, principally British;† his position was on a gentle range, the flanks covered by the Ers and the Garonne; he had eighteen guns in battery on his front, which was likewise flanked by thirty other pieces placed on the left of the Garonne. Nor was he without retreat. He could cross the Ers, and Soult dared not have followed to any distance lest the river should subside and the rest of the army pass on his rear; unless, reverting to his original design of operating by Montauban, he lightly abandoned his now matured plan of defending Toulouse. Wisely therefore he continued to strengthen his position round that city, his combinations being all directed to force the allies to attack him between the Ers and the Mont Rave, where it seemed scarcely possible to succeed. Some French officers hold that he should have endeavored to crush Hill, and seize the parc; but this was difficult; Hill had thirteen thousand men in order of battle upon a contracted space ready to break the heads of the French columns as they emerged from St. Cyprien; the light division was at hand until mid-day on the 9th; and when the Croix d'Orade bridge was taken it was impossible to have attacked Hill without losing the Mont Rave and the line of retreat.

He has been also charged with this fault, that he did not entrench the Pugade. Choumara says that troops placed there would have been endangered without adequate advantage; this does not seem conclusive. The hill was under the shot of the main height,

* General Berton, MSS.

† Morning State, 4th of April, MSS.